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BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 144

THE NORTHERN AND CENTRAL NOOTKAN TRIBES

By PHILIP DRUCKER

Plate 1 (Frontispiece).—**Nootkan territory:** View up Tasis River, Nootka Sound.
(Photograph from W. A. Newcombe Collection.)

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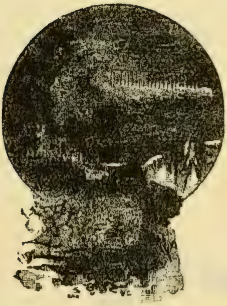

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., April 1, 1949.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes," by Philip Drucker, and to recommend that it be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

M. W. Stirling, *Director.*

Dr. Alexander Wetmore,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
JUN 21 1951
U.S. NATIONAL MUSEUM

CONTENTS

PAGE
Foreword VII
Introduction 1
  The Nootkan tribes 3
  The homeland 6
  The historic period 10
Economic life 15
  Implements of the food quest 15
    Fishing devices 16
    Hunting devices 26
    Gathering devices 35
  The economic cycle and methods 36
  Preparation and preservation of food 61
Material culture 67
  Habitations and manufactures 67
    Habitations 67
    Carpentry 77
      Logging 79
      Board making 80
      Measures 81
      Canoes and their appurtenances 82
      Wooden receptacles 88
    Miscellaneous household utensils 91
    Textiles 92
    Dress and ornament 99
      Ceremonial dress 101
    Skin dressing 103
    Transportation 104
    Musical instruments 106
    Fire and lighting 106
    Tobacco and chewing gum 108
    Pets 109
    Wealth goods 109
      Dentalia 111
      Abalone shells 113
      Sea otter pelts 114
      Blankets 114
    Calendars and mnemonics 115
The life of the individual 118
  Pregnancy and birth customs 119
  Twins 127
  Hair cutting 128
  Education 129
  First game 137
  Girl's puberty 137

The life of the individual—Continued PAGE

- Menstrual observances 144
- Postpuberty 144
- Remedies 146
- Mortuary customs 147

Religious life 151
- The supernatural world 151
- Tales of supernatural experience 157
- Dealings with the supernatural 163
  - The ritual cleansing-spirit quest 167
  - Hair seal hunting rites 168
  - Sea otter hunting rites 169
  - Whale hunters' rites 169
  - War chiefs' rites 170
  - Shrines 170
  - Weather magic 174
  - Observances in honor of game 175
- The Shaman 181
  - Shamanistic curing 202
- Black magic 212
- The tsaiyεq ritual 215

Social life 219
- Polity 220
  - Chickliset 222
  - Kyuquot 222
  - Ehetisat 225
  - Nuchatlet 227
  - Moachat 228
  - Muchalat 232
  - Hesquiat 235
  - Otsosat 238
  - Ahousat 238
  - Clayoquot 240
- Rank 243
  - Privileges 247
  - Ceremonial seats 260
  - Inheritance 266
  - Speakers, wars chiefs, and clowns 269
  - Commoners 271
  - Slaves 272
  - Hereditary trades 273
  - Summary: The chiefs and their people 273
- Kinship 274
  - Kinship usages and terminology 276
- Residence 278
- Marriage 286
  - Sex conflicts 303
- Dissension and social control 311
  - Suicide 322
- Personality types and social attitudes 322
  - Ideals 322
  - Abnormal personalities 324

Social life—Continued

PAGE
News and gossip 331
War 332
The war between the Ahousat and the Otsosat 344
The Muchalat wars 353
Festivals and diversions 366
Festivals 366
Announcing intent 366
Feasts 370
Potlatches 376
The "Shamans' Dance" (Loqwənȧ) 386
An Ehetisat Shamans' Dance 417
A Nuchatlet Shamans' Dance 430
Significance of the "Shamans' Dance" 439
Shamans' Dance miscellany 440
Older festivals 443
Games and amusements 444
The patterns of the culture 453
Bibliography 457
Index 461

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

[All plates except frontispiece follow page 460]

1. (Frontispiece.) Nootkan territory: View up Tasis River, Nootkan Sound.
2. Nootkan territory. *a*, View up Tasis Canal, Nootkan Sound, from lower channel. *b*, Tide flats at head of Tasis Canal.
3. Northern Nootkan art. *a*, *b*, Old houseposts at Kyuquot. *c*, Thunderbird-and-whale memorial erected in 1902–3 at death of Chief Mōqwinȧ.
4. Northern Nootkan masks.
5. Nootkan masks.

FIGURES

		PAGE
1.	Types of salmon traps	17
2.	Globular kelpfish trap	19
3.	Salmon harpoon head and types of shafts	20
4.	Cod and spring-salmon hook	22
5.	Halibut rigs, position of parts while heaving out	23
6.	Frame for waterfowl and herring nets	24
7.	Frame for hand dip net for codfish, used with lure	25
8.	Sealing harpoon	27
9.	Type of scarf joint used for shaft of whaling harpoon	28
10.	Method of bending float to standing portion of whaling harpoon line	30
11.	Diagram of deer deadfall	33
12.	Crew stations and stowage of gear for whale hunt	50
13.	Tow for dead whale	54
14.	House frame at yukwɔt (Friendly Cove)	68
15.	Method of preparing and of carrying pack of cedar bark	105
16.	Pubescent girl's hair ornament	140
17.	Territorial holdings of various Moachat chiefs	250
18.	Potlatch seats of the Kyuquot chiefs in order of rank	261
19.	Feast seats of the Kyuquot	262
20.	Potlatch seats of the Ehetisat chiefs in order of rank	262
21.	Potlatch seats of the Moachat chiefs in order of rank	263
22.	Feast seats of the Moachat	264
23.	Potlatch seats of confederated Muchalat groups, end of nineteenth century	264
24.	Feast places of the Muchalat groups, during period of confederation (latter half of nineteenth century)	265
25.	Potlatch and feast seats of the Hesquiat after recent confederation	265
26.	Seating order of the Clayoquot chiefs, for both feasts and potlatches	266
27.	Residence in the icsaȧth house at Ehetisat in the late 1880's	281
28.	Residence in the tacīsȧth house at Kyuquot (1890–1900), and relationships of residents	284

MAPS

PAGE
1. The Nootkan tribes and their neighbors 1
2. Kyuquot sites 224
3. Ehetisat and Nuchatlet sites 226
4. Moachat sites 229
5. Muchalat village sites 233
6. Hesquiat sites 236
7. Ahousat sites 239
8. Clayoquot sites 241

FOREWORD

I wish to express my gratitude to various persons and institutions that made the research and the final preparation of this report possible. The Social Science Research Council sustained the initial field work through a pre-Doctoral Research Fellowship in 1935–36. Dr. A. L. Kroeber obtained funds for collecting element lists among the Central Nootkan tribes that made possible a longer stay among them, and the following year arranged for me to make a brief stopover at Nootka to fill in some of the major gaps in the field notes. I am also indebted to Dr. Kroeber and to Dr. R. H. Lowie and Dr. R. L. Olson for advice and criticism of my draft of the section on Nootkan social organization. Dr. Ralph Linton was also good enough to read that section, and gave me keen and constructive criticism.

Of the many people who aided me in the field, Mr. W. A. Newcombe, of Victoria, B. C., put me under the greatest obligation. His tremendous knowledge of Northwest Coast ethnology and art, his acquaintance with the various localities, and with many of the older Indians, he generously put at my disposal. He also gave me permission to make use of early photographs of Nootkan scenes from his extensive files. It is very pleasant to be able to express my thanks to him. To Dr. H. G. Barnett also I am indebted for many ideas and helpful criticisms, and for many other favors as well. Dr. Gunther is another person to whom I am indebted for the many helpful pointers she gave me, based on her extensive knowledge of Makah culture.

While in the field I received many courtesies and the hospitality of a number of people, particularly Mr. Arthur Park, of Nootka, the various officers of the Nootka Packing Company, Father Joseph of the Hesquiat Mission, the good fathers at Christie Indian School at Clayoquot, and Mr. Caldwell, the very capable and progressive missionary of the United Church establishment at Ahousat. To all of them I am very grateful for their kindness.

It goes without saying that, like all ethnographers, I owe thanks for whatever merit this report may have to my Nootkan friends who, with endless patience and unfailing good humor, ransacked their memories to explain Nootkan life in the days of their youth to this not always patient field worker.

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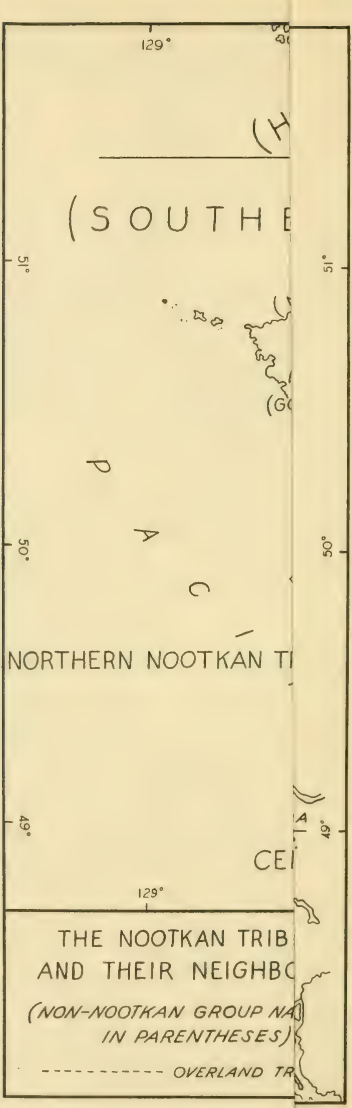
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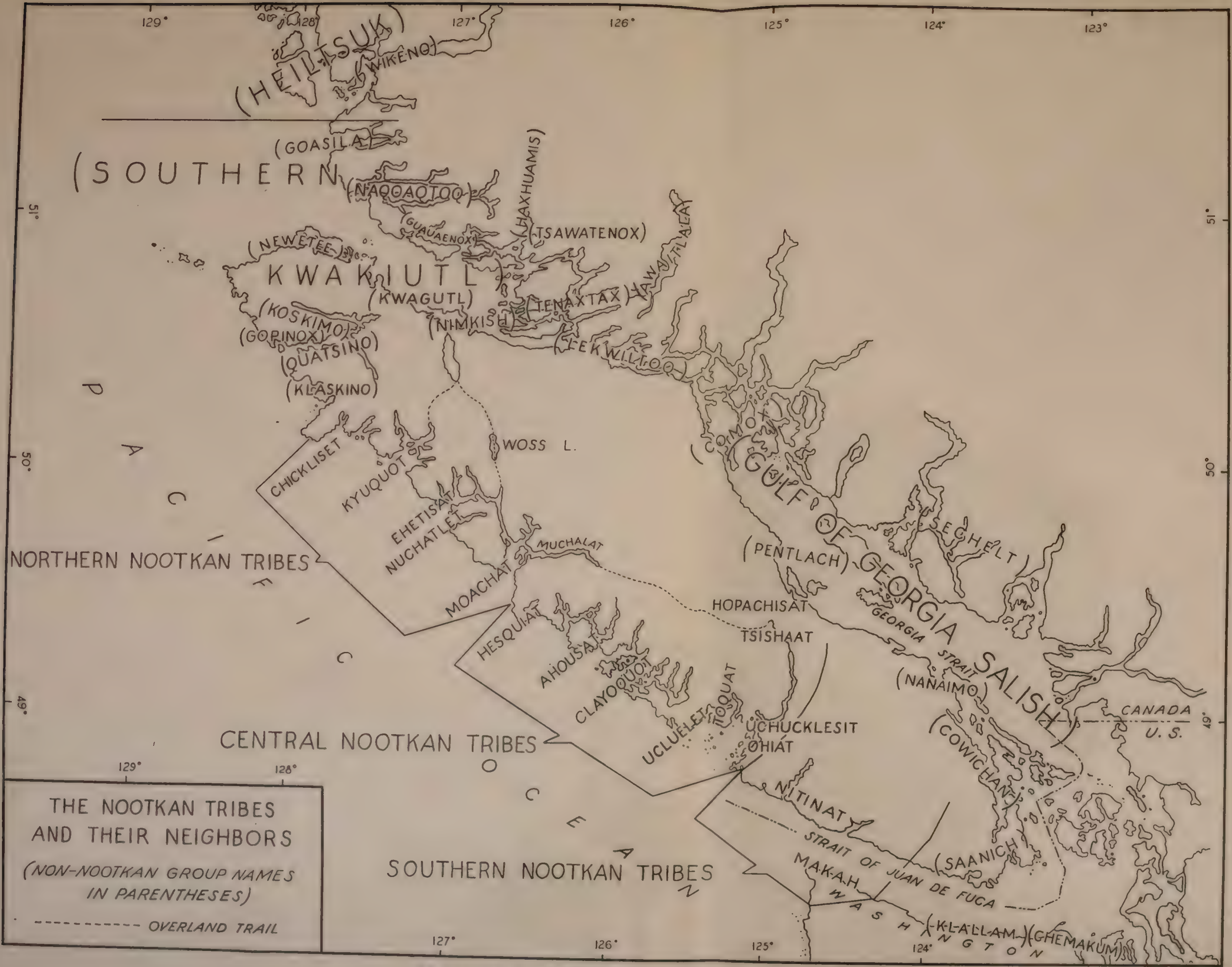
THE NORTHERN AND CENTRAL NOOTKAN TRIBES

By Philip Drucker

INTRODUCTION

The material for this report was collected in 1935–36 with the assistance of a pre-Doctoral Research Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council. The research problem was to determine the bases of social stratification. I had no intention of diverging from the specific problem to collect data for a general ethnography, but I soon found that the societal factors could not be isolated without forcing the material. For example, with various economic property rights as important as they were to the status of the nobles, or "chiefs," the fact that a chief owned a salmon trap of one kind, and a man of lesser rank a trap of another type, makes it necessary for the field worker to learn what the different types of salmon traps were to see if there was anything of significance in the two specific cases he has recorded. Again, one cannot evaluate the significance of the ownership of particular ritual privileges by chiefs without knowing the whole ceremonial. Before long I found that my quest for the basic forces of social organization were leading me into all phases of the culture: economy, technology, ceremonialism, and the rest, so I ended up trying to round out the picture. The aim, however, was always to relate these topics to the problems of the social structure.

On my return from the field I began to prepare an account of Nootkan social organization. As in the field, I found that the description was hampered by lack of the background data of economy, ceremonials, and the like; the paper became uncommonly cluttered up with explanatory footnotes in which I tried to condense these relevant facts to make the discussion intelligible. At last I concluded that, to do justice to the material, it should be presented in the form of a full description of all aspects of native life. I was particularly fortunate since, by the time I had reviewed my field notes, Dr. Kroeber sent me on an element-list survey of the Northwest Coast, and arranged for additional funds to permit me, en route, to spend a few additional


THE NOOTKAN TRIBES AND THEIR NEIGHBORS
(NON-NOOTKAN GROUP NAMES IN PARENTHESES)
------------ OVERLAND TRAIL
NORTHERN NOOTKAN TRIBES
CENTRAL NOOTKAN TRIBES
SOUTHERN NOOTKAN TRIBES
PACIFIC OCEAN
(HEILTSUK)
(WIKENO)
(GOASILA)
(SOUTHERN KWAKIUTL)
(NAQOAQTOQ)
(HAXHUAMIS)
(GUAUAENOX)
(TSAWATENOX)
(AWAITLALA)
(NEWETEE)
(KWAGUTL)
(TENAXTAX)
(NIMKISH)
(KOSKIMO)
(GOPINOX)
(QUATSINO)
(KLASKINO)
(LEKWILTOQ)
(COMOX)
(GULF OF GEORGIA SALISH)
(SECHELT)
(PENTLACH)
(NANAIMO)
(COWICHAN)
(SAANICH)
(KLALLAM)
(CHEMAKUM)
WOSS L.
CHICKLISET
KYUQUOT
EHETISAT
NUCHATLET
MUCHALAT
MOACHAT
HOPACHISAT
TSISHAAT
HESQUIAT
AHOUSAT
CLAYOQUOT
UCLUELET
TOQUAT
UCHUCKLESIT
OHIAT
NITINAT
MAKAH
GEORGIA STRAIT
STRAIT OF JUAN DE FUCA
CANADA
U. S.
WASHINGTON
129°
128°
127°
126°
125°
124°
123°
51°
50°
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MAP 1.—The Nootkan tribes and their neighbors.

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weeks filling in some of the more apparent lacunae I had noted in my data.

From this time on, however, the tale of the Nootkan data I had collected becomes somewhat embarrassing, for I never was quite able to set to work to get them in order. Other duties occupied me, while the Nootka notebooks weighed on my conscience. Now and then I broke them out to write a few pages, but did not make much headway. During the latter part of the recent unpleasantness, Dr. Barnett was kind enough to get my notes out of storage for me, and I made the first appreciable dent in them in several years on long dull afternoons while anchored behind the nets in various Pacific harbors. Recently Dr. Stirling permitted me to devote the necessary time to rounding out the task of preparing the material for publication.

As part of the vicissitudes of getting the material written, I should add that I have had quite a struggle in arriving at the form of presentation—a fact perhaps not obvious from the present orthodox pattern. As I have said, my goal was an interpretation of social life and the functions of the social structure. I attempted at first to weave the data together in a functional picture of native activities, centered in the social life. One reason for trying this was that, had I had the art to do it, it should have given a far more vivid picture of the native scene. Too, I had so often been bored by the methodical but lifeless standard ethnographic account that I hoped to be able to inject into the description some of the life and feeling that my informants had given me. I found, however, that the laborious categories of the standard account have their place. When I attempted, while discussing chiefs' property rights in salmon traps, for example, to bring in all the information pertaining to these traps—their construction and forms, methods of use, the preparation of the salmon caught in them, the ritual observances connected with the salmon, the etiquette of salmon feasts, and so on—the thread of my argument became shockingly fouled up. If I lost the thread at times myself, I could scarcely expect a reader to follow it. In short, I could not design a "functional" presentation without playing down the numerous aspects of the culture indirectly related to the central theme. It might be done, dealing with a simpler culture, but with one as rich and complex as that of the Nootkans the only way I found to present a reasonably well-balanced picture was to separate the various activities and their material manifestations into the timeworn categories of economy, material culture, and the rest.

Another problem that confronted me was the temporal placing of the material. For various reasons, chief of which was that to appraise social values and attitudes I wanted first-hand observations of the informants, I settled on the period from 1870 to about 1900 as my ethnographic horizon. Some information was recorded that goes back earlier (and was hearsay evidence for the informants), but I tried to distinguish such material from the rest, even though to do so I had to estimate the date as "about 1850," or "in early historic times." Where no such temporal clues are given, the material refers to the time horizon cited. The problem of cultural changes and the processes involved in them since the time of the first historic records a century ago will be dealt with in another publication.

THE NOOTKAN TRIBES

Vancouver Island juts from the mainland of northwest North America at a sharp angle to the general trend of the Coast. The main axis of the island runs northwest-southeast, but in convenient modern colloquial usage the seaward side facing the Pacific Ocean is called the "West Coast," while the shore facing the mainland is the "East Coast." On the "West Coast" from Cape Cook down to the vicinity of modern Port Renfrew lived the Nootkan tribes. Across the Strait of Juan de Fuca on storm-lashed Cape Flattery was an outlying division of the same people, the Makah. There were no other members of this nation. Their neighbors were the Southern Kwakiutl tribes north of Cape Cook in Quatsino Sound, and on the "East Coast" of Vancouver Island to Cape Mudge, and various Coast Salish groups occupying the remainder of the island and the south shore of the Strait. The Chemakum and Quileute were the immediate neighbors on either side of the Makah.

The designation "Nootkan" is a linguistic one, referring to this one member of the so-called Wakashan stock. The language is rather closely related, as first pointed out by Boas and amply demonstrated by Sapir, to Kwakiutl. The word "Nootka" itself is a barbarism, for it does not occur in the native tongue. The ear of the great explorer Captain Cook played him false when, on his entry into the sound now bearing his name, he thought he heard one of the natives use the word to refer to the place or the people. Actually, the Indians had no true national designation for themselves, beyond explanatory phrases meaning "people we can understand," and the like; they used specific tribal designations rather than broad inclusive ones.

In the Nootkan language there are three dialectic divisions: Nootka proper, spoken from Cape Cook to the east shore of Barkley Sound; Nitinat, used by the groups of Pacheena and Nitinat Lake; and Makah, spoken by the Cape Flattery people. These dialects seem to differ through a few fairly simple and consistent phonetic shifts, so that although at first mutually unintelligible, a person who speaks one form can soon understand the other and make himself understood. At least that is what informants say; detailed comparative analyses have not been published. The relationship between Nitinat and Makah remains to be classified, particularly. We have no information as yet as to whether they are more closely allied to each other than to Nootka proper, or if all three dialects are equally divergent. In addition to these dialectic variations, there are within Nootka proper a series of minor local peculiarities of intonation and phrasing, so that although the people have no difficulty understanding each other, they can readily distinguish from what tribal division the speaker comes. Even one unfamiliar with the language can readily distinguish the sonorous "drawl" and rising terminal inflection of a person from Nootka Sound from the rapid speech of the Kyuquot with the characteristic tendency to elide the final vowels. These local differences are of about the order of those in modern American English, comparable, for example, to those distinguishing colloquial speech of Boston, Baltimore, and Fort Worth, and do not hamper communication.

Culturally as well as linguistically, the Nootkans formed a distinct unit. While they shared many traits with their linguistic kinsmen, the Southern Kwakiutl, they also possessed a considerable corpus of different culture complexes. With the Salishan-speaking neighbors they had even less in common. Moreover, many of the traits shared by Nootkans and Salish (and the Quileute) appear to represent outright borrowings by the latter from the former. A major ceremonial of the Salish of the Straits of Juan de Fuca and modern western Washington State was a dilute version of a Nootkan ritual and known by the Nootkan name (illy pronounced, it is true). The Nootkan canoe type was used by all these neighbors—in fact, the actual canoes were imported, being preferred to the local craft. It is not my intent here to appraise Nootkan culture in the areal scheme—that can be done best after it has been described in detail; my aim is only to bring out its unity and distinctness in broad terms. It is also possible that when fuller data are available from the Nitinat and Makah, the sharp break between Nootkan and Salish cultures will pale somewhat. These two divisions are said to have had a number of typically Salish traits of culture, and may have had even more.

Among the groups speaking Nootka proper there were two principal divisions and one minor one. The major break occurred at Esteban Point, between Nootka Sound and Hesquiat Harbor. The groups north of this point are those I have designated the Northern Nootkan tribes. They differed from their relatives down the coast chiefly in observing a much greater number of customs borrowed from the Southern Kwakiutl, with whom they were in frequent contact. The tribes of the central province of Nootkan culture seem to have had little direct contact with foreigners. What alien innovations reached them were second-hand imports, brought in by their northern kin, or by the Makah, who plied busily back and forth across the Strait.

One subgroup only of the Central tribes had frequent outside contacts. This division consisted of two tribes living at the head of Alberni Canal and on Sproat Lake. They will occasionally be referred to as the Alberni Canal groups in the following pages. One of these was a tribe called the tsica’ȧth,[1] a Barkley Sound group who claim to have moved from the Sound up to the head of the Canal not long before the historic period. The other group, the hōpȧtcisȧth, had made their home on the shores of Sproat Lake since time immemorial. Since they were actually across the divide of the island and access to the East Coast was fairly easy, they had considerable contact with various Gulf of Georgia Salish. Sapir, whose Nootkan studies were made chiefly with these Alberni Canal groups, found evidence of this close contact in hōpȧtcisȧth speech—so much, in fact, that he once suggested they might have been a Salishan-speaking people who became "Nootkanized" in both speech and culture (Sapir, 1915, p. 19).

There were five major political units, tribes and confederacies of tribes, among the Northern Nootkans, and several autonomous groups. Beginning in the north were the Chickliset (tciklisȧth) of Ououkinsh Sound, who held the coast from the tip of Cape Cook around nearly to Kyuquot Sound.[2] Next came the Kyuquot (qayōkwȧth), a numerous group, really a confederation of a number of tribes (each consisting of several local groups), who inhabited Kyuquot Sound. Next to them were the Ehetisat (ehatisȧth) and Nuchatlet (nūtcatłȧth) confederacies, and an independent local group (or tribelet) of Queen's Cove, the haqumstisȧth. In Nootka Sound lived the members of the Moachat confederacy, and up Muchalat Arm were a number of independent local groups who came within an ace of extinction owing to wars during the historic period, and who finally joined forces to become the Muchalat (mȧtcłīȧth) tribe. It is from these Northern Nootkans that the bulk of the present material was collected. Specifically, Kyuquot, Ehetisat, Moachat, and Muchalat informants gave the greater part of the data.

The Central tribes consist of the Hesquiat (hϵckwī’ȧth), a modern fusion of several independent local groups of the Hesquiat Harbor region, the Ahousat (ahausȧth), the Clayoquot (ʟa’ō’qwȧth) of Clayoquot Sound, the Barkley Sound groups (yūʟūłȧth, ūtcȧklisȧth, ōhīȧth, and tōqwīȧth), and the Alberni Canal divisions previously mentioned. There were formerly a number of other groups; the Manoisat-Otsosat, exterminated by the Ahousat; several autonomous groups in Clayoquot Sound, wiped out by the Clayoquot; and a number of divisions in Barkley Sound whose names are only memories. Of the Central tribes fairly extensive accounts were obtained from the Hesquiat and Clayoquot, and data on a number of special topics were collected from the Ahousat. Brief checks with element lists were made of the Alberni Canal people to determine their cultural position with respect to their kinsmen of the outer coasts. I obtained no information from the Barkley Sound tribes, nor from the Nitinat.

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[1] In this report native words and phrases are recorded according to the simpler system of the methods for transcription of Indian languages (Phonetic transcription of Indian languages, Smithsonian Misc. Coll., vol. 66, No. 6, 1916). Differences within the *k* and *q* series, and between *L* and *L!* I am forced to suppress because of inconsistencies in recording them in the field, as my ear became progressively more attuned to Nootkan speech. Toward the end of my field work I should have reviewed all the phrases, brief texts, etc., recorded, but time did not permit me to do so.

[2] The capitalized tribal names and names of localities are the modern anglicized forms found on published charts, etc.

The principal informants, with their tribal affiliations, were as follows: Mrs. Sarah Olabar (Kyuquot), Mrs. Captain Jack (Ehetisat), Chief Felix Michael (Nuchatlet), Frank Savey (Moachat), Mrs. Maggie Louis (Moachat), Muchalat Peter (Muchalat), Blind Harry (Muchalat), Muchalat Jim (Muchalat), Thomas Lucas (Hesquiat), Pascal Alexander (Hesquiat), Chief ȧʟīyū (Ahousat), yaksū'is (Clayoquot), Jimmy Jim (Clayoquot), George Hamilton (hōpȧtcisȧth), Jackson Dan (tsica'ȧth). The principal interpreters were Mrs. Olabar, Alex Amos and his wife Mary, Joe Hayes, George Shamrock, and Alex Thomas.

THE HOMELAND

Vancouver Island, the habitat of our tribes, is a partially submerged mountain mass. Its jagged, saw-toothed peaks thrust skyward two, three, and four thousand feet above present sea level, like a wall fronting on the Pacific. The steep, freshly cut gullies along the outer slopes, became, on submergence, narrow fiords, a mile or two wide, dropping swiftly to 40, 50, and 60 fathoms. It is a rugged land.

The lower ends of the canals merge to form inlets and sounds, studded with islands, rocks, and reefs—the tips of the smaller mountains. The sounds, with their open but partly sheltered expanses of water, furnished natural centers for concentrations of population and the bases for political groupings. The northwesternmost tribe, the Chickliset, occupied Ououkinsh Sound; the powerful Kyuquot confederacy inhabited Kyuquot Sound, the next major break in the coast. Esperanza and Nuchatlitz Inlets were the homes of separate political divisions, the Ehetisat and Nuchatlet respectively. Nootka Sound was the seat of the "Nootka" of early explorers, or the Moachat, as the members of this numerous and aggressive confederacy called themselves. Muchalat Arm was the home of a number of small autonomous groups who only recently confederated, but their neighbors have for long considered them a division apart. Around Esteban Point lived the various Hesquiat groups, along the shelterless shores of Hesquiat Harbor. Next to them were the Manoisat-Otsosat, of

Sydney Inlet and adjoining channels, exterminated by the aggressive Ahousat, who made themselves masters of that region. Clayoquot Sound was the home of the Clayoquot, another warlike tribe who subdued or liquidated neighboring groups until they were left undisputed owners of the Sound. Barkley Sound, again, was the home of a number of large and important groups: Ucluelet, Ohiat, Toquiat, and Uchucklisat. It is apparent that the sounds and large inlets, major features of local physiography, played an important part in forming the sociopolitical divisions of the people. The obvious reason is that inhabitants of such a locality were thrown together and their outside contacts were interrupted by the frequent periods of bad weather when it was impossible to round the headlands to the next sound. It is noteworthy that each of these geographic divisions, that is, the people of a certain sound, had their characteristic intonation and speech mannerism—differences roughly comparable to the regional differences in the English of New England and the Southwest, for example.

Between the sounds there are areas of low headlands fringed in many places by long, straight beaches on which the surf pounds endlessly. It is said that anciently there were a few groups of people who lived all the year on these "outside" coasts. They suffered many hardships during winter storms when the surf was too heavy for them to launch their canoes. Eventually they made alliances with people of the sounds and abandoned the outer coasts except for spring and summer camp sites.

The "West Coast" of Vancouver Island is in the belt of heavy rainfall of Northwest America. The annual rainfall varies slightly according as it is measured in more or less sheltered localities, but in general averages about 100 inches a year. From early fall till spring heavy southeasterly storm winds lash the coast with sheets of rain, and pile mountainous surf on the outer beaches for days at a time. These winds ordinarily gradually shift to westerlies as they blow themselves out. Occasionally a northerly wind will come over the mountains, bringing clear, crisp, fine weather. Then the southeast wind starts to blow again. In late spring and early summer there are periods when the sea is glassy calm. Fog banks form along the margin of the Japanese current out offshore to roll in day after day, breaking up only when a light breeze picks up. In late summer, rain squalls alternate with fine bright days, till time for the southeast storms to start.

Although the climate is dark and raw, the temperature seldom falls very low along the coast. Sharp frosts and snows of brief duration occur through the winter. Back up on the mountains, rivers and lakes freeze over and snow lies all winter; snow fields on some of the peaks never entirely melt away. But along the shore it never gets really bitterly cold. The Japanese current passing some miles offshore, near the edge of the continental shelf, ameliorates the cold that would otherwise prevail in that latitude. The same current is said to cause the coldness of the local sea water, however, stirring up the cold water of the deeps and washing it against the coast in a sort of back eddy (the inshore current has a constant northwestward set, even during westerly winds, the opposite of that of the Japanese stream). Whatever the reason, the sea water is markedly cold even in the warmest season of the year.

The tides are a striking phenomenon in this region. A tidal cycle, high to high, lasts about 13 hours. There is considerable irregularity in height of tide. Maximum heights of spring tides reach 13.5 feet above lower low water; neap tides average about 8 feet. This constant rise and fall of the sea produces strong currents in the inlets and channels, particularly in places with reduced entrances to wide expanses of water. Five-, six-, and even seven-knot currents are known, and in all the channels the effect of the tidal currents is pronounced.

On shore, the heavy rainfall supports a dense forest growth despite the poor soil (the bedrock is in most places barely covered by a thin layer of half-rotten leaves and needles, or moss, with but few and shallow patches of soil). The woods consist predominantly of conifers: Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga taxifolia* (Lamb) Britt.), hemlock (*Tsuga heterophylla* (Raf.) Sarg.), red cedar (*Thuja plicata* Donn.), yellow cedar (*Chamaecyparis nootkaensis*), white fir (locally miscalled "balsam fir") (*Abies grandis* Lindl.), and yew (*Taxus brevifolia* Nutt.) being the more prominent species. Deciduous trees and shrubs occur in scattered patches, tending to flank fresh-water streams. Alder (*Alnus oregona* Nutt.) and various bushes, salmonberry (*Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.), and wild cherry (*Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.) Walp.) are especially prominent. Salal (*Gaultheria shallon* Pursh.) stands in almost impenetrable tangles along the edge of the timber, and in patches on rocky slopes where conifers have not taken hold.

The woods, seen from the water, seem to form an impenetrable mantle over the irregular surface of the land. After one finally breaks through the luxurious growth along the margin, he finds himself in a dark gloomy moss-covered world. Huge trunks rise straight and branchless, the crowns forming a high canopy almost impervious to sunlight. Thin straggly young growth strives to reach the light above. Fallen timber—ranging from saplings that gave up the struggle to forest giants six and more feet through—hinder one's passage, for much of the wood, particularly the red and the yellow cedar, rots but slowly. One must climb over one windfall, duck under the next that lies over a big rock, and go around the third. The obstacle courses used at training stations in the recent war are the only things I know of that would prepare one for travel through the woods of Nootkan territory. And everywhere the scum of moss conceals the footing: in one place it slips underfoot from a glossy smooth slope of stone, at the next it covers equally a sound recent windfall and a rotten shell of tree trunk into which one sinks to the knees—it conceals crevices and pitfalls innumerable. And everywhere water drips from rocks, seeps through the moss, drips from branches overhead.

It is scarcely to be wondered at, what with the ruggedness of the rockbound mountainous terrain and the dense tangle of vegetation, that the native population for the most part frequented the woods but little. The land game resources were fairly rich, but travel in the woods was difficult, and moreover, marine resources were extremely abundant. Several species of salmon occur there: dog salmon (*Oncorhynchus keta*) and coho (*O. kisutch*) "run" in vast numbers in the fall in almost every stream, large and small, that enters the sea; spring salmon (*O. tschawytscha*) and sockeye (*O. nerka*) run in certain rivers. Sea trout and steelhead accompany the salmon runs. A species of herring schools in the sounds and inlets in vast numbers in late winter, then spawns in sheltered coves. Various species of codfish were available at any time of the year, and shellfish in some variety were abundant along the outer beach. Halibut grounds occur offshore, in the open sea. Associated with the wealth of fish in coastal waters were fish-eating mammals: hair seals (Pacific harbor seal), sea lions, and porpoises. Whales were also abundant, although the Indians claim that several species appeared periodically, giving rise to the notion that the cetaceans were "running" like salmon. There was a time when the richly furred sea otter was abundant on the coast.

The list of land mammals, like that of many island areas, is noteworthy chiefly by reason of absences of a number of large forms found on the nearby mainland. Elk, deer, black bear, mountain lions, wolves, raccoon, land otter, marten, mink, beaver, and squirrels were the common forms. Marmots may occur in the higher areas. Common animals of the mainland which were absent, so far as I could learn, were: grizzly bear, mountain goat, bobcat, foxes, skunk, porcupine, rabbit. The avifauna seems to have been fairly rich (Swarth, 1912). Waterfowl, of course, abounded, and as Vancouver Island lies across the Pacific coast flyway it was a favorite resting place for ducks and geese. This was the land in which the Nootkan tribes lived. It was a strange environment, in a way, for its chief economic resources were in the water, or at the water's edge. The land was forbidding, difficult of access. It is entirely possible that in recent times restless white prospectors, trappers, and timber cruisers, may have explored areas in the interior of the island that no Indian ever trod—at least, if the ancestors of the modern tribes arrived on the scene as canoe-using people, exploiting the products of sea and streams.

The total environment affected the culture of its primitive occupants in a number of ways. First of all, they made the products of sea and rivers their mainstay, traveled by water, and lived at the edge of it. A good beach, convenient for launching canoes, was an important factor in choice of dwelling sites. In the complete lack of Nootkan archeological data we do not know whether the ancestors of the tribes arrived with a specialized sea-coast culture, or if they developed it increasingly along those lines after establishing themselves on the island, but it is certain that they were finally thoroughly bound to coastal life. Only a few small local groups deviated from the general pattern: two or three who penetrated up Gold River from Muchalat Arm in Nootka Sound, and two groups at the head of Alberni Canal, on Sproat Lake. The situation of these two last-named divisions differs slightly, for their territory physiographically belongs to the "East Coast" of the island, and is characterized by more open woods and gentler relief. In addition, one of the Alberni Canal groups was either originally an isolated Coast Salish group that became Nootkanized or was strongly influenced by Coast Salish neighbors; the other tribe is said to have moved into the interior from Barkley Sound in late prehistoric times. The Gold River people were regarded by their coast kin as wild people of the woods; they were poorer, ruder—really backwoodsmen. They, along with the Alberni folk, were also the only good woodsmen and land hunters among the tribes.

The natural geographic divisions along the coast—the major inlets and sounds into which the fiords merged at their lower ends—likewise influenced the cultural patterns. Here the effect was expressed in sociopolitical terms: the various groups occupying a geographical division were thrown into more intimate contact with each other than with neighbors in the next inlet, and as a result, various sorts of federations were formed, or else the groups became locked in conflict till one emerged as dominant. In short, the geographical divisions of the coast came to correspond with major political divisions.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD

The impact of Western European culture on that of the Nootkan tribes varied in intensity in different epochs since it first began in earnest. The very first-known contact, with the timid Juan Perez in 1774, caused little pain or strain. That navigator made landfall on the Nootka Sound area, but laid to offshore, not daring to enter, not half as bold as the amazed natives who came out in canoes, overcoming their fears sufficiently to go aboard his ship to exchange gifts and steal a few silver spoons. The evil star of European civilization dawned for the Nootkans and their neighbors on the Northwest Coast 4 years later, when Cook stood in to King George's, or Nootka, Sound in the *Resolution* during his third voyage of exploration. Cook's discovery was destined to become famous, not because of its addition to the geographical knowledge of the time, but because of the sea otter skins some of his people took in exchange for knick-knacks. When it was learned that in Canton the lush brown pelts were worth more than their weight in gold the fate of the native cultures was sealed. The flamboyant Meares made his first voyage to the Northwest Coast in 1785, followed by Hannah, Barkley, Portlock and Dixon, Kendrick and Gray, and then a multitude of others. The Spaniards, seeing a threat to their Pacific empire, established their short-lived outpost at Nootka Sound in 1789, and in 1794 Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra formally surrendered possession to Vancouver. The maritime traders continued to come, a few ships each year, till the second decade of the nineteenth century, when the harvest of sea otter pelts had dwindled to mere gleanings. It would be beside the point here to discuss the significance of this trade to the lands from which the traders came—the facts that the "Nootka Sound controversy" brought England and Spain to the brink of war, and Boston was saved from ruin by sea otter hides exchanged in China for tea and silk are not pertinent to our discussion. The legend that the clean, driving lines of that queen of the seas, the American Clipper ship, were inspired by the graceful and seaworthy prow of the Nootka canoe may not be true, but could have a germ of truth, for the very practical navigators of that day were all impressed by the seaworthiness of the Indian craft. What is more important at the moment is the effect on the Indians. The Nootkans were most affected, beyond a doubt, of all the Northwest Coast tribes, for the maritime traders formed the habit of putting in to Nootka or Clayoquot Sound for wood and water after the long passage from the Southern Seas, even after the avid commerce had all but exterminated sea otter in Nootkan territory. They purveyed to the natives great stores of wealth in the form of metal tools, firearms, and ornaments. They alternately cajoled, robbed, and murdered them. Hannah exchanged names with an Ahousat chief, Meares had his sailmaker rig a suit of sails for "Maquinna's" canoes, Kendrick flattered the Indians by dressing in native garb. The Spaniards fattened Maquinna's vanity and usurped the site of Yuquot for their garrison. Martinez shot the high-rank chief "Quelquelem" to death for a fancied slight, and Boit, on Gray's orders, shot up and burned out the Clayoquot village. Then traders of every nationality were horrified by the Indian massacres of the ships *Boston* and *Tonquin*.

It is difficult to appraise the net result of the maritime-fur-trade period on native culture. Firearms and wealth goods in abundance must have had social repercussions. Data on the introduction of venereal diseases and smallpox are sparse, but these gifts of the higher civilization must have played their part in the rapid decline of population that followed.

From about 1820 till 1875 the west coast of Vancouver Island was spared intensive white contact. Hudson's Bay Company had won the bitter struggle on the lower Columbia, and established its rule along the mainland shore. The Gentlemen Adventurers discovered that with sea otter few and far between the Vancouver Island fauna was slimmer pickings than the mainland. The Company established offshore posts at Fort Rupert, and Fort McLoughlin, but those were points that could tap the riches of the mainland, as did Fort Simpson farther north. Thus for a good part of the nineteenth century the Nootkan's white contacts were limited to occasional free-lance traders who beat up and down the coast in small sailing vessels, and at times made valiant but usually ill-fated attempts to establish independent trading posts. There are scarcely any records of events from the dwindling away of the maritime trade in sea otter pelts until the 1850's. White influence continued with trade goods, but pressure was slight. In the 1850's the tempo of the casual trade increased. A brisk trade in dogfish oil had developed in connection with the sawmill industry of the Northwest. The traders bought the oil cheap, and sold goods dear, but nonetheless poured a flood of manufactured goods into the native culture—"two-and-a-half point" blankets, metal tools, guns, and the like. As this trade grew in importance, there developed a tendency for people to winter at the old summer villages to be near the trading posts, or the ports of call of the schooners laden with goods. Before many years had passed, the old winter sites were rarely used. The year 1852 is a landmark of another sort: it is the date of an epidemic of smallpox that made heavy inroads in the already declining population. From that time until the end of the century minor outbreaks of smallpox occurred at frequent intervals. Decrease of population meant that chiefs died without heirs in the direct line. Potlatches were given by collateral relatives who had never potlatched before.

The first intimate contact with a white group of size came with the establishment of the settlement at Alberni in 1860. The only tribes seriously affected were those of that immediate locality, however, which was off the main line of communication up and down the coast.

Among the rest of the tribes life went on pretty much as before. Several white traders were killed about this period, and the Ahousat cut off and plundered a schooner, for which their village was shot up by a British gunboat with inconclusive results. (As Sproat says, the Ahousat considered they had won in the brush with the gunboat, for the British did not succeed in capturing the instigator of the piracy, whom they had vowed they would take.)

The period of relatively casual contact and slight pressure came to an end, or at least its end was fated, in 1875, the year Father Brabant established his mission at Hesquiat. The influence of this remarkable man came to be very great: modern Nootkans consider that he put a stop to the intertribal wars that scourged the coast. The fact is, of course, that he was actively supported by Canadian law. His journal makes evident that his successful missionizing was a long hard struggle, but he eventually became a dominant figure, and influenced many phases of native life all up and down the coast.

In the 1880's fur seal hunting seems to have come to be an important occupation. Indian hunters were placed under contract by white schoonermen. The hunters provided a canoe, harpoons, guns; the Indians were given their meals aboard ship at a low charge and were paid from $1 to $2 for each skin. At first, most of them went on short voyages, going out only to intercept the fur seal herds on the annual migration, but it was not long before the Indians began to ship aboard schooners bound for Bering Sea. Their world horizon expanded suddenly, for many of them visited Japanese or Chinese ports, and others called at San Francisco before returning home. The sealers worked on a long-term basis, many of them recruiting their crews from the same tribe year after year. They also had the custom of establishing credit for their better hunters at the trading posts and for the hunters' families while they were at sea (by this date there were stores at Kyuquot, Nootka, and Clayoquot)—one suspects they could easily afford this, paying a dollar or two a hide. Hunters came back from Bering Sea voyages with several hundred dollars, with any sort of luck; many are said to have made over a thousand dollars in a season.

During this same time, people began to travel more freely up and down the coast. In the days of the wars, only a sizable party dared travel any distance. A small group was fair game for warriors of tribes distant enough for relationship ties to be tenuous. Now people went to Victoria, to work in the Fraser River canneries, and in the Puget Sound hopfields. Income from all these ventures made potlatches frequent and more spectacular than ever. Some of their wages were spent on sawed lumber, windows, and the white man's furniture, and, encouraged by the missionaries, the fad of building individual family houses spread. Some of the houses built in the nineties and early 1900's, modeled on those seen in Victoria, Vancouver, and Seattle, achieved typical Victorian ugliness, with a profusion of bay windows and fretwork.

The policy of the Canadian Government in establishing the "Reserves" scarcely affected native life. All the important sites—the winter and summer villages, the salmon-fishing stations—were set aside as Indian Reserves, so that there was no dislocation of the groups.

The final step in the transition to modern acculturation consisted of several parts: the establishment of Christie School at Clayoquot in 1899; the increased white contact resulting from the establishment of canneries and other enterprises at Clayoquot, Nootka, and other localities; the white community at Tofino; and regular steamship service up and down the coast.[3]

The final blow to native custom was the law passed in 1913 prohibiting potlatching. It was not strictly enforced, I gather, in Nootkan territory for the first few years, partly because the region is so isolated and partly because the Nootkans did not practice property destruction nor the ghoulish Hamatsa rites—the sort of thing the law seems to have been aimed at. But before long pressure began to be applied, and potlatching was abandoned.

The foregoing sketch of the historic period is far from complete. It is not meant to trace the steps and processes of acculturation of the Nootkans. It is aimed only at setting the stage, so to speak, for the ethnographic description to follow, for it is significant to place that description temporally. I do not believe that any modern informant can describe native customs, techniques, and the like of over 150 years ago (prior to 1778) with accuracy and in detail. Accurate accounts, on which one can rely, are after all, those based on first-hand knowledge, the things the informant saw himself. Human memory can be tricky enough without adding the hazard of hearsay. Next in order of reliability are occasional bits concerning specific items that were altered for one reason or another, usually through introduction of a new technique or tool shortly before the informant's day, at which his conservative grandfather or other elderly relative sniffed, saying, "When *I* was a boy we did that properly, in such-and-such a way." In the case of elderly informants, such data may go back 80 to 90 years, and inject some interesting time perspective in their remarks, but it would be too much to expect that they checked every department of culture, so that they can describe everything on that horizon. Formal history, including stories of wars and transmission of hereditary rights and privileges is, of course, to be excepted—but even there minor details referring to recent traits are sometimes thrown in out of all temporal harmony.[4] Check of early sources makes evident changes, some minor and others major, since the days of the maritime fur trade of which informants seem completely unaware.

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[3] These events were not simultaneous, but began about 1895. Several canneries were built that made a few packs and then failed. The Nootka Packing Company (operating at the time of my field work) did not begin to operate till 1917, but the first cannery in Nootka Sound was built in 1895.

As a consequence, I made an effort while in the field to place my information so far as possible, and to make it first-hand evidence by informants, not hearsay. Where informants had specific data on earlier practices, I noted it as such. The bulk of the material in the present report, except, of course, that of formal traditions and war tales, refers to the days of childhood to early adulthood of the informants, who ranged in age from the fifties to the seventies in 1936 and 1937. That means that most of the data refer to Nootkan life from the 1870's to the early 1900's. A few phases of custom—techniques and usages specifically described by their elders, and personal anecdotes told as moral lessons, or as amusing incidents—go back a little earlier, but not much. I wish to emphasize, therefore, that this ethnography is intended to be a description of the Nootkan tribes during the last three, or at most four decades of the nineteenth century, except where specified as earlier.

The fact that we have available so many, and such full descriptions of the Nootkans at the time of the maritime fur trade offers an excellent possibility for a study of a culture in transition. For various reasons it is not practicable for me to make this report a minute comparative study of the two periods—to do so would nearly double its length, and double the time of preparation. Occasional striking changes and documented persistences where they seem pertinent will be noted, but I hope to prepare a detailed comparison for publication in the not-too-remote future.

ECONOMIC LIFE

IMPLEMENTS OF THE FOOD QUEST

As a preliminary to a discussion of the food quest the various devices used will be described. This may seem a nonfunctional approach, and something of a distortion, but I believe it makes for clarity in presentation, just as does separating out material on magico-ritual acts for fishing and hunting success, which to the Indians were as important economic tools as the traps and harpoons. Fishing devices—traps, harpoons, hooks, and so on—will be described first; then hunting equipment; and finally, implements for gathering will be described.

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[4] The historic accuracy of these traditions is always suspect, for though they are sometimes candid, often unpleasant memories are repressed. Clayoquot traditions, for example, delete the burning out of the village in 1792 (a documented incident) and the unhappy result of the *Tonquin* massacre; the Moachat do not tell of the high-handed murder of an important chief by Martinez nor of "Maquinna's hurried flight" to visit relatives in Clayoquot.

FISHING DEVICES

Fish traps.—The first trapping device to be set each season for salmon, before they entered the streams in large numbers, was the tidewater trap (pō'is). This was placed on the tide flats at the mouth of a river where salmon played before entering fresh water. The trap proper was built by setting fir poles in the form of a rectangle at a point between high and low tide lines. Any sizable flattish stone was used as a pile driver. These traps were often quite large, some being 2 fathoms or more long by 1 fathom wide, and 6 or 7 feet high. The stakes were covered on sides and top by sections of lattice of wrapped-twined fir boughs (rigid warps crossed by one set of rigid weft elements, bound by a set of flexible weft elements). The direction of twining was altered from one course to the next for increased rigidity. According to the descriptions given, all types of fish traps were covered with lattice made in this "bird cage" technique, or in variations of it. All this weaving was done by men. For spring salmon the spaces would be about 4 fingers high by a hand-and-extended-thumb wide; for other salmon they would be smaller. On the shoreward side were two entry ways, V-shaped with the apex inward. A V-shaped weir, the trap across its apex, was made by lashing fathom-wide sections of lattice to upright stakes. The arms of the weir did not extend to high-tide line. Usually a third "fence," called "tongue" (tcup), bisected the V-weir (fig. 1, *a*). Trap and weir were made so as to be covered by a foot or two of water at high tide. Salmon could easily swim over or around the apparatus, but as the tide receded, those between the weirs were forced to swim down into the trap. Men went into the trap at low tide and threw the fish out. A smaller version of this trap, without the wings, and baited with broken mussels, was made for perch.

There were several types of traps for rivers. Perhaps the most common was a cylindrical variety (yahak). At right angles to four supple hemlock branches were lashed rods 2 to 3 fathoms long, spaced 2 to 4 finger-widths apart depending on the kind of fish to be caught. The lashing was a double-wrapped twine. Direction of work was to the right, as the rods—or warps—lay on the branches. The active element crossed the intersection leaning to the left, was brought vertically down behind the weft and up over the intersection with a lean to the right, then spiraled around the weft once to the next intersection. When completed, the body of the trap was simply a section of lattice. The four hemlock branches were then bent into hoops,

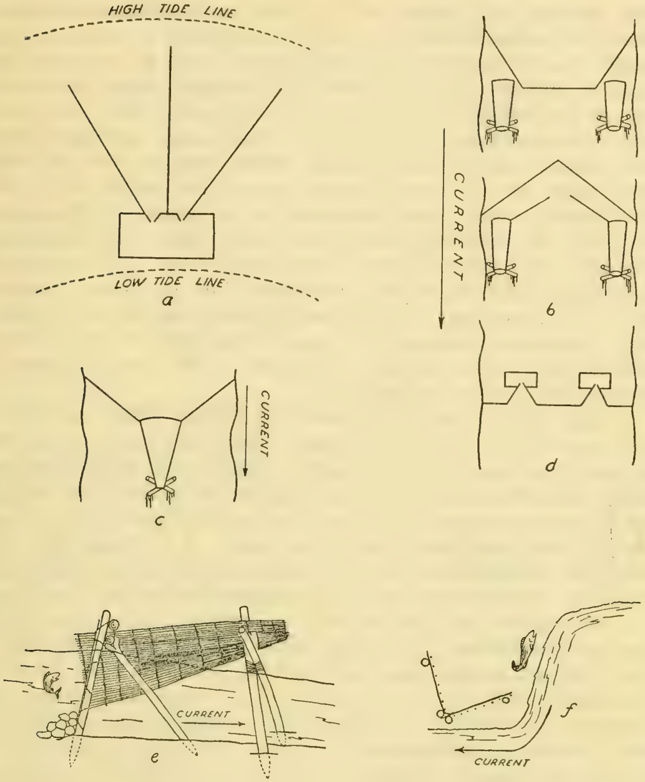


FIGURE 1.—Types of salmon traps.

with the rods inside, and tied. A small section of lattice closed one end of the trap. A place was left near the closed end over which a removable woven "door" was tied. The mouth was not invaginated. Such a trap was set with the mouth upstream and well submerged, the closed end downstream and raised by shears just out of the water. A weir was built to turn the fish into the trap. The force of the water carried them up high and dry into the raised end. As the salmon could neither go back down or turn around, they stayed in the end till they died. Now and then a fish might wriggle or flop around and escape, but this did not happen often. Several forms of weirs were used in connection with these traps. Pairs of posts were driven into the river bed inclined so that their tops crossed shear-fashion above the water for lashing. These were placed a fathom or two apart. On the upstream side of the upper posts a horizontal pole was tied, on which the tops of sections of wrapped-twined lattice wide enough to overlap two adjacent shear legs were rested. The lower ends of the lattice were covered with rocks to keep them submerged. Sometimes a catwalk was built on vertical supports over the weir. One variety of weir extended across the middle half of the stream. At the ends, wings slanted upstream to the banks. In the angles formed by the wings and banks, traps of the yahak type were placed (see fig. 1, *b*). Salmon going upriver were turned to the sides, and on going up into the angles, turned back into the traps. Another type of weir consisted of two V-shaped fences, one inside the other, with the apices upstream. The apex of the lower V was open to allow salmon to pass through. The arms of the weirs converged to the mouths of two traps (fig. 1, *c*).

A similar type of trap was a conical one (nī'ʟic). This was made in the same fashion as the preceding, of long rods bound to flexible boughs which were bent into hoops. The mouth of the trap was quite wide, and there was a trap door at the tapered end through which fish were removed. The trap was set with the mouth upstream and the lower end raised out of the water. A V-shaped weir converged to the mouth (fig. 1, *e*). Men frightened salmon down from upstream; watchers stationed at the trap clubbed and removed them.

A rectangular trap (mō'ya) with an inverted V-shaped entryway was used sometimes. This type resembled the tidewater trap in form, but was smaller, and had a bottom so that it could be lifted intact out of the river. It was set with the mouth downstream. A V-shaped weir converged at its mouth. Another type of weir used with this trap extended across the river at right angles to the current. At intervals short V weirs were placed, with rectangular traps at their apices (fig. 1, *d*).

Traps of the "pothanger" type (nipī'a) were placed at falls. Horizontal poles were placed across below the falls on which sections of latticework were laid slanting up toward the falls, a short distance away from the water. A second range of latticework was set vertically, its lower edge meeting that of the first row (fig. 1, *f*). Salmon that fell back in attempting to leap the falls landed in the trap and could not get out.

When visiting their traps, men carried their salmon clubs, billets of hardwood, such as yew, smoothed so that they would not tear the fish, but undecorated. The handle was usually scraped down to leave a bulge at the butt end, so that it would not slip from the wielder's grasp. There were no gaffs, formerly.

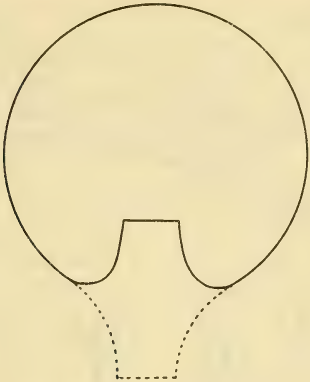


Figure 2.—Globular kelpfish trap (dotted line shows form prior to setting).

A small trap, intended for "kelpfish" used chiefly as bait (but edible if nothing better was available), was woven of cedar withes in the usual wrapped-twining technique, with a bottlelike neck and a globular body (fig. 2). The fisherman soaked his traps until he could push the neck inward, put in a few stones to partly overcome the buoyancy of the device, and some cracked mussels for bait. Each trap had a fathom or so of light line attached to it, with a codfish "stomach" (swim bladder?) for a buoy.

For shiners and similar small fish low stone weirs were built on shallows that dried at ebb tide. The fish remained trapped behind the rows of stones. Large tidewater traps of stones, like those used by the Kwakiutl for salmon, were not built.

Salmon harpoons.—A number of types of harpoons were used, depending on local conditions. The fundamental type, of which most of the rest were variants, was a well-seasoned fir pole 8 to 10 feet long with two diverging hardwood foreshafts, one a trifle longer than the other (fig. 3, *f*). On the ends of these were seated the heads, tripartite points of bone. A slender biconic tip was fitted between two barbs diverging to the rear; the whole was wrapped with the end of a cord of nettle fiber, and covered with pitch. This, of course, was the basic type of Northwest Coast salmon harpoon head, used from the British Columbia coast to northwest California. (Occasionally, nowadays, an old seal harpoon head, with a barbed iron point, is used for salmon.) The ends of the lanyards were joined into a loop which encircled the shaft. Often a grommet of cedar withe or cherry bark was worked around the shaft below the loop to keep the lanyards

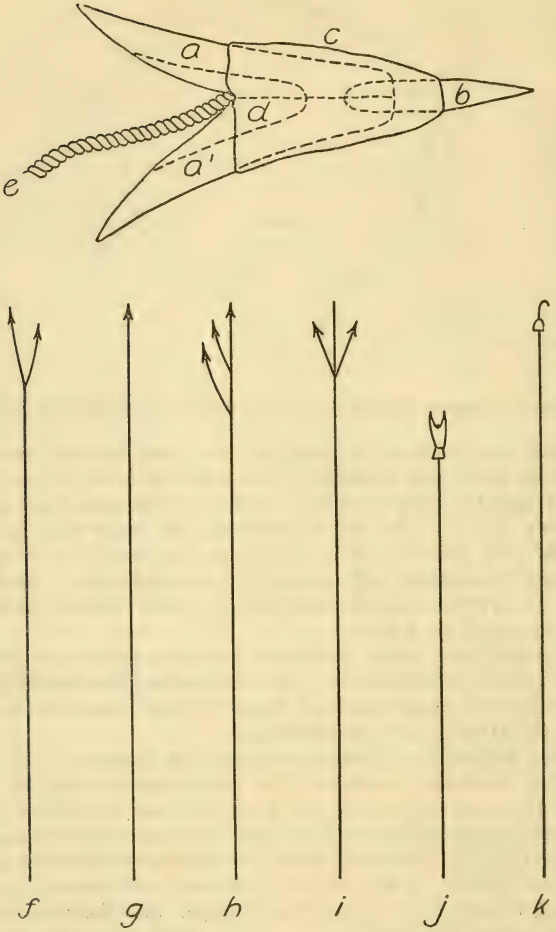


FIGURE 3.—Salmon harpoon head and types of shafts. *a*, *a'*, Bone barbs; *b*, bone point; *c*, wrapped and gummed binding; *d*, (dotted area) socket for foreshaft; *e*, lanyard; *f*, two-foreshaft type; *g*, single foreshaft type; *h*, triple foreshaft type; *i*, lateral foreshaft type; *j*, detachable leister; *k*, modern detachable gaff.

properly taut when the heads were seated. This harpoon was meant to be thrust, not thrown.

Variations occurred chiefly in the number of points used. For "spearing" in small streams, a harpoon with a single foreshaft and point was often used (fig. 3, *g*). The people of Gold River (a'aminqâs), which was noted for its rapids, used pointed harpoons (fig. 3, *h*). People who fished similar streams may have used these also. The longest foreshaft continued the line of the shaft; the other two were curved and successively shorter. The lanyards were joined into a single line to the shaft (fig. 3, *e*). This type of harpoon was held low and used with an almost horizontal thrust. Where there were deep pools in a river, another type of harpoon with a long shaft was used. Two foreshafts were set far enough back so the end of the shaft extended past the tips of the heads seated on them (fig. 3, *i*). By this means the user could strike straight downward with less danger of damaging his harpoon heads on rocks in the river bottom. A light throwing harpoon, with double foreshafts, trident butt, and long lanyard from the butt end which divided at its distal end to the two heads, was used where there was a wide expanse of water and few rocks, or sometimes on salt water when salmon were "showing." This was a copy, of course, of the sealing harpoon; possibly old sealing harpoons were actually used. Another type of implement was a combination of a leister and harpoon. Two strong but springy foreshafts were lashed together at an acute angle, hollowed at their bases to form a socket. At their extremities long bone barbs were fixed, pointing back and inward. A short line ran from the detachable socketed base to a shaft (fig. 3, *j*). This was used for spearing through log jams and the like. The wielder gently slid the prongs over the sides of a salmon lying partly hidden under a log, then set the points by a sharp jerk upward. Two informants, tsica'âth and hōpâtcisâth, at the head of Alberni Canal, described ordinary leisters with fixed prongs instead. Nowadays many men use a gaff, a heavy steel cod hook mounted on a pole (fig. 3, *k*). Often the hook is fitted to a wooden socket which detaches from the shaft, to which it is connected by a lanyard, to prevent the fish from tearing free in his struggles.

Hooks and lines.—Stems of the giant kelp provided most of the lines. As I understood, in many places the plants grow quite tall in water only a few fathoms deep, and can be cut by a sharp blade between two crossed sticks on the end of a long weighted pole. Usable stems were also obtained from among the plants washed up on the beach after storms. However obtained, the small solid parts of the stems were taken and subjected to alternate soaking in fresh water and stretching and drying until they were of a pale color, small diameter, and very strong—at least, as long as well soaked. The lengths were joined into a long line by the same method of tying pairs of simple overhand knots as shown by Niblack for the Haida (Niblack, 1888, fig. 143). For leaders, lengths of tough nettle-fiber cordage were used. Swan and Niblack figure some Makah hooks with "whalebone" (presumably baleen) snells, a feature of which I did not hear (Swan, 1865, fig. 21; Niblack, 1888, fig. 147). My informants may have been describing a less well-made form of hook, in which the nettle-fiber leader was fastened directly to the shank.

The same type of hook was used for fishing cod, and for trolling for spring salmon, according to the season, and, in recent times, for catching dogfish. This hook was sharp-angled, with a single point. The base of the hook was made of spruce root, with a flat face and slightly curved back. Its lower end formed a slanted table, grooved to receive the point, which was a barbed splinter of hardwood or bone (fig. 4). The binding material was nettle-fiber string. A leader of the same cordage attached the hook to the kelp stem line. In cod fishing, small fish—kelpfish, "shiners," or pieces of perch—were used as bait. An oval stone was tied to the end of the line for a sinker. It was secured by a lashing of two cedar withes, crossed and tied at their centers, drawn tightly and tied over the top. A float of an inflated codfish "stomach" (or air bladder?), or one carved of a piece of cedar, was tied to the line at the proper depth. For spring salmon, no sinker was used, and a very complicated method of baiting was customary.

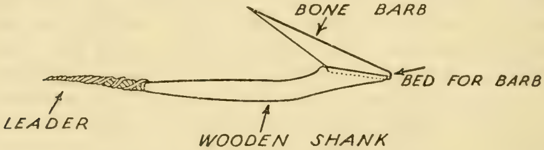


Figure 4.—Cod and spring-salmon hook. Wrapped binding of joint of shank and barb omitted to show bed.

For the halibut fishery, the well-known "U-shaped" hooks were used. These were sections of tough spruce root, steamed in kelp bulbs and bent into a graceful U-shape, narrowest a third of the way back from the arms. The bending was done by hand, not in molds like those of the Kwakiutl. A sharp bone barb was lashed to project backward and upward in the narrow part. At the midpoint of the other arm a leader of nettle-fiber string was tied. The leader was made fast to the end of a line of kelp. To keep the hook from fouling on the line when lowered, the end of the kelp line was lashed to, and then wound in a loose spiral around a stick about 3 feet long.

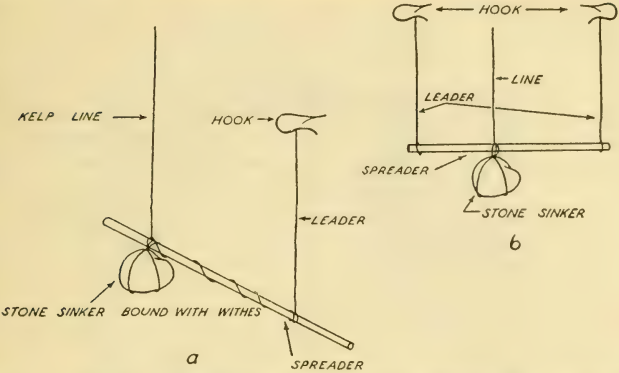


FIGURE 5.—Halibut rigs, position of parts while heaving out. *a*, Nootkan type (early); *b*, recent type. Hooks shown without bait.

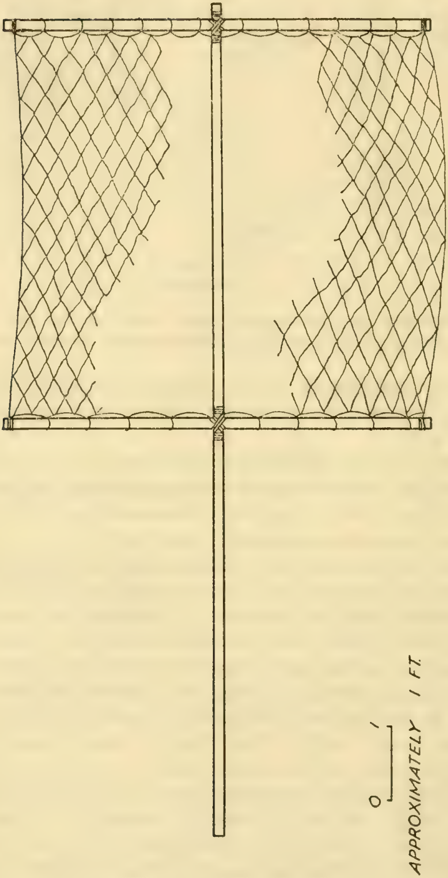
The sinker, a stone bound in four withes, was tied to the upper end of the stick, so that its weight held the stick out more or less at right angles (fig. 5, *a*).

The halibut rig used by northern tribes consists of a cross bar with the sinker at the center and a hook suspended from either end (fig. 5, *b*). (Cf. Niblack, 1885, fig. 160.) It was introduced in the latter part of the nineteenth century and is still in use.

The usual halibut club that accompanied this gear was a heavy ball-ended affair, compact yet heavy enough to give a fatal blow to the large halibut found on the banks. This club was never decorated.

Herring rakes, dipnets, and other minor devices.—The herring rake is an implement that has been described innumerable times, especially by early voyagers, perhaps because its apparent simplicity belies its efficiency. It consisted of a strip of yew wood, 10 to 12 feet long, 2 or 3 inches wide, and ½ inch thick. Sharp points were set about an inch apart along the distal third of one edge. Anciently the points were of bone; in informants' times they were nails with the heads filed sharp. When the herring "showed" at the surface, men went out in pairs, one acting as steersman. The man with the rake knelt in the prow, wielding the implement like a paddle, but edgewise. He followed through on each stroke, bringing the rake behind him over the canoe and giving it a quick shake to detach the fish impaled on the points. Informants state that a canoeload could be secured very rapidly.

A dipnet was also used for catching herring (fig. 6). There were certain conditions under which the net was more efficient than the


0
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APPROXIMATELY 1 FT.

Figure 6.—Frame for waterfowl and herring nets (mesh of herring dipnet is, of course, much finer than that of duck net).

rake. I admit I never quite understood why the fishermen changed from one device to the other, and back again, but they had their reasons for so doing. This net and a small scooplike one for cod were the only fishing nets. The herring net was a rectangular section of fine mesh webbing. Several Central Nootkan informants described it as a shallow conical bag; probably there were two different types in use. It was made fast to two poles each about a fathom long, lashed by their centers a fathom apart on a long slim handle.

The other type of net was a small conical bag attached to an elliptical or oval hoop, about 2 feet in maximum length and from 16 to 20 inches wide (fig. 7). There was a cross stick near one end that the fisherman grasped with his hand, palm up, so that the near end of the hoop was braced against the back of his wrist. With this rather crude piece of apparatus he scooped up small cod that he lured to the surface with a spinner. This net, and the conical Central Nootkan herring net, was started on a ring of spruce root, about an inch and a half in diameter, with the ends crossed at right angles to leave smaller apertures. This ring was suspended from a cord, so the net could be tied into it. No gage or shuttle was used.

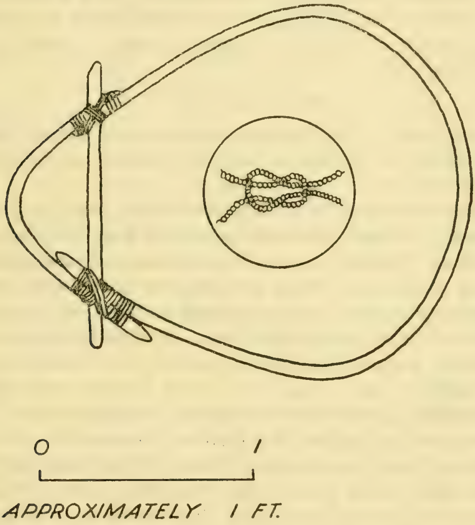

Figure 7.—Frame for hand dip net for codfish, used with lure. Inset: Netting knot (simple square knot, awkward to tie in a net), used for cod dip net and other forms of netting.

The spinner lure was an ingenious device, consisting of a long ovoid of wood (6 inches long by 1 to 2 inches in diameter) fitted with two wooden vanes to which a slight torque was given. This was put down on the end of a pole 5 or 6 fathoms long (the vanes formed a light socket) and detached by a quick jerk. The lure revolved as it rose to the surface, attracting the attention of fish. If a cod followed it to the surface, he was scooped up in the hand net. I was told that Barkley Sound people used a simple spear instead of a net to land the fish. A shiny stone tied to a line might be lowered and pulled in as a lure, also.

Several informants stated that a kelpfish tied on the end of a line without a hook was sufficient and often used. If a cod were allowed to take it, he would not disgorge, but could be pulled in to be clubbed or speared, usually with an old salmon harpoon, or with a simple sharpened pole.

HUNTING DEVICES

Sealing harpoons.—An important possession of the sea hunter was his sealing harpoon. It served him for hair seal, sea lions, porpoise, and in late times for fur seal hunting.

This weapon consisted of three parts—heads, shaft, and line. The harpoon head, for more years than modern folk-memory encompasses, has been made of metal, in the form of a sharp double-barbed blade with a long stem about which two bone or horn barbs were fitted, their bases combining to form a conical socket. In some specimens the metal blade is riveted to the barbs. The barbs of the blade were at right angles to those forming the socket. Informants surmise the premetal harpoon heads may have been pointed with shell, being essentially small editions of the whaling harpoon heads. A pitch-covered wrapping of nettle-fiber cord or sinew which came off in a lanyard, bound the parts together (when rivets were not used) (fig. 8, *a*). The shaft was a piece of fir, with two scarfed yew foreshafts, and an inserted trident butt piece that served as a finger rest for throwing (fig. 8, *b*). The length of the shaft seems to have varied. I have the impression that the older type was one about 2 fathoms long, and that with the development of pelagic sealing, a shorter shaft, about a fathom long, came into vogue. The foreshafts, unequal in length, diverged slightly. The joints were lashed with nettle cord and secured with cherry bark. The line was 8 or 10 fathoms of twisted cedar withes, with a Y-shaped lanyard of nettle cord, the ends of which were bent onto the lanyards of the harpoon heads. To attach the line to the shaft, it was brought behind a spurlike catch bound just behind the base of the foreshafts. It is not altogether certain that this catch was an aboriginal device; light guide threads

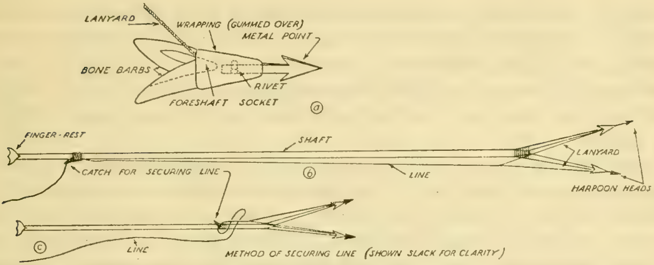

FIGURE 8.—Sealing harpoon: *a*, Sealing harpoon head; *b*, older type shaft; *c*, recent type, note method of securing line (shown slack for clarity).

of cedar bark may have been used. A definitely historical improvement of fur-sealing times consisted in setting the catch near the butt of the shaft, doubling the standing part of the line back over the shaft and tucking a loop between the shaft and the taut part forward of the catch (fig. 8, *c*). The line was neatly coiled in the bow, and its end was tied to the forward thwart. Another type of harpoon was described by a Kyuquot informant, in which the lanyards from the heads were secured to a detachable foreshaft, itself joined to the shaft by a lanyard, with the retrieving line proper made fast to the proximal end of the shaft. This seems to be a Northern type, probably of late introduction. (Cf. Niblack, 1888, fig. 137.) A heavy wooden club about the size and shape of a baseball bat completed the seal hunter's armament. These were not decorated. They often had wrist loops to prevent loss.

The sealing harpoon was used in recent times to kill large sharks for oil. Some informants believed the same weapon was used to finish off and recover wounded sea otter. Others reported as an ancient type a dartlike implement with a slender bone point with a row of barbs down one (or two?) sides. This point was detachable, being secured to the shaft by a short lanyard.

A Muchalat informant described an ancient type of harpoon used chiefly for beaver that sounded from his account as though it were a single foreshaft form with a one-piece toggle head of bone.[5] He was vague as to details, since it was an implement he had never seen but only heard referred to by "old timers," so the occurrence of the toggle head must be considered doubtful.

Whaling gear.—Nootkan whaling equipment varied little over the whole region. Waterman (1920) has given a good account of that used by the Makah, so it will be necessary only to give a brief sketch of it, describing in detail a few points at which the present data are at variance with his description, or supplement it. I obtained accounts of whaling from several informants; the best was that of Chief ȧʟīyū of Ahousat, who is said to be the last man on the coast to have killed a whale.

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[5] That is, the pull of the line rocked the inserted harpoonhead over more or less crosswise, as in the case of Eskimo toggle heads. The typical three-piece Northwest Coast harpoon (and the one-piece barbed head) did not turn—the pull was nearly straight back against the spreading barbs.

The shaft of the whaling harpoon (hīnanohsum) was about 3 fathoms long of yew wood. It was made of two or sometimes three pieces spliced together; the third piece was a short section at the distal end. To make the shaft a 4-fathom section of yew 8 to 10 inches in diameter was cut and left to season. For the main part of the shaft, the best 2-fathom length was cut from the piece, and hewed down to about 4 inches. The joints for the additional sections were not simple diagonal scarfs, but were cut into interlocking curves (fig. 9). The sections were trimmed to the proper shape, rubbed down with dogfish skin, and colored with an infusion of alder bark and warmed urine. To join them, two men twisted the shaft while a third held the wrapping material (whale sinew) taut. Sometimes nettle-fiber string was used instead of sinew. The sinew was covered with a layer of partly shredded yellow cedar bark, dipped in hot water to make it pliable. When the bark wrapping had dried, it was covered with cherry bark. The shaft was not straightened "like an arrow shaft," as Waterman states, so far as informants knew; when not in use it was hung up, supported by a series of loops intended to distribute the strain so that it would not warp. The harpoon head (tɛkâmł) was of the composite type, with two fitted elk-horn barbs and a mussel-shell point, just as Waterman figures it. The right barb was slightly longer, and called "man" (tcakūp); the left was called "woman" (ʟūtsma'). Both were decorated, usually with punctate designs of magical virtue. The barbs were bound together with the elements of the four-strand lanyard of whale or sea lion sinew, and covered with yellow cedar bark and an outer layer of cherry bark. The mussel-shell point was held in place only by the covering of spruce gum, for it often shattered after penetrating and had to be replaced before the head could be used again. The lanyard was made thick close to the head so that by its stiffness it assisted in hold-

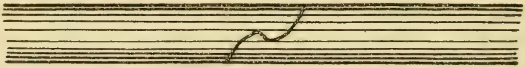

Figure 9.—Type of scarf joint used for shaft of whaling harpoon (wrappings and servings omitted).

ing the head firmly on the shaft. The lanyard itself was 4 fathoms long, very neatly served with nettle-fiber string, only rarely with cherry bark. Sometimes the eye of the lanyard only was served with bark. The sinew strands were twisted clockwise one at a time with a stick, pulled taut and twisted together counterclockwise, pounded to flatten unevennesses, and stretched between two posts with a suspended weight which drew the line taut. An eye about 2 spans long was made in the end, into which the line (aʟyakanuł) was bent. The line consisted of two sections, the first (ts'aiyatcictum) a 40-fathom length of 3-strand cedar-withe rope, about 1½ inches thick. To this was tied the second section (ʟaskanuł), 60 fathoms of cedar-withe line, about half as thick as the first one. The lanyard and lines were not joined by tying, but spliced and served with nettle-fiber string. The buoys (tūqwɔkȧmł) were attached to the line. These were made of hair seal skin. To remove the skin, a cut was made encircling the face, around the lower jaw and above the eyes. The shape of the completed float depended on the angle of this cut, for the farther toward the back of the head it slanted, the shorter the "back" of the float would be. A similar cut was made around the body in front of the rear flippers, and two more around the "arms." The float-maker loosened the hide by shoving his hands in between it and the flesh; he would not use a knife for fear of cutting the skin. When he had worked it back as far as he could reach from the head end, he loosened the hide at the rear end, pulling it forward, inside out. By dint of some exertion the skin could be stretched sufficiently to come off in this manner. The inner surface of the hide was scraped vigorously with a pecten shell, sprinkled with warmed urine, and turned right side out. After a few days, the inside was worked again. The hair was not removed. The apertures were closed by skewering them with a yew-wood pin when the hide was hair side out, then turning it inside out so that the ends of the pins were inside and could serve as bases for the wrappings of kelp stems. The last opening, that of the right flipper, was not skewered, but left to be closed with a hollow spool for inflating. The float was inflated and left to dry. The kelp lashings shrank in drying, compressing the hide about the pins and spool. After the curing, tightly twisted nettle-fiber string was put on in place of the kelp. A float-rope (sūtcȧtȧkʟim) was tied across from the "head" to the "tail" end, enough being allowed over from the head to allow for attachment to the line, and 4 fathoms left trailing out behind. The rope was tied so that a forearm's length of slack was left between it and the inflated buoy. When the float was drawn under water it deflated so that it lengthened until the rope was taut. The purpose of the rope was to take some of the strain off the float itself. The finishing touch in float making was to paint the owner's designs on with a mixture of salmon roe and ocher. Areas decorated were around the "head" and "tail," on the breast, and around the flippers. The informant ȧʟīyū painted four flicker feathers in a circle at each of these points on his floats. Four floats were attached to the line. The first, called ȧmułta, was tied into the end of the sinew lanyard; the second, hupwɔniłum, halfway (20 fathoms) back on the cedar-withe line; the third, qaqeuhta, at the end of the withe line; and the fourth, hūpȧkʟim, at the end of the cedar-bark line. (A Clayoquot informant gave the following names: (1), ȧpwułte; (2), hupwɔniłȧm; (3), hupwɔnum; (4), qaqehte.) The floats were made fast to the line before setting out, not after the strike, as Waterman states. The first, third, and fourth, at eyes in the line, were bent into the eye and wrapped; the second was made fast to the line by two turns (really a half hitch and a turn) and wrapping (fig. 10). Floats were tied up as closely as possible to prevent their spinning, for this might break them loose. Additional equipment consisted of a second shaft and extra harpoon heads, a spare line, a considerable number of spare floats, and a large basket (ła'ac) in which the line was kept. This basket was of heavy strips of cedar bark, reinforced with twisted strands every few inches for strength. It was very large, perhaps 4 feet across the mouth. Sometimes it was attached to the end of the line after the struck whale's first rush, so that it served as a drogue, or sea anchor. It seems unlikely that this was an aboriginal technique. Several informants believed these drogues had always been used to help retard the whale's progress, but others were quite sure their use was a modern innovation. Drogues somehow seem more appropriate to the European seafaring pattern with its manipulating of sails and other top hamper with lines, than to Indian canoe navigation. The small individual harpoon sheaths were called by the same name, ła'ac. These were entirely of woven-in checkerwork, and never folded strips of bark

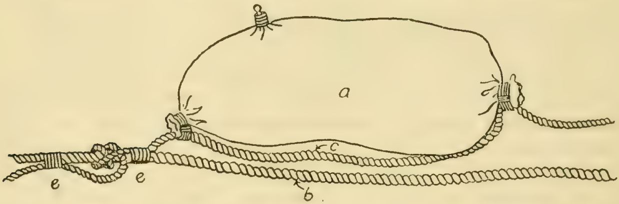

Figure 10.—Method of bending float to standing portion of whaling harpoon line. *a*, Sealskin float; *b*, harpoon line; *c*, float preventer; *d*, hitch (a round turn and a half-hitch, shown slightly slack); *e*, servings to line.

with only the ends split and woven together like those the Makah made. A pair of lances with long barbless elkhorn points, one tapered to a sharp point for killing, the other with a wide flat chisellike blade (a "spade," in modern whaler's terms) that was used for hamstringing, were very important parts of the whaler's outfit. Small wooden ditty boxes, with sides tapered toward the base so that they stowed snugly in the reduced floor space at bow and stern of the canoe, usually contained a number of spare harpoon heads, protected by the small sheaths. These heads were made up with short lanyards, and were used to make fast additional floats for buoying up the dead whale. A number of spare floats were always carried, deflated to save space. A covered wooden "water bucket" was an essential, for several days might pass on a successful hunt, before a whale was found, killed, and towed in from well offshore. By the latter part of the last century (our ethnographic horizon), small boat compasses were in the kits of every whaler and sea hunter who could obtain one, and men who could not "read" in the ordinary sense could steer a true enough compass course to rendezvous far from land even though the peaks usually used as landmarks were obscured by fog and clouds. It should be added too that ever since the time of Jewitt's "Maquinna," Nootkan whalers have used iron and steel harpoon heads, made up in European whaleman's fashion, whenever they could get them. The Nootkan practical sense triumphed in this case over the theoretical esteem for bone-and-musselshell harpoon heads originally bestowed with supernatural blessing.

Bows and arrows.—The same bow was used for sea otter hunting, for land game, and for war. It was made from one-quarter of a small pole of yew, about 4 feet in length. The greatest width of the limbs, about one and a half inches, was on either side of the grip; the limbs tapered gradually to a width of half to three-quarters of an inch at the tips. The belly was flat. Some bows had a longitudinal groove, about one-eighth of an inch deep by three-sixteenths wide down the belly. The back was rounded at the point of greatest width, giving into a ridge as the width decreased, so that the tips were triangular in cross section. The thickness increased in proportion to decrease in width. The grip was constricted, heavy, and round. It was usually wrapped with cedar bark. "Medicine" might be enclosed in the wrapping. The tips of the bow were notched to hold the string of sinew or gut. The bow was never backed. Arrow shafts were carved of cedar. Old, well-seasoned wood, from broken canoes or old house planks, was preferred. The shafts were short and heavy, about 24 inches long and nearly half an inch in diameter. The effect of an expanded butt was obtained by shaving the shaft from a quarter to a half of an inch from the end. This was done for a better grip. The nock was wide and shallow. Feathers of duck, gull, or eagle were bound on with sinew. Three split halves of feathers were put on radially, or two whole feathers tangentially. The fore end of the shaft tapered slightly. Points of several types were used. In historic times, points for sea otter were of metal, often copper. These were made with a sharp triangular barbed blade on a long stem. Two or three inches from the head, a second pair of small barbs were set reversed. These were to prevent the point from being pulled on through. Behind the second barbs, the stem tapered to an elongated tang inserted in the shaft and secured by a sinew wrapping. To insert the tang the tip of the shaft, wrapped tightly with cherry bark to prevent splitting, was soaked in hot water until soft. Then the tang was forced in. Anciently, the long cylindrical bone points, unilaterally or bilaterally barbed, were used for sea otter. For land game, and for war, thin wide points of bone and shell were loosely mounted to the arrow shafts. The theory was that they detached from the shaft to "work" about in the body of a wounded animal as he ran, thus causing more internal injury than would solidly attached points. The bow was held horizontally in the left hand, palm up, with thumb and little finger on the inside. The arrow was drawn to the chest with a primary release (thumb and second or third joint of index finger). No wristguard was used. One informant said a man would measure the strung bow. If the string touched his wrist, he shortened it till it cleared. Two types of quivers were in use. Both were of wood. One was rectangular, consisting of two wide, shallow, telescoping boxes, which the hunter opened and laid in the canoe before him. The other quiver was a cylinder of two pieces, hollowed and joined. One end was closed by a plug which was removed to take out arrows. Both quivers were designed for hunting from canoes. They were too heavy and, particularly the rectangular type, too awkward of access, to be carried when on foot. Men who hunted with bow and arrow on land carried a few arrows in one hand or stuck them in their belts.

Elk spears.—The inland groups of Muchalat Arm who hunted deer and elk on snowshoes used a simple pike for this hunting. This, from the descriptions, was a rather heavy length of well-seasoned yew wood, about a fathom long, sharpened at one end to a point. The point was smoothed and polished for penetration, and hardened by oiling and scorching lightly.

Deadfalls.—The deer trap was a deadfall built across a trail (fig. 11). Two posts were set parallel with the trail supporting a cross piece at a height of 5 or 6 feet. A long pole which was to serve as the weight was placed across the trail and raised at one end under the cross bar, where it was suspended by a loop from the end of a light

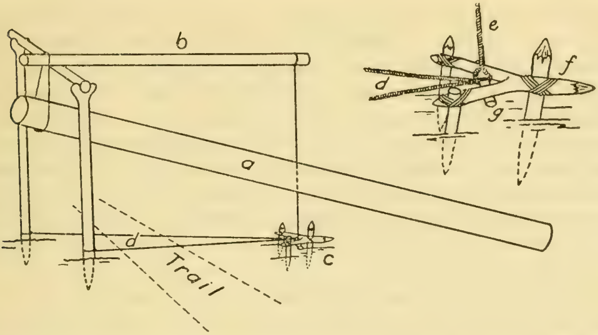

Figure 11.—Diagram of deer deadfall (bed log, weight logs omitted). *a*, Fall log; *b*, cross bar; *c*, trigger; *d*, kick lines. Inset: Detail of trigger. *e*, Line to cross bar (under tension); *f*, forked branch, securely staked down; *g*, seat pin, which retains *e*, line to cross bar, and to which *d*, kick lines, are secured. The seat pin must, of course, be long enough to engage both arms of the forked branch, and short enough to pass readily between the stakes at the outer end.

rod laid over the cross bar whose other end was connected by a cord to the release. This mechanism consisted of three parts: a Y-shaped fork which was securely lashed to a pair of stakes at a height of about a foot; a wooden peg on the end of the cord from the weight-supporting rod, inserted under the horizontal arms of the Y; and a pin tied to a cord which crossed the trail. The pin was stuck lightly in the ground behind the horizontal peg. When the trip cord was struck the pin jerked the peg from under the arms of the Y; the end of the weight rod flew upward, permitting the weight to drop. To complete the set all that was necessary was to pile poles and rocks on the lower end of the weight bar to increase the force of its fall and to screen the whole apparatus with brush. A refinement consisted in putting a small log parallel with and directly under the weight, so that the quarry was pinned between the two timbers.

A heavy version of the same trap was used for black bear with the difference that bait was tied to the trip line, and the deadfall placed at the side of the trail instead of across it. The weight and its supporting rod formed an angle (instead of being parallel), so that the quarry passed part way under the former to reach the bait. Fur bearers (mink, marten, beaver, marmot, raccoons, etc.), were caught in small copies of the bear deadfall.

Duck traps.—A rectangular frame of lattice (the Central tribes used a circular frame) was submerged by means of anchor stones tied to the corners, and under it bunches of salmon eggs were thrown.

Along the under side of the margins was a row of nooses of fine string, held open by splints of baleen or feather quills (some informants held that the loops themselves were made of baleen or quill, so that the water would not dislodge them). In trying to reach the eggs, ducks swam around the edge of the lattice, putting their heads through the nooses. Another kind of diving duck trap consisted of a pole, or a rope with floats, anchored to submerge it a foot or two, to which many baited sharp bone gorges were tied with short strings. Diving waterfowl that took the bait were choked and drowned. This type of trap was superior to the first, in that the tides did not render it useless for a part of each day.

One Muchalat informant described a simple loop snare for eagles. It seems to have been a local specialty, for informants from other groups did not know of it.

Miscellaneous hunting devices.—According to the native point of view, the snowshoes and moccasins of the Muchalat elk hunter should be included with hunting devices, for they were used only for this type of hunting, not for general travel in winter. The snowshoes were oval frames of vine maple about 16 inches long by 10 wide. The wood was steamed, bent, and neatly scarfed at the joint. The filler consisted of flat strips of elk hide at right angles, two or three longitudinal strips and two lateral pairs, crossing under the ball and heel of the foot. On the outside of the shoe a splint projecting backward was bound. Informants were not sure as to the purpose of the splint. The tie string was laced back and forth over the foot from the toe back over the instep, around behind the heel, and tied around the ankle. Moccasins, believed to be of a rather crude one-piece pattern, sinew-sewed around the outside of the foot and up the back, were worn with the snowshoes.

The duck net (ʟϵ'yanum) for use with the firelight night hunting, was a rectangle of fair-sized mesh of nettle fiber on the same type of frame as that of the herring dipnet (fig. 6, p. 24): a pole about 2 fathoms long, with two fathom-long cross sticks lashed at their centers, one near one end of the pole, the other 5 or 6 feet back. The frame was made as heavy as it could be and still be thrown a short distance, for its weight was what prevented the ducks from escaping. The netting was secured at the ends to the crosspieces. It was made as a straight section of webbing, like a piece of modern seine or gill net. A series of loops of the proper size were tied close together in a length of cord, and slipped over a pole for suspension. Successive courses of mesh were tied into them, working back and forth along the pole. The fingers served as a mesh gage, and the ball of twine was passed back and forth with no shuttle or "net needle."

GATHERING DEVICES

Herring-spawn "fence."—To collect the prized herring spawn, floating frames were made, from which boughs were hung, and placed in coves where the fish spawned. Long poles and boughs of spruce and fir, as large as a man could handle, were cut with all the twigs and needles left on. The boughs were stacked butt downward beginning at the forward end, as close together as possible, leaning forward against the prow piece in order that the load might not be top heavy and capsize. A space for the paddler was left at the stern, which became for the time the prow (the canoeman could not see over or around his load). A coil of kelp-stem line completed the equipment; anchor stones were picked up close to the spawning place. At the grounds the long float poles were set in parallel rows, about 10 feet apart, each pole anchored at either end. Allowance for rise and fall of the tide was made in the length of the anchor lines. The rows were connected in pairs by cross poles. The spaces between the pairs were left open so that canoes could pass. Then the boughs were attached. To the butt end of each branch a stone was tied heavy enough to hold it submerged in a vertical position. The other end was bound to the float pole so that the tip was a foot or two under water. Branches were arranged thus close together all along the lines of the floats. The men worked as rapidly as possible, aiding each other until all the fences were finished. The structure for collecting the roe was called xwiʟak.

Digging sticks.—Women used these implements for a variety of purposes: root digging, clamming, loosening cedar bark. There seems to have been little difference between the sticks used for these diverse purposes although they had different names. The generic name for a sharp-pointed wooden implement is qōqyȧk; a root-digging stick is tīqyȧk, a clam-digging stick is tcityȧk; a stick for prying cedar bark loose is sahayȧk. Most digging sticks were pointed on both ends; none had knobbed or cross-stick handles. Yew was the usual material.

Sea urchin pole.—A "spear" for sea urchins consisted of a pole 8 to 10 feet long and about 2 inches in diameter with two slim wooden prongs, bluntly pointed and 5 or 6 inches in length, lashed one on either side of the tip of the pole. Three-pronged poles were used by Central Nootkans.

Varia.—The multipronged bird spears attributed to the Nootkans on the basis of the Vancouver collections were denied by all informants. Possibly the specimens in question were collected in the Gulf of Georgia, rather than at Nootka Sound.[6] Other specifically reported absences were throwing boards, long duck nets, seines, spring-pole snares, and pitfalls.

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[6] Cf. Barnett, 1939, p. 232, for the prevalence of this implement among the Salish.

THE ECONOMIC CYCLE AND METHODS

Of all the food resources of the Nootkan tribes, dog salmon was easily the most important. Not only could this fish be taken in great quantities in every sizable stream and river, but the time of the runs—early fall—was most suitable for laying in winter stores. Earlier fish would have been more difficult to preserve for winter. It is said, also, that the flesh, less fat than that of coho, which run at about the same time, is easier to cure. Sockeye were highly prized for their flavor, but run in but few rivers, since they must have a freshwater lake to spawn in. The spring salmon run is too small to be of much importance, just as is the humpback run. Herring ranked next after dog salmon as a staple. Halibut were more important in some districts than in others. The Kyuquot tribes were famous for their halibut fishery. The ubiquitous cod could be taken in time of shortage and when no other fresh fish were available; they were seldom fished for at other times. Clams were less important to the Nootkans than to other Northwest Coast groups. Nuchatlitz, however, was noted for the products of its clam beds. Other mollusks were sought chiefly to lend variety to the diet.

Sea mammals may be placed after dog salmon and herring in the scale of values, for their prestige value compensated for the fact that there was no actual dependence on them. Whales of several species, hair seal, sea lions, and porpoise were sought after avidly. The rest of the mammalian fauna contributed relatively little to the larder. Bear, deer, and elk occasionally were trapped or shot. A few small groups, such as those on Gold River up Muchalat Arm, who seldom came "outside," (i. e., to the lower parts of the inlets and to the outer beaches), relied rather heavily on deer and elk, but they were atypical in this regard. Other land game has become important in historic times owing to the fur trade. Waterfowl were procurable in quantity only at certain seasons. Vegetal products of a number of kinds were used, but there was none that could properly be reckoned a staple.

Most of the natural resources were seasonal, either being obtained, like salmon, herring, or waterfowl, during annual migrations of a species, or else procurable during periods when the sea was relatively calm, as were sea mammals and halibut. The seasonal nature of the food quest is reflected very clearly in the descriptive moon counts.

While the food resources were rich, now and then periods of scarcity occurred. Ethnographers have stressed nature's prodigality to the peoples of the Northwest Coast to the point that one is surprised by the thought they should ever have suffered want. But occasionally a poor dog salmon or herring run, followed by an unusually stormy winter or spring, as the case might be, that prevented people from going out to fish for cod and halibut, quickly brought privation. Those were the times when people walked the beaches looking for codfish heads, spurned by seals and sea lions, and storm-killed herring and pilchard. They collected and ate the tiny mussels of the inner coves and bays, and similar small mollusks disdained in normal times. The spring of the year was perhaps more often a lean season than winter. Father Brabant reports two successive springs at Hesquiat when the pickings were lean and children cried with hunger, until the weather abated enough for the fishermen to go out.[7] Family traditions of local groups who say they anciently lived the year around "outside," that is, on the outer beaches and islands, speak of hunger and even starvation that led them to make alliances with or make war on groups who had territories along the inner channels and owned salmon streams. Yet in general the periods of scarcity seem not to have been very frequent, and were periods of unpleasantly short rations but seldom real starvation. The specter of hunger was not constantly menacing, as it was to groups in the interior of the mainland. Most of the time food was available, and frequently it was so abundant that with the most extravagant feasting they could not use it all up.

The beginning of the Nootkan year, the first quarter of the moon appearing in late October or early November, or as they called it, the "Elder (-sibling) Moon," found the people established in their winter villages. This was not a season of food getting, but one of festivities. The torrential winter rains and storms had set in in earnest, and with the fall catch of salmon laid by, people found it far more pleasant to pass the time indoors. Yet the food quest did not cease entirely during this time. For this month and the following two, men went cod fishing when the weather was not too bad, and set traps for kelpfish and perch. Women took advantage of low ebb tides to gather clams, and could fill baskets with winter huckleberries. Some men hunted land game.

Kelpfish and perch were caught mainly for bait for codfish. The fishermen took a canoe load of the globular woven traps (fig. 2, p. 19), soaked and ready for use, put in the bait and ballast, attached the floats, and let them drift across a kelp bed with the current. The floats made them easy to find and recover on the far side. Other men who had set up the rectangular, tidewater perch traps (p. 16) visited them at low tide to remove the catch, and renew the bait as necessary.

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[7] Moser, 1926, pp. 74–76, 80–81 (1877, 1878). Jewitt, in his Journal (1931), constantly complains of starving, especially during the whaling season, when most of Maquinna's men were out on that chief's rather unsuccessful hunts. Most of Jewitt's privations, however, seem to have stemmed from his slave status, for when he had a dagger or ornament to trade he usually could get some food for it.

Cod were caught in a number of ways, the commonest method being angling, using the straight shanked hook (fig. 4, p. 22). The bait was lashed firmly over the hook and a small stone, bound in two crossed spruce root withes, was bent to the kelp-stem line just above the point at which line and leader were joined. Codfish grounds as such were not privately owned, but most men were secretive about their method of locating the better places. A man usually went out alone, or sometimes with his wife; parties of men did not go out together. The cod fisherman did not anchor, but drifted along over the kelp bed or bar he was fishing.

"Red snappers," found only in deeps, were caught in the same way, although of course with a longer line. Sometimes halibut gear was used for them. Men who liked to use the lures (p. 26) with scoop nets or spears went out occasionally for black cod.

Cod taken at this time of the year were for immediate use. It was only in summer that cod were dried.

Winter trapping was for deer and fur bearers such as mink, marten, and land otter. The importance of furs is to be attributed in great part to European trade, though, of course, there was some demand for them in prehistoric times A trapper made but few sets, for obviously it was much more laborious to make the deadfalls than it is to move steel trap sets, and visited them at intervals, probably not as regularly as a modern trapper.

The few interior groups, particularly the Gold River villages of the Muchalats, as has been remarked, depended far more on land game than did other Nootkans. They hunted elk and deer extensively in the winter, shooting them from blinds and pursuing them on snowshoes as well as trapping them. After a heavy snowfall the elk hunter set out on his clumsy snowshoes, with his yew-wood pike. A younger kinsman often accompanied him as assistant. When they came on a band of deer or elk they tried to come close without frightening the animals into running, following or half herding them along until they came to an area of deep drifts. The hunter cast off his robe to run unencumbered, naked except for moccasins and snowshoes, after his lumbering quarry. It is said that the elk are quite clumsy and tire rapidly in deep snow. If a man's snowshoes kept him from breaking through he could overtake them. The hunter tried to keep a little to one side, on the unbroken snow, until he could come up to drive his pike into the heart region low behind the shoulder. If the drift were extensive he might kill two or even more. Then he sat down to rest, waiting for his assistant to bring his robe.

The gathering of most marine invertebrates was considered to be women's work, though frequently a man would assist his wife at the task. The winter season was not, of course, the only time for gathering these products. Some varieties were to be found near the outer beaches, in fact, and were collected in spring and summer rather than in the winter months.[8] From time to time during the winter, women—singly, with their husbands, or in small parties—went in search of mollusks and other marine forms. The equipment used consisted of double-pointed digging sticks of yew wood, burden baskets, and small "hand baskets."

Horse clams (amīq), cockles (hōpisɛ), a medium-sized clam (γa'ɛsī), butter clams (hai'tcin), razor clams (qa'its), a large and a small pecten (ʟehawɔtc, and tsaxhåmkin), large and small mussels (ʟūtcim, and qōtsuma), limpets (ha'ictup, and hō:nuqw), small abalones (åpts'in), china slippers (tsa'inwå), periwinkles (ʟåtckwin), sea anemones (qinłumits), large barnacles (ʟa'nuł), sea cucumbers (tainuh), crabs (hasåmts), and spider crabs (kaxkayuc), were among the varieties of invertebrates that women obtained. There were a few minor local differences; some of these forms, such as razor clams, were found in but few places; the Kyuquots did not eat spider crabs, etc. Sea snails, "rock borers," and the large barnacles that grow on whales were not eaten.

Late huckleberries were the chief vegetal product obtainable at this season. They often remain on the bushes well into December. Women went out in parties to gather them.

A whale might drift ashore at almost any season, of course, but it is said that such a fortunate event occurred most frequently in winter. Informants suggested that (in addition to the efficacy of the whale rituals), violent winter storms might account for this trend toward periodicity. Whenever a stranded whale was found, the finders made all haste to the village to inform the chief who owned the beach on which it had lodged, or the one who held the principal whale rights there. The owner or owners called on the people to make ready. If deemed advisable a party of men was sent ahead with lines to moor the carcass, lest an extreme tide drag it back off the beach. The people moved out, equipped to camp till all the blubber was stripped. The principal owner had his special piece, the "saddle" (a strip of blubber across the back on both sides of the "fin")," then other chiefs had their cuts made. Men worked in pairs, one slashing at the blubber with a big knife, the other hauling on a line rove through an eye cut in the fat. For as far back as modern folk memory goes steel knives have been used for the cutting up. Informants speculate that anciently perhaps flensing knives were made of the large solitary mussels (mamaʟa) that grow to 12 or 14 inches long. The workers swarmed over the carcass like ants. Now and then one was badly cut when a companion's knife slipped. Some men got into violent verbal squabbles over the size of their respective chief's cuts. For the most part, however, it was a joyous time, what with the anticipation of feasts of blubber and oil. When the blubber had been stripped, and certain choice morsels of meat—the tongue, areas along the lower jaw, the flippers, and the flukes—had been taken by those who owned rights to them, the meat was left for anyone who might want it. As a rule, of course, it stank noisomely—even too much for the sturdy Nootkan stomach. The blubber, though it soon acquired a high aroma, lasted better. It rarely if ever became too rotten to be used.

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[8] Some informants said mussels were poisonous in summer. The appearance of some large migratory bird in late spring indicated that it was time to stop eating them.

Thus passed the first three moons of the year. The economic activities described, it must be emphasized, were sporadic, aimed at lending a bit of variety to the diet of dried salmon. The order of the day was festivity and diversion, with feasts, potlatches, and Shamans' Dances (ʟōqwɔnȧ) taking up more of the people's time than food getting. In January, during the third moon, food stores began to run low, and people began to watch for the first signs of the herring runs, and, at the same time, for slackening of the typical January heavy weather. Toward the end of the moon, or early in the following one, herring began to appear.[9]

As the herring season neared, the chiefs gave the word to move from the sheltered inner villages to spring sites on the lower reaches of the inlets. Men began to go out daily for herring with rakes and nets, and feasts were again frequent. Also quantities of herring were dried.

With the appearance of the herring, and as long as these fish were to be found, spring salmon (sōxa) were obtainable. This is not the time of the run of these salmon, but they appear in large numbers to feed on the schools of herring. The salmon were trolled for with sharp-angled hooks (the same as those used for cod fishing) baited with whole herring.

Setting the bait was a rather complicated procedure which had to be done just right. The fisherman took a herring by the head, seized its tail in his teeth, and pulled, to "soften" it. Then he shoved a pin made of a heavy quill with a loop eyelet at the proximal end longitudinally through the herring, beginning on one side near the tail and out of the mouth. The nettle leader of the hook was bent onto the eyelet and pulled through. The most difficult part was pulling the shank of the hook through so that only the point was exposed without tearing the bait too badly. The final touch consisted in threading a bit of string through the nose and lower jaw of the herring to tie the mouth shut. If this were not done, the herring would not move properly when drawn through the water, and the salmon would be frightened away instead of attracted. The leader was bent onto a kelp line of finest size. No sinkers were used, the baited hook being heavy enough of itself. For trolling, the hook is not deeply submerged.

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[9] The modern commercial herring fishery begins much earlier, when schools of herring appear offshore, and in the lower sounds. The Indian herring run was said to commence when the fish reached the upper ends of the inlets and the coves where they were to spawn. Because the pilchard, whose migration route passes offshore, do not go far up the inlets, nor to regular spawning grounds in Nootkan territory, they were unknown to and unused by the people prior to modern commercial fishing, although they were available in vast numbers.

The fisherman took the line in his right hand, and paddled about, thus moving the hook through the water with a jerky motion. When a salmon struck, it was pulled in close, then clubbed. Landing a big spring salmon was no easy feat. Although the point of the hook was long and penetrated deeply, it was straight, so the fish would slip off unless properly handled. If one escaped, the hook usually had to be rebaited.

A spring-salmon fisherman came home when he had caught enough for his family, unless his chief was planning a feast. Spring salmon were not dried, and it was tabu to keep them overnight uncooked.

In March or early April, when the herring fishermen observed that the fish were getting ready to spawn (when the roe loosened), the people prepared materials for the brush "fences" for obtaining the eggs. The chief owning the spawning ground usually stationed watchers to report when the spawning began. These men made all speed home, and on approaching the village signaled by shouting and waving their paddles. A bustle of activity ensued. It was essential to set the fences immediately, for the heavy spawning was of short duration. Men loaded poles and boughs in canoes and set out to build the "fences" (see p. 35). The heavy spawning was usually of 4 or 5 days' duration, and was indicated by the milky color of the water (from the milt). Cessation was marked by clearing of the water. While waiting, drying racks were erected along the slope in front of the village. Heavy poles about 15 feet long were set 20 to 30 feet apart, at an angle of 50° to 60°, the upper ends supported by shears. Four or five rods were bound horizontally between each pair of slanting poles.

After a good spawning season the branches would be covered an inch or more deep with eggs. Men went out to the grounds, usually in pairs. They worked along the fences with the canoe stern foremost. The man in the stern (the temporary bow) leaned over and cut the line with which the top of each branch was tied to the float. Then he pulled the branch up, pushing the tip out away from him in the water until he could grasp the butt end, and cut off the anchor.

He then laid the end across the gunwale, holding it so his partner could cut it into sections with an adz. Cuts were always made on the proximal side of secondary branches, so that the latter formed hooks. The sections were of a length for convenient handling. When the laden canoes returned home, the men carried the branches from the beach, passing them up to their womenfolk, who climbed on the racks to hook the sections over the horizontal rods. Two or three days of wind and sun sufficed to dry the eggs. Should a rain come up before the drying had been completed, the branches were pushed close together and covered with mats.

Sometimes the fences were set too early and the herring spawned only for a day or so. This was the "false spawning" of the moon count. The eggs could not be preserved if left on the branches until the heavy spawning, and were too few to bother with by themselves. The men had to cut the branches loose and let them drift away.

Herring spawn also on seaweeds and grasses. Where these could be obtained, they were cut with a knife tied to the end of a pole, tied in bunches, and dried.

Since the fish do not spawn simultaneously everywhere, but first in one cove, then the next, then another, the herring-egg season lasted for some time, and fences were built in a number of places. Each man did not own a special area in each cove for his fence. The entire coves belonged to certain chiefs. Common men were given permission to use the spawning grounds, and were expected in return to give the owner a part of their catch as tribute.

About the end of the herring season a kind of seaweed (hȧcqets) was gathered in the coves. A long pole with two cross sticks lashed across the end was put down at slack or rising tides, twisted around among the seaweed until some of the plants were caught between the cross sticks and pulled up, roots and all. The roots were broken off, washed, and eaten raw. The tops were not used; nor was the kind of seaweed that the tribes to the north dried in cakes used by the Nootkans.

It was about the end of the herring season that migratory waterfowl began to come in on their way north. The great flights that follow the coast line in their migrations rest at Vancouver Island. When the weather is stormy they come in to the heads of inlets and deep sheltered coves. At such times the natives went out with casting nets (p. 34).

Two men went in a canoe, one to manage the net and the other to paddle. A board covered with sand was laid across the gunwales behind the steersman and a fire was kindled on it. The steersman had a section of cedar-bark mat with a rod bound to one end to hold it flat. He held the rod in his teeth so that the mat hung before him, shading the bow of the canoe. As the canoe approached a flock of waterfowl, the birds were disturbed by the light, and sought the patch of shadow cast by the mat in front of the canoe. They would do this only on black stormy nights, when there was not a glimmer of moonlight or starlight to reveal the canoe. While this method of hunting is often equated by natives to the common (though illegal) modern "pit-lamping" (in which game is momentarily blinded by a bright light), the principle is not the same. The aim was to disturb the birds with the dim glow of the fire without alarming them into taking flight, so that they swam to the apparent shelter of the shadow under the bow.

On nearing the quarry, the steersman paddled very slowly and quietly. Often he laid his paddle, which was tied to the thwart by a long cord, in the water, drifting in the last few yards so that he could use his hands to manipulate the mat. When the birds had gathered in a small space before the canoe, the man in the bow cast his net over them. It was but a moment's work to wring the necks protruding through the net. With proper weather conditions and skillful management of the mat, a canoe could be filled with ducks, geese, and even swans, in a short time.

In some places, such as Hesquiat Harbor and Clayoquot Sound, where numbers of ducks winter, this mode of hunting was not limited to the migration season, but could be practiced any stormy night.

When the weather was not stormy enough to drive waterfowl far up the inlets, they were hunted in another fashion. A blind was made of a canoe by putting fir branches around it so as to screen its occupants. The hunters circled well out, then drifted in toward a flock stern foremost, using their paddles only enough to hold their course. The ducks would usually be swimming about just outside the line of breakers. When within range, the hunters opened fire with bows and arrows or, latterly, with shotguns.

During the same moon, some people moved to the villages on the outer beaches for halibut fishing and sea-mammal hunting. It must be understood that the entire population did not engage in these seasonal pursuits at one time except for the fall-salmon fishing and at most places the herring fishing. Men of a local group whose chief owned an inlet suitable for duck netting engaged in this pursuit; the retainers of an owner of halibut and sea-mammal hunting grounds repaired to these places as early as weather permitted.

The first step in halibut fishing was obtaining the bait. The fisherman searched along rocky stretches of the shore which were exposed at low tide, looking for cracks and caves in which devilfish might be hiding. He had two long sharpened poles, one with a backward-projecting barb. He poked about under the rocks until he felt a devilfish, then stabbed it with the barbed pole. Then he inserted the other pole, stabbing at the creature, whose movements were indicated by the first rod. Sometimes it was possible to kill the devilfish in its den and drag it out; more often it was worried until it emerged of itself, when it was killed by biting it on the head. The animal could not be pulled out while it lived. When he had killed it, the fisherman tied the devilfish on a withe and carried or dragged it home. There he skinned the tentacles and hung it outside the house on the wall. The meat would keep for several days this way. When he was ready to go fishing, he took his tackle box and gear and an anchor, and set out for the halibut banks. The location of the various banks was well known, but many men had favorite spots, which they found by their own set of landmarks, getting simultaneous ranges on certain pairs of peaks. On reaching his destination, the fisherman threw out his anchor, a 20- to 30-pound stone with a line of kelp for a "cable." When the anchor struck bottom, he slacked off 8 to 10 fathoms, to keep from dragging. The "cable" was tied to a forward thwart and, according to some informants, passed over the prow piece between the earlike projections, keeping the prow into the swells and preventing shipping water. Then the fisherman baited his hooks.

To bait the hook, a piece of devilfish tentacle was split lengthwise and carefully tied over the back of the shank of the hook from the leader to the end of the barbed arm. Some men preferred to put it over the hook from the inside, covering the tip to the barb with a separate piece. The gear was made up as described (p. 23).

The fisherman lowered his hook until he felt the sinker touch bottom, then hauled in a couple of fathoms of line to keep clear of projections on the bottom. When the hook finally settled, it was about a fathom from the bed of the sea. At the proper point the line was wrapped around a short springy pole 3 or 4 feet long which was laid over the gunwale and secured to a thwart by a loop of cedar withe. Another line might be rigged and suspended from the same kind of primitive trolling pole over the other side of the canoe. Now the fisherman could lean back comfortably, watching his poles. Halibut do not begin to bite right away; without the poles one would have the wearisome task of holding the lines by hand. A bite was indicated by violent jerks of the pole. The fisherman pulled in his catch. There was little danger of losing it unless the tackle broke. As the halibut shoved its nose in between the arms of the hook to take the bait, the springy material allowed the arms to spread slightly until the barb set, when it would not come out. Young men tell me there is quite a knack to taking out one of these "old time" hooks when the fish is safely aboard; few of them are able to do it. With a ball-ended club the fisherman stunned his catch and hauled it into the canoe. Large halibut—and large ones are not infrequent on Nootkan banks—were loaded by tipping the canoe until the gunwale was just above water and the fish could be rolled on it, then the canoe was tipped back, "and he slides right in."

In the 1850's or thereabouts the dogfish-oil industry grew up. From then until about the end of the century many men devoted a large part of their time in late spring and summer to fishing for dogfish, using the sharp-angled cod hooks, or harpooning big "mud sharks" (sand sharks?). For the big sharks the sealing harpoon, with one or two sealskin floats (of the type used for whaling) on the line, were used. There seems to have been no fear of sharks (except for the huge supernatural ones) nor any feeling that hunting them was either dangerous or difficult. The creatures, of course, were not wary and did not require such cautious stalking as seal, sea otter, or sea lion.

Hair seal could be hunted almost any time of the year, but the favorite season was in the late spring when the tribes assembled at the outside villages. A seal hunter set out before daybreak with his steersman. He laid his harpoon, points forward, in the notch in the prow piece, the butt resting on the bottom of the canoe to the right.

Paddling with utmost caution, the hunter and his steersman went to a place where they hoped to find hair seal. With good fortune they spied one of the animals before he heard or saw them. They waited motionless until the seal dived, then paddled quietly but rapidly toward the place he had been. The hair seal, so it is said, when feeding undisturbed, comes up very near the place at which he dived. The hunter stood, his harpoon poised. As the seal appeared, he threw. A seal within 30 feet was as good as in the pot, and up to 40 feet was fairly certain. Forty feet was about the limit of accurate hand casting.[10] After the strike, the hunter played his quarry, pulling him in little by little. A harpooned seal put up a lively struggle, informants say. Finally bringing the struggling creature alongside, the hunter gave it the coup de grâce with his club, and rolled it aboard. Then he had to recover the harpoon shaft.

Hunters often went directly to rocks on which hair seal were accustomed to sleep, either pursuing and harpooning the seals from the canoe as they tried to escape, or climbing on the rocks to harpoon them on foot. There were a few places, such as the rocks around Esteban Point, in Hesquiat territory, where large areas around the rocks were exposed at low tide. Seal hunters went there afoot armed with clubs (usually equipped with wrist loops to prevent loss), ran down and clubbed any seals that chanced to be marooned by the low water.

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[10] Above this distance, the effect of the weight and stiffness of the line on velocity and trajectory became too great to be overcome.

Sea lions were far less esteemed than hair seal. They were hunted less, except at certain places, such as off Kyuquot Sound, and in Clayoquot territory, where these creatures congregated. The weapon used in their capture was the same as that used for seal. A sealskin float was sometimes tied to the line instead of tying hard and fast to a thwart. Some men held the line in their hands.

Porpoise were taken with the hair seal harpoon. They were not sought extensively, but now and then men went out at night in canoes with sand or fine gravel which they threw by handfuls over the water to simulate the noise made by schools of small fish. This was said to attract porpoise within spearing distance. The line was not tied, but let free with a codfish stomach float as a marker, for it is reported that the skin of the porpoise is so tender a harpoon is liable to draw in the creature's initial struggles. After the wound and its efforts to escape had weakened it, the porpoise could be pulled in.

Fur seal were not hunted aboriginally. It was only with the beginning of the sealing-schooner trade in the latter half of the century that the species became well known to the Nootkans, though no doubt an occasional straggler from the migration route was taken on rare occasions. Men who signed on the sealing schooners hunted in the same fashion as for hair seal, a harpooner and a steersman in each canoe. The same harpoon was usually used. Some men, however, came to prefer shotguns. If one led the seal properly, he could hit the head, doing but little damage to the hide.

Sea otter were sought in prehistoric as well as historic times, but the increasing trade of modern times heightened the value of their pelts and resulted in the development of more intensive hunting techniques. The weapons for taking sea otter were the bow and arrow and a spear or harpoon.

Anciently a hunter, with his steersman, went before daybreak to kelp beds where an otter might be found asleep. Approaching soundlessly within range, he shot the animal. A wounded sea otter was easy to pursue, for it would not swim far under water. It would come up trying to pull the arrow out with its teeth. The hunter would loose another arrow, or, if close enough, harpooned the otter.

Another way of hunting was to go out at night along the reefs. When the hunter heard a sea otter pup crying, he went to it and caught it. Young sea otter pups are quite tame, it is said, and will not go far from the place the dam leaves them. Then the hunter tied a rope to the pup and made it swim about. Its frightened whimpers attracted the dam within harpooning distance. Then the pup was killed, too.

With the historic demand for sea otter hides, and the correlated decrease in numbers of the animals, the hunt became highly systematized. All the hunters set out together. The head huntsman was either the chief who owned the water where the hunt was to be, or a noted sea otter hunter to whom the chief delegated the place. Usually the chief himself directed proceedings. When the weather signs were auspicious, the head huntsman announced that preparations were to be made to go out next day. The sea otter canoes were set on logs so their hulls could be scorched and rubbed to a glassy smoothness. Paddles, bailers, sails, and masts were stowed under the vessels, to be at hand in the morning. If the next morning was clear and calm, the hunt director (the chief or his delegate) told the men to launch their craft. Each hunter stowed his bow and quiver, harpoon, club, and tackle box (which contained extra harpoon heads, a spare bowstring or two, and the like). All turned to and aided each other in carrying the canoes down to the water. One would not drag a sea otter canoe down the beach; the carefully polished hull would be scuffed. As the canoes were launched, the hunters waited just outside the breakers. When all were in the water they formed a line from the edge of the breakers seaward, 100 yards or more apart. They followed the shore line in this formation. Moachat informants tell of hunts 50 to 60 years ago in which more than 20 canoes took part; the line extended from the whitecaps to well over a mile to sea. When someone sighted an otter, he waved his paddle overhead. The signal was transmitted to the ends of the line. The men on the ends swung inward in a great arc, those next to them turning through successively shorter arcs, until the whole flotilla was drawn up in a great circle about the place where the otter was seen. The hunters sat tense, arrows to string. When the otter came up, those nearest shot at it. To score a hit on the bobbing target as one's canoe rolled on the swells required both skill and good luck. By all accounts, the arrows flew in volleys before someone scored a hit. The sea otter went to the first who drove an arrow into it, no matter how shallowly. This was said to be the reason for the reversed barbs on the metal points; it was more important that the arrow stick fast than that it drive deep. Even if the first arrow merely pierced a fold of skin, if it did not draw before the otter was finally killed the catch belonged to the owner of the arrow. Disputes over whose shot had scored sometimes arose, but were easily settled, for everyone could identify his own arrows, even though there were no special ownership marks. The steersman of the lucky marksman stood up and shouted at his partner's success. He announced that the second man to score a hit would be paid, for example, 10 pairs of blankets by the owner of the hide; successive hits, 5 pairs of blankets each:

and 5 pairs to the one who harpooned the creature. Only rarely was an otter killed outright the first or second shot.

Sometimes a sea otter dove under the ring of canoes. When he was seen, the circle broke and was re-formed about the area in which he had appeared. We may be sure that few sea otter escaped these hunters. In early historic times the species was plentiful along the west coast, as the quantities of hides purchased annually attest. By the middle of the last century a season that netted a dozen pelts among all the hunters of a tribe was reckoned a good one, and today there are said to be no more than half a dozen of the animals on the whole stretch of coast.

As the hunt returned to the village the steersmen shouted, announcing who had been successful. The catch was skinned (cased in later days) and the hide hung up on the outside of the house. Heavy stones were tied to the bottom to stretch it. The pelage was so dense that a hide 6 or 7 spans long could be stretched a span without injury. The value of a sea otter skin was reckoned by white traders on the basis of its length. The tail was often cut off to be sold separately. The flesh was cooked. Often all the steersmen were given a feast with it.

The steersmen, it may be added, were usually older men. Usually they were kinsmen of their respective hunters; a father or uncle often served his son or nephew in this capacity. If not a close relative, a steersman was paid perhaps 10 pairs of blankets by a successful hunter.

This historical development of the mass hunt is interesting, especially since a similar technique is reported as a post-Contact development among the Aleut (Heizer, 1943 a). The efficiency of this type of hunt derived chiefly from its thorough coverage, sweeping a wide area to find a rare quarry, and, of course, a better coverage of the areas through which the otter might try to escape. For the individual hunter it did not necessarily mean more game. Men could participate in hunts time after time without even getting blankets for an assisting shot.

The whaling seasons began as a rule in the "Wild Goose Moon." A kind of whale called ma'àk (the California gray whale?), described as of medium size, with "pink" blubber and oil, appeared in the spring of the year about the time the new growth of nettle was coming up. The animals were thought to be running, just like salmon. A larger species, the "humpback" (ɛhtūp) might be seen along the coasts at almost any time of the year, but was hunted in early summer when the sea was calm. The same men hunted both kinds.[11]

In addition to these two varieties, the following were distinguished by my informants: qotsxī, "like a ma'ák, but bigger, with something growing on the back of its head." This kind was not common; it was attacked when sighted. Sperm whale (tcītcitcwun); not hunted. A small whale (tsi'tsiłni), "resembling the humpback" was not taken because the oil and fat caused diarrhea. The sulphur-bottom (yayatcum) was "too big to handle," so it was not hunted. The killer whale (qaqawun) was considered very difficult to capture; young whalers tackled them as a test of skill, but ordinarily they were not hunted. The meat and fat of those taken was eaten, for it was considered good, resembling porpoise. None of the informants had ever heard of one of these animals attacking a canoe, as they are reputed to do by nonwhaling tribes of northern British Columbia and Alaska.

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[11] Waterman's data on Makah names for whales reverses those presented here. All my interpreters, however, agreed on the English names of the various species mentioned by informants in Nootkan.

The Moachat, Ahousat, and Clayoquot seem to have shared the honors as the foremost whalers along the coast, although other groups engaged in the industry also. The chiefs of the mōhatákliáth of Hesquiat Harbor attained some renown in the pursuit, and the extinct Otsosat were said to be great whalers. Although one hears less about whaling north of Nootka Sound, it was practiced at Ehetisat and Nuchatlitz. Only one of the Kyuquot local groups, the ciʟapáth, went whaling. Of course the remoter Muchalat tribes had little opportunity to hunt whales, but, according to traditions, it was formerly practiced by the chiefs of one group at mátcli. Traditional history of whaling, incidentally, is extremely interesting. In brief, it is conceded by most of the tribes that the art of whaling originated at the old village of tsaxsis, on the outside of Nootka Island, and at tatcū, outside of Esperanza Inlet, where it was an indispensable part of the food quest. There are no important salmon streams in either vicinity, so the former inhabitants are said to have depended on whaling for a livelihood as the other groups dwelling on the inlets depended on salmon fishing. The art diffused to the other tribes gradually, principally through intermarriages with the tsaxsis and tatcū chiefs, and came to be a symbol of chieftains' greatness rather than a basic subsistence source.

That the prestige value of whaling outweighed its economic importance is clear from modern accounts, and substantiated by Jewitt's interesting journal. It was only the great whalers of ancient traditional times who killed 10 whales a season. Recent whalers, though they hunted diligently and had improved equipment, got but few in their entire careers.

The informant áʟiyū was one of the last of the Ahousat whalers. In his generation, he averred, there were eight Ahousat men who went whaling; only he and one other, a classificatory cousin of his, called Ahousat Amos, were successful. áʟiyū killed three whales in his career; he lost several that escaped after he had struck them, owing to defects in the gear or, in his opinion, to laxness of certain of his crews in observing the ritual preparation. Amos got one, and the others killed none at all. In the preceding generation there had been three whalers: the informant's father's elder brother, who killed 13 whales over a period of 12 years (the informant's father assisted this man, captaining the second crew); Amos' father, who killed 3; and another man, who also killed 3. Before these men began whaling, the art had been neglected for several generations by the Ahousat. The procedure, both practical and ritual, had been kept alive in the families of the chiefs, being passed down by word of mouth, áʟiyū averred.

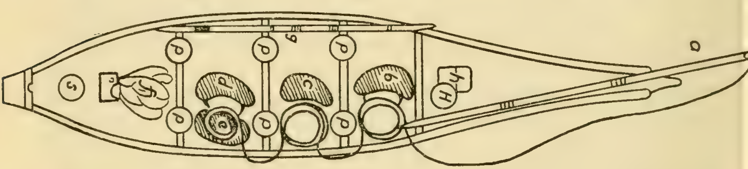

Figure 12.—Crew stations and stowage of gear for whale hunt. *H*, harpooner; *P*, paddlers; *S*, steersman. *a*, Rigged harpoon; *b*, first float and small coil of line; *c*, second float and large coil of line (laid on top of line basket (la'ac)); *d*, third float and large coil, on top of *e*; *e*, fourth float (on mats on top of food and gear boxes); *f*, spare floats, deflated, water buckets; *g*, spare harpoon shaft, lance, spade; *h*, whaler's tackle boxes, etc.

Jewitt gives a good deal of information on "Maquinna's" hunting, mainly because it affected his lot considerably: after a long period of bad luck the chief would be "very cross" and his white slaves' lot was harder than usual. During the one partial and two complete whaling seasons that Jewitt reports on (1803, 1804, and 1805), the chief devoted himself energetically to the hunt, but the box score is not impressive. It reads: Days hunted, 53; struck and lost, 8; killed, 1. Four more whales were killed by Moachat chiefs during the same time, presumably after the investment of a similar amount of time and effort (Jewitt, 1931). Clearly the economic reward in proportion to the expenditure of time and energy was slight.

The clearest account of the mode of stowing gear in the whaling canoe was that given by áʟiyū. According to him, the eight members of the crew and the equipment were arranged in the following manner (see fig. 12). The harpooner (ō'ōtah) stood in the bow, his harpoon lying to his right, point forward over the prow. The head was set firmly and the lanyard was caught to the shaft by means of a yellow cedar-bark string (maʟhsum). The first float lay behind him in the first compartment, close at the feet of the first paddler (tcimitsâqs), whose duty it was to throw it overboard as the harpooner made his strike. The line ran over the thwart on the right of the first paddler, the first section being coiled on a mat on top of the large basket in the compartment behind him. From this coil the line ran over the thwart to the right of the third paddler (tsisiłhsi). His specific task was to thrust his paddle under the line to aid it as it ran out. The second section of the line was coiled behind him on top of mats laid over boxes of food and water. The fifth paddler (ū'ūhs) had to see that this part of the line paid out smoothly. The second paddler (qatsâqs) had to paddle with a deep hard stroke to steady the canoe, the fourth and sixth (both called ʟitcciłsī) backed water to turn the canoe to port as soon as the strike was made. The steersman (ʟītca) made a hard stroke with an outward thrust to turn the canoe. The arrangement of gear depends on the fact that the whale was to starboard when struck, and the canoe sheered off sharply to port so that the line paid over the starboard side.

When everything was in readiness, and the ritual preparation had been completed, the chief (for it was invariably a chief who owned the gear and acted as harpooner) announced the fact to his crew. The gear was stowed and the canoe launched. A whaling canoe was never dragged down the beach, it was carried down to the water. One or more similarly fitted and manned vessels went along to assist in the hunt; often they were captained by younger kinsmen of the head whaler. The latter, however, was always highest in rank, and it was his prerogative to strike first. Usually a party of two or three in a swift sealing canoe accompanied the chief to carry the news to the village when the whale was struck. The expedition set out before sunset to the whaling grounds. There were some differences in procedure depending on the kind of whale sought: ma'ak were usually found closer inshore than the humpbacks; for the former the canoes sometimes stood by not far from the village beach. On arriving at the grounds the gear was checked, and the floats blown up. At dawn the hunt began. The canoes separated in order to cover a wider area. On sighting a whale one of the crew signaled to the other canoes by waving his paddle overhead. All hands set to paddling hard but noiselessly, except the harpooner, who laid his paddle in the water and took his position for striking. The fifth paddler recovered the paddle. The harpooner stood with his right foot on the forward thwart, his left on the gunwale close to the prow piece. He held the harpoon ready, his right hand palm down, his left farther up the shaft, palm upward. The lanyard lay to his right. Poised and tense, he stood waiting for the whale to come up again so that the canoe could dart in close for the strike. If the cetacean was first sighted at some distance, the canoeman made for the place where they expected him to come up. If luck was on their side, the animal came up nearby. Sometimes it took a long time to close up on the quarry. A whale feeding undisturbed comes up to blow, submerges slowly and lazily and emerges to blow again, repeating the process "usually four times," informants say. Then he sounds and is gone for a long while.

When the whale was finally overtaken, the crew sought to bring the harpooner alongside at just the proper moment, coming up along the whale's left side from the rear outside the creature's field of vision. It was necessary to come very close, for the harpoon was thrust, being too heavy to throw. The trick was in laying alongside just as the whale was submerging, his flukes well under water. If the strike was made prematurely, that is, while the whale was still rising, the canoe was likely to be stove in as the creature thrashed about with his "tail." Coolness and good timing were indispensable at this critical moment. The success of the harpooner depended to a great extent on the skill of his crew, particularly that of his steersman. A whale swims by moving his flukes pendulum fashion. The strike had to be made when the flukes were to port (to the canoe) so that they would be thrust away from the canoe. From his post, the harpooner could not see the "tail"; it was the steersman's duty to watch its position and give the signal for the thrust. He gave a sharp exclamation, and, to make doubly sure, the first paddler touched the harpooner on the leg with the tip of his paddle. Aiming at the side, just behind the flipper, the hunter lunged with all his strength. Were he experienced, he would give the line a quick jerk to break the cedar strands and free the shaft, but this was not essential, for the shaft would come loose of itself in a short time, owing to its weight and the whale's struggles. After the strike, the harpooner dropped into the compartment before the forward thwart, crouching there until the danger of being hit by or caught in the line was past. The crew swung the canoe sharply to port to get in the clear and let the line pay out. Owing to its stiffness, it usually ran smoothly, having little tendency to kink or foul. The moments from the strike until the line was out were the most dangerous ones; anything might happen. The least the crew could expect was a wetting as the wounded creature threashed about. Had one of them been careless about his preparatory ritual, the canoe would be capsized or even struck by the whale and smashed, or a man might be caught in a loop in the line and dragged out to his death.

The initial struggles of a wounded whale are said to be most violent. Informants tell of having seen whales jump almost out of the water "like a salmon" trying to shake off the stinging harpoon. After his titanic rushes the animal usually sounded for a long time. The harpooner went back amidships where he sat resting; the first, third, and fourth paddlers blew up more floats and laid the second line; the rest of the crew paddled after the quarry, whose progress was marked by the fourth float, which was never drawn under water. The harpoon shaft was recovered, usually to be sent ashore by an assistant's canoe to notify the people a whale had been struck, although some men used the same shaft for the second harpoon. There may have been various individual usages, depending on the whaler's ritual. The second harpoon line was shorter than the first. The aide in the second canoe came up to plant his harpoons when the whale reappeared. Impeded by the weight of the lines and floats, worn by his desperate struggles, and seriously wounded, the whale began to weaken. The whalers recovered the ends of their lines, to attach the droguelike line basket, or held them to make their prey tow the canoe. As he dived less deeply each time, and stayed on the surface longer, a canoe would run in close to bend on additional floats.

Sometimes a whale ran far out to sea. This was usually taken to mean that the whaler had been careless in his ceremonial preparations. Songs and prayers were resorted to, to make the creature turn back landward. A Hesquiat informant maintained that when the whale was quite weak the supernatural power of songs and prayers might be supplemented by going in front of the animal, shouting and splashing water and even poking it in the head with a lance to turn it. It would not be killed while it was far out at sea unless there seemed to be no chance of turning it. The harpoon wounds were seldom immediately fatal; the killing was done with a lance. When the time came for the kill, the first paddler took the lance with the broad, flat blade to cut the main tendons controling the flukes, so that they dropped down useless. When the whale had been thus hamstrung, the same man drove the other lance in under the flipper. The great animal rolled and spouted blood, then died.

It was necessary to tie the whale's mouth shut as soon as it died to prevent the carcass from filling with water and sinking. One of the crew—the task was not assigned to any particular member—dived and cut one hole through the whale's mandible behind the bone and another through the upper lip, through which a rope was passed binding the two together. Often one or two floats were attached to this loop to help support the head, and other floats were brought up close around the carcass to make it ride high in the water. The main tow line was fastened to the loop through the jaw. The end was brought lengthwise under the canoe, being brought up and tied to the forward thwart on the starboard side, with a short guide or "preventer" over the port side at the stern (see fig. 13). This tow was less likely to capsize the canoe, especially if the whale should sink.

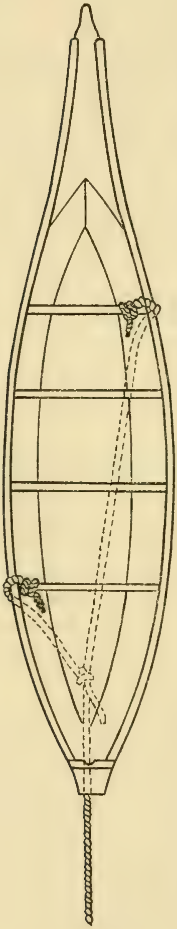

FIGURE 13.—Tow for dead whale, showing towline, passing under hull, and "preventer," to equalize strain.

There were songs and calls which were supposed to make the towing less arduous, but even with their aid the task was a heart-breaking one. One informant described his first experience and reactions: "When I looked back at that whale my heart felt sick. Every time a swell went over it, the whale seemed to go backward; I couldn't see how we would ever get to shore with it." A canoe might be sent ashore to recruit aid. If night came on them far from land, the paddlers slept. Only the steersman stayed awake, keeping the canoes on their course.

A whale could be beached anywhere in the territory of the harpooner's tribe. Actually, however, a whaler usually insisted on bringing his catches to his home villages so that the bones of all he had taken would be assembled in one spot. At high tide the party came in on the beach, so that the ebb would leave the carcass high and dry. They were greeted with songs and shouts of praise from the assembled villagers. An Ahousat custom was for all the children of the village to take a line to help pull the whale in the last few yards. The whaler cut a section of blubber immediately to give a feast "to announce to his tribe that he had killed a whale." Should it be necessary to wait for the flood tide, he might bring this piece ashore before the carcass was beached.

Once safely staked down, the butchering began. The first paddler actively directed proceedings, receiving his instructions from the whaler, who stood to one side holding a bit of shredded cedar bark over his mouth and nose so that he might not even smell the odor of the whale. First the carcass was "measured." Its size was reckoned according to the distance in fathoms from the blowhole to the "dorsal fin" and the division was made accordingly; the whole length was not measured off. The whaler's special piece, the "saddle" (tcakwɔsī) was cut off first. To the accompaniment of the proper songs, it was taken to his house to be hung up ritually. Then portions were given to the whaler's crew, and to his aides and their crews. If men had come out to help at towing, they were given pieces. Finally, as the pieces of blubber were cut and laid out on the beach, through his speaker the successful hunter gave them away to his tribe, giving in the order of rank, just as in a potlatch.

The first whale that ȧʟiyū (ȧʟyȧ'kamił) killed he got one June, after sealing time. His kinsman hōhōmȧkłmił (Ahousat Amos) captained the second canoe, to assist him. The latter was not to harpoon first, for he was a "younger brother" (actually a rather remote cousin); even though he had the better opportunity, he was to wait until ȧʟiyū had struck. They cruised about for some time, then finally saw a whale. ȧʟiyū's crew put him alongside. The animal was swimming, or lolling about on the surface, and rolling back and forth from one side to the other. The harpooner must have had a touch of buck fever; he did not wait for the whale to turn properly, but drove the harpoon in while the creature was still partly on its side. He struck just back of the jaw rather than under the flipper—in other words, he almost missed. The whale flipped belly down and dove; the line and floats went out like a flash. Fortunately, aʟiyū had struck him with a steel harpoon, made up in white man's style, so it did not draw. This was one of the occasions on which the whale is said to have "jumped like a salmon," trying to shake the harpoon loose. For a considerable time the whalers were unable to approach for a second strike. They followed their quarry straight out to sea. At last hōhōmákłmił managed to drive in a second harpoon. The whale ceased thrashing about, but kept swimming seaward. By the time it began to weaken late that afternoon, they could see only the snow-capped peaks of Vancouver Island. They were still unable to turn the whale. During the night it died. In the morning they began to tow it homeward, then decided to send one canoe ahead for help. It was cloudy by then, but hōhōmákłmił came in steering by compass. He recruited assistance, and made up some stores of food and water to take back out. By evening of the fourth day they beached the whale on Bartlett Island.

In or shortly after the 1850's, a thriving business in shark-liver oil grew up. The oil was used in the infant sawmill industry of Puget Sound and the lower Fraser. I am not clear as to why so much should have been required unless the working parts of the engines were kept almost drowned in it, but the fact is that traders traveling up and down the coast in schooners seem to have purchased all that could be produced. Their game was the usual double-barreled one, of course: they bought the oil at a rate that would net them a neat profit and, for the money, sold goods at exhorbitant prices. But that was a minor matter, for they brought the first abundance of trade goods the Nootkans had had since the decline of the maritime fur trade some decades before. Blankets, guns and ammunition, steel knives, molasses, sea biscuit, block matches, and trinkets became available, some again, some for the first time. People of consequence began to devote most of their summers to the new industry for the luxury goods. Optimists still went out after sea otter; realists fished "dog-fish" (small littoral sharks) with cod hooks, and harpooned sluggish "mud sharks" (sand sharks?) with a sealing harpoon with a buoy or two on the line.

In late spring the gathering season began. Salmonberry bush sprouts and other greens were eagerly sought for the variety they gave to the diet. By early summer the berry crops were ripening. Salmonberries were the first to mature. Patches of these berries were "owned" by individual chiefs, that is to say, a chief claimed the right to the first or the first and second picking. The owner sent a party of women from his house to pick for him. Large boxes were put in the canoe into which the berries were emptied from the women's burden baskets. A man usually went along to carry the baskets down to the canoe. With his harvest of berries the chief gave a feast; after this anyone could pick for themselves.

Following salmonberries, thimbleberries, red huckleberries, blackberries, salalberries, and finally winter huckleberries became ripe. Red huckleberries and blackberries were claimed in the same fashion as the salmonberries. There was some regional variation in other varieties of berries, several varieties of cranberries being common to swampy localities, such as the lake behind Hesquiat Reserve, and "crabapples" occurring sporadically along the coast, though plentiful and considered as of importance only at the head of Alberni Canal.

Roots of many kinds were utilized. The most important were clover roots (a'aitsō) and another root called ʟītsyūp that always grew among the first-named; (bracken?) fern root (ci' ʟa) and skunk cabbage root (tīpa). The clover-root patches were owned by the chiefs. In late summer women went to dig them. Each woman carried a burden basket and a root-digging stick. She sat on a cedar-bark mat, the heavy shaft of the digging stick in both hands, gouging and prying the roots up. As she dug them, she shook the dirt off and put them into the basket on her back.

Clover roots and ʟītsyūp were dug in late summer; fern and skunk cabbage roots well along in the fall. So far as informants knew, there was not intentional clearing or weeding of clover patches—"the plants just grew by themselves." The only agriculture was of European introduction. Just when potatoes began to be cultivated by natives I did not discover, but it must have been fairly early in historic times. By the period to which our data relate, the latter half of the nineteenth century, they had very nearly attained the status of a staple. Potatoes do moderately well in the region, and have the virtue of requiring little care. Planted in early summer in the rich soil of an old midden, they receive no attention until fall when they are dug like any other root. The Spaniards sowed gardens at the Friendly Cove garrison, and their plantings seem to have seeded themselves for some time without attracting much attention from the natives. Jewitt found a few plants. That put a stop to the early attempt at introducing European vegetables, for Jewitt and Thompson ate them up. (See Jewitt, 1815.)

Shiners (kaqȧmhaiq) and a kind of perch(?) (ȧmȧnȧt) school up in coves during the latter part of the summer. They were caught by a kind of drive called satca'oph. A group of men formed a line of canoes across a small cove. They held fir boughs, weighted at the tips with stones, over the sides of the canoes, and worked in sideways until the fish were gathered close enough together to be taken with a (herring) scoop net or a herring rake. Another method of catching these fish was to pile a weir of stones across a shallow creek mouth, leaving an entryway. Both species run in the brackish creek mouths with incoming tide. When the tide turned, the entry was closed with branches. The ebb left the fish stranded against the weir.

Sea urchins ("sea eggs") can be obtained at most times of the year, but are most plentiful in summer. Three kinds are distinguished: a large form (tɔ' tsup), a smaller blue-purple colored form (hai' ix), and a small light-brown variety (nōstca). Men still go out to get them now and then. In an hour or two one can fill a canoe, prying the creatures off the rocks with a "spear" especially made for the purpose. The ease with which they were obtained is indicated by the fact that it is said to be the only kind of food that shiftless Raven could get.

Although the main salmon season occurred in the fall, groups owning sockeye, spring, and coho rivers began their fishing earlier. Sockeye run in midsummer in certain rivers; spring salmon shortly afterward. There are several minor runs of coho, although the main run occurs later, in the fall. Traps and harpoons were the only native devices for taking salmon during runs. Chiefs owning such places had their people begin fishing, and, as the season advanced, more and more groups began their fall fishing. By September, when the dog salmon run got well under way, all the local groups were at their fishing stations. Traps were set up, first in the coves by the river mouths, and later in the river. After the heaviest part of the run had passed, harpooning became the most productive method of fishing. Men went out in canoes or afoot, depending on the size of the stream.

To drive a harpoon into a darting salmon, gaging depth below the surface as well as speed, requires some measure of skill. Nootkans, trained from boyhood at spearing, regard the pursuit as quite commonplace. One did not prepare ritually for salmon harpooning; a good catch was a token not of skill or luck but of industry. In small streams, men waded or walked along the edges, spearing as they went. Where there was sufficient water, they went in pairs in canoes. The harpooner stood in the stern (one went upriver stern foremost), often with three or four extra harpoons laid within reach, points rearward. He harpooned a fish, then passed the shaft back to his steersman, who pulled the salmon in and dispatched it with a club. The harpooner held the canoe with the butt end of another harpoon meanwhile. It was easier to hold against the current from the upstream end. Among the tribes of the Northern province, a man harpooning in deep holes tied the end of his cedar-bark robe around his head. Then he threw the end over forward, holding it up with his outstretched left arm so that it made a shade, enabling him to see down into the water. Informants from the Central tribes denied this custom, maintaining a rain hat shaded one's eyes sufficiently.

During the salmon-spawning season, traps were set on shallow places for diving ducks and gulls.

A few miscellaneous hunting methods remain to be described. Anyone lucky enough to come across a deer swimming across a channel clubbed it or pushed its head under water with a paddle until it drowned, and loaded the animal into his canoe with no more ado. A Northern Nootkan (Ehetisat) informant maintained that dogs were sometimes used to drive deer from islands into the water. This was not done by any of the Central tribes. The inland-dwelling Hopachisat were the only group to practice communal driving of deer.[12]

Beaver were trapped with deadfalls. Most informants agreed that these creatures were not sought until rather late days except by the Muchalat and Hupachisat. Sometimes men harpooned beaver with sealing harpoons. The Muchalat are said to have used a harpoon of special type (p. 27).

Eagles were caught in a number of ways for their feathers, and the flesh was not disdained as food in the fall when the birds were fat from eating salmon. In fact, older people say a good fat eagle is quite as tasty as duck. Shooting and snaring (with simple loop snares) were the usual modes of capture. A Hesquiat told of catching eagles in a manner reminiscent of the interior of the mainland: the hunter lay on the beach concealed by branches and seaweed with a piece of salmon before him. When an eagle alighted on the bait, the hunter seized him by the legs.

The foregoing paragraphs have endeavored to follow the economic activities of the people around the calendar. Two facts seem fairly clear: first, that the environment was fairly bountiful, offering a greater wealth of resources than most areas have available for a primitive population; and second, that the Nootkans did a reasonably efficient job of exploitation. Take their system of shifting residence from one place to another. It seems awkward and involved a good deal of wasted effort. Yet the distances between the salmon streams, the herring grounds, and the outer coast where the halibut banks and mollusk beds occur were so great that they could not have been exploited effectively by a completely sedentary group. To have remained permanently at any one station would have limited the group to the single lush harvest there available, plus slim pickings the rest of the year. The development of elaborate political and social structure was possible only when all the seasonal resources were utilized in turn, and that involved the laborious seasonal changes of residence.

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[12] Sproat (1865, p. 144, ff.) describes such a drive in vivid detail.

It is interesting to note the extent to which available resources were not utilized. Mention has been made of the pilchard, which informants maintain was unknown to their ancestors. True enough, these fish pass offshore on their mysterious migration between arctic and tropical waters, and do not persistently enter shallow coves to spawn, like herring. But their sporadic appearances in the sounds last long enough for modern fishermen to seine them by the hundreds of tons. The presence of a school is revealed from far off, just like a school of herring: by myriads of shrieking gulls. They *could* have been fished aboriginally. Presumably the failure to do so resulted from the time these fish pass through Nootkan waters—in late fall, when the stores of salmon had just been put up. Likewise, land game, especially the abundant deer and elk, could have been exploited more. There is no doubt that the dank tangles of Vancouver Island woods are difficult to hunt in, but the Gold River groups hunted extensively; the Hopachisat at the head of Alberni Canal conducted deer drives in spite of the terrain; so it was not impossible. The point is that normal Nootkan economic patterns (allowing those of the groups just mentioned to be exceptional) were so strongly oriented to the foreshore that they inhibited utilization of a valuable food source. In practical terms, the men never learned to be good woodsmen and land hunters. If they had, the occasional periods of shortage in the spring before the herring run might have been alleviated. The weather is foul that time of year, but good hunters could find game, especially since the heavy snow in the mountains must keep the deer and elk down on the lower slopes. The inland groups mentioned had no herring fishery, but pulled through on venison when their stores of salmon were gone.

Inner bark of conifers, eaten in quantity by Coast Salish neighbors and tribes of the plateau, was not used. I do not know whether this material is a source of starch, or provides the roughage supposed to be important to digestive processes, but as the Nootkan diet was deficient in both respects, failure to use the bark must be counted neglect of a resource.

There were several types of food that were not used, either because of patterned dislike or definite tabu. One food usage that strikes us as strange was the pronounced dislike of salt or salty foods in any form, noted by early explorers as well as by modern informants. The cakes of dried seaweed that provided salt in the diets of northern and southern neighbors of the Nootkans were not made; the roots of the small seaweed collected in the spring were washed and eaten as greens. One wonders how the people got the necessary salt; perhaps the various mollusks and sea urchins provided it in spite of the people's efforts to avoid a flavor they considered unpleasant.

Seagull eggs were not eaten until recent times, when it is said they learned the use of them from Haida and Tsimshian. There was a vague avoidance of seagulls by young adults because of an association of these birds with twinning, but elderly people ate the birds, and children staged mock battles with the eggs. Definite tabus applied to the flesh (believed in most cases to be poisonous) of ravens, crows, frogs, snakes, squirrels, dogs, and, ordinarily, wolves (though the last-mentioned might be used in small amounts medicinally). Mink, marten, and land otter were not eaten because of their rank odor. Local variation in the use of various minor resources has been mentioned. The Moachat and other groups of the lower inlets did not eat the head of deer, and made fun of the Muchalats who did. Most of the Central Nootkans ate the spider crabs that their northern kin disdained. The Gold River Muchalat alone of the northern group ate grouse, but this may have been because grouse rarely came down to the outer coasts. Familiarity with the animal's habitat certainly accounts for the Muchalat's eating of beaver and of an animal that sounds, from modern vague descriptions, like marmot. Cougar were not deliberately hunted, but a fat one that wandered into a bear deadfall was eaten. Raccoons were considered good after soaking the flesh over night in fresh water, but were hunted only casually (shot, or occasionally caught in traps).

PREPARATION AND PRESERVATION OF FOOD

Preparation of food was normally woman's work, although for feasts young men often did the cooking, especially when there were huge quantities of food to be served. There were a few dishes whose preparation required a special knack that men never learned, such as boiled dried herring eggs (which had to be washed and cleaned of the fir and hemlock needles on which they were collected) and roast fern root (which had to be pounded to soften but not crush hard fibrous parts). Except for these few, cooking was rather simple. There were four culinary methods: boiling in wooden boxes; broiling over coals; roasting in ashes; and steaming under mats—this last a modification, it would seem, of the widespread earth-oven cooking technique. However, the few techniques and the lack of condiments did not mean that food was consumed merely to stave off hunger, with no concern for niceties of flavor. Foods were not thrown all into the same cooking box, stew fashion; each was cooked and served separately. For feasts, anywhere from 4 to 10 courses, each different, were served. Boas and Hunt have published in text about 150 Southern Kwakiutl recipes, mostly dictated by Mrs. Hunt, and there is no indication that Mrs. Hunt's repertoire was exhausted (Boas, 1921, pp. 305–602). I recorded no comparable list, but as long a Nootkan one could be made.

Just as we are sure we can distinguish beef brisket from T-bone by flavor and consistency as well as form, so the Nootkans were convinced they could tell boiled dried dog salmon throats from boiled dried dog salmon fillets. Perhaps the Indians, who cooked without salt or other harsh condiments, actually could detect minute differences in flavor, or perhaps it was merely local pride that led them to claim they could distinguish between fish and mollusks from different inlets. The tastiest, of course, were always those of one's own tribal waters.

The boiling of foods, done in wooden boxes with hot stones taken from the fire with tongs, was a simple process, whether dried dog salmon heads or partly filleted whole sockeye were the dish being prepared. Old dried fish was often soaked overnight in a box of fresh water to soften it a bit. Racoon meat was soaked similarly to remove its rank odor. Dried cod and smoked clams were often tenderized on a piece of board with a club as a preliminary step. This makeshift equipment was the nearest approach to mortar and pestle known. Most dried fish, dried herring eggs, dried mollusks, and most red meats and fowl were boiled.

Broiling, chiefly of fresh fish, was done in makeshift tongs, or pairs of sticks lashed together with withes at top and bottom (as far from the area exposed to the fire as possible), and stuck into the ground at an angle over coals or a low fire.

Roasting in coals was used but slightly, for a few minor dishes. Fern roots were the only article commonly cooked this way, and then only in quantities too small to be worth steaming.

To steam foods, such as clover or fern roots, clams, and occasionally fish or meat, a great pile of stones was heated, covered with seaweed, a layer of salmonberry leaves, the food to be cooked, then more leaves, and finally old mats. A channel was left through which water could be poured when the moisture of the seaweed was expended. Tales of famous feasts speak of young men having to go up on the roof of the house to pour in water to make steam, so high were the piles of clover roots, or whatever the dish was.

Piping hot food was not liked; it was allowed to cool after being served. Numerous modern ills of the younger generation, ranging from bad teeth to the inability to get spirit-power, are claimed by oldsters to be the result of eating steaming hot food, "white man style."

There was a tremendous emphasis on fats—oils and greases—in the dietary pattern. Probably the fats made up for the virtual lack of starch and sugar forms of carbohydrates. Prior to the introduction of potatoes, flour, and pilot bread in historic times, starch foods were limited to the very occasional meals of clover and fern roots, and the few other roots. It is obviously impossible to judge at this late date, but one receives the impression from informants that if the average person ate a dozen or two meals of roots in the course of a year, it was a lot. Berries provided the only sugar prior to the introduction of molasses, and were highly prized. But the berry season was rather short, except for that of salal berries, and the few baskets of them women picked seem to have adorned rather than materially augmented the diet. Instead of these things, one hears constantly of fats and oils. Fat parts of salmon, fat meats, whale and seal blubber, the oily skins of ducks and geese, even heavy, soggy deer tallow, were all considered choice and delicious (though the last, deer tallow, was admitted to be a pretty low-grade delicacy, and was used extensively only by the upriver Muchalat). Whenever it was available, therefore, whale oil and, in historic times, dogfish oil, were served at meals. One dipped a bit of food into the oil "cup," to sop up a bit of the oil with each mouthful. Soups, the water food was boiled in, were little used, but the fat was skimmed from the surface and mopped or sopped up.

Dog salmon were prepared for drying in several ways. The chief implements used by the women in this task were mussel-shell knives and cutting blocks. The latter were called we'tsatsus. They consisted of blocks of cedar, described as nearly 3 feet long by 2 feet wide, curved convexly on the upper side, and hollowed out on the under side to decrease their weight. Men made them for their wives to use. To cut a salmon, a woman laid it, head to her, across the block at right angles to the curvature. (Spring salmon, incidentally, were slimed and cut on old mats, never on the block.) She wiped off the slime with a bunch of moss, then made a cut around the circumference of the fish just back of the gills and the pectoral fins. Then she turned the fish end for end and made a similar cut around just above the tail. Next a cut was made longitudinally down the back to the backbone, and the meat was sliced off the bones down to the belly. The fish was flopped over and a similar cut was made down the other side, leaving the dorsal fins attached to the backbone. This left head, backbone, and tail all in one piece, and the flesh in a wide strip, the two sides connected at the belly. The guts were scraped out of the rib case and thrown aside. Head, backbone, and tail had to be cooked and eaten in one piece till late in the run. The strip of flesh was hung over the drying racks, skin side out, overnight. Late in the season the head and tail were broken off the backbone, and this piece, to which a good deal of meat adhered of course, was shoved crosswise between the arms of a split stick. When the stick was filled with a number of backs, the end was lashed with a thong of cedar bark, and the backs—ʟoptsux, they were called—were broiled over the fire, then smoked on the drying rack. It was said they had to be cooked thoroughly before they would keep. After a night of smoking, the slabs of sidemeat were taken down, and one at a time laid skin side down over the cutting block. The woman sliced off the "steaks" or fillets (ápłskwī), leaving about a half or three-quarters of an inch of meat attached to the skin. The piece remaining—skin, sides, and belly of the salmon, all in one piece—was called tsaqact. Long, slender splints of cedar, called tákoma, which the man of the family had previously prepared, were used to spread the fish out for final drying. A splint was stuck into either side of the tail end of the tsaqact to spread it out flat, and the tsaqact was hung up by means of a withe or cord passed through two slits and over the drying hole. The "steaks" were given a preliminary drying just hung over the rack, then a number of them were twined together parallelly (one over the other, like slats of a venetian blind), with strands of cedar-bark string at either end to form a section 2 or 3 feet long, which was hung up to smoke.

When the tsaqact were thoroughly smoked, the women took out the cross sticks and stacked the smoked pieces up in a pile on a board. Another board was laid on top of the pile. If possible, one end of the upper plank was wedged under some heavy object, and a woman sat on the other end to press the tsaqact together. Sometimes two women helped each other, each putting her weight on one end of the plank. The pile of dried fish was then baled up for storage.

There was another way of slicing salmon which gave a product called akwact. In this variety the fillets were not cut clear off, but were cut from the belly side outward, and left attached along the back. akwact was not spread out with splints for drying, but was hung over the poles of the drying rack. It had to be turned over every day or so, skin side out one day, flesh side out the next. Each time the fish were handled they were "worked" (rubbed between the hands) to loosen the fibers and let the smoke penetrate thoroughly. Usually a woman did not begin to make akwact until the other type of dried salmon was fairly well smoked and could be shifted to the upper drying rack to make space, for the akwact required a lot of space on the drying poles. Several small strips, prized for their high fat content, were dried separately. The throat, kwás, and a strip called ałnatcim, from the ventral fin to the tail, were two of these. Frequently in preparing akwact, a wide strip was left down the back which was cut off separately, smoked, and lashed up like the "steaks."

The salmon roe was packed in boxes, and in seal bladders. The latter receptacles were used early in the season, as I understand, while the eggs were immature and firmly attached to the matrix. The bladders were hung up in the smoke, but not too near the fire. In time the roe formed a hard compact mass, called in English "Siwash cheese," that was said to keep for long periods and to have a very fine flavor; according to white men it smells most noisomely.

I did not hear of pit storage of salmon, such as is reported for the Southern Kwakiutl (Boas, 1921, pp. 237). I did not inquire about it specifically, but was told in another connection by a number of people that neither pits nor any other separate structures were used for storing any kind of food.

Herring were sorted into three sizes for drying. The largest (ʟiktcū) were split from head to tail with a bone awl or knife and hung up from a withe or slender stick run through the tails. A considerable number were strung on each stick. Medium-size herring (ʟɛʟɛhama'åʟī) were split similarly and hung by the head on similar withes. The smallest size (hūmakʟáct) were not split, but strung on withes run through the heads and hung up to dry. The herring were not gutted; apparently they do not feed as the time comes for spawning, and like smelt and similar fish have very little viscera then.

As has been remarked in connection with the process of collecting the herring roe, it was sun-and-wind-dried on the racks outside the houses. Afterward it was stripped from the branches and stored in boxes and large cedar-bark baskets.

Halibut and cod (the latter only when caught in late spring and early summer) were sun-dried. Halibut was cut in the same fashion as that described in detail by the Kwakiutl (Boas, 1921, pp. 241 ff.), hung on racks outside for a day or two, then spread out on clean gravel. Codfish caught during the same season, when sunny days with light breezes were to be expected, was dried in the same way. Most families put up a store of dried codfish for the women to eat during their menstrual periods and after childbirth.

Flesh of mammals and birds (deer, bear, seal, sea lion, porpoise, whale, ducks, geese, eagles, etc.) was never dried, say informants.

To dry clams, a woman first steamed and shucked them, then washed them to remove the sand. Next she skewered them on sticks a foot to a foot and a half long. A low rack consisting of a horizontal cross piece supported by two forked sticks was set up next to the fireplace. The skewers of clams were leaned against the cross piece and turned until the clams were toasted brown. Then the clams, sticks and all, were laid out to sun-dry. They were stored on the sticks when dried. Clams were not strung on cords, as by the Kwakiutl.

There was another method, in which the sticks of roasted clams were laid out on a board and covered with a layer of thimbleberries, then with another of clams. A length of plank was laid on top of the sandwichlike arrangement and weights were put on it, or the woman sat on it. Then the cake was sun-dried and stored.

The only other berries preserved were salal berries. They were parboiled in wooden boxes, then spread out in wooden frames on skunk cabbage leaves laid over planks, in layers about an inch thick. They were given a preliminary drying over the fire (the plank supporting the cakes was slung high enough not to burn), then as opportunity offered, sun-dried to finish the process. The frames for some time have been made of sticks nailed together in a rectangle a foot wide by about 3 feet long; formerly they are said to have been bent into shape. When the salal berry cakes were dried, they were taken from the frames and laid flat in wooden boxes.

Most of the kinds of roots that women dug could be kept for some time simply by cleaning the dirt from them and putting them in baskets or cedar-bark bags in a fairly dry place.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HABITATIONS AND MANUFACTURES

HABITATIONS

Choice of dwelling places was motivated by a number of factors. For the important sites, the permanent winter quarters, shelter was perhaps the first consideration. Most winter villages were located in the upper reaches of the inlets, in coves that quartered away from the prevailing southerly winds. A level area above the reach of winter storm tides and an open stretch of sand or gravel beach were also deemed necessities. A short steep "bank" between the house level and the beach proper seems to have been preferred to a long gentle slope; carrying or dragging canoes up and down a short steep pitch was probably reckoned easier than making a long haul. The question of water figured but little. In winter every gully has its rivulet, and, besides, rain water could be caught and used. There were a few groups who did not own an "inside place," but wintered on the storm-lashed outer beaches. Traditions relate their hardships, when they could not launch their canoes for weeks at a time. During the period of tribal confederation most of these people merged with more fortunate neighbors, and wintered at the better sites.

Summer villages were situated on the lower portions of the inlets, or on the outside beaches. Shelter was less important than water supply for these sites, for owing to the steepness of the land and shallowness of the soil many springs and smaller streams dry up in the summertime. A suitable beach was, of course, as essential as at the winter quarters. Most of the modern villages are ancient summer sites; they became preferable with the increased dependence on European subsistence media and European goods, being nearer the schooner route, and later that of steamships.

Fishing stations, of course, were located with reference to the fishing grounds. The summer villages themselves fall into this category, for they were situated so as to be convenient for sea-mammal hunting and offshore fishing. It was chiefly among the northern tribes, where the confederated tribes assembled in summer, that the summer villages had special importance. The salmon-fishing grounds, which were the real homes of local groups, were next in importance.

Another type of site was the war refuge, resorted to in time of danger. Small islands guarded by precipitous sides were thus utilized. Poor water supply, and inconvenience for food and fuel gathering prevented permanent habitancy of these places. Temporary stockades were built where there was no refuge island available.

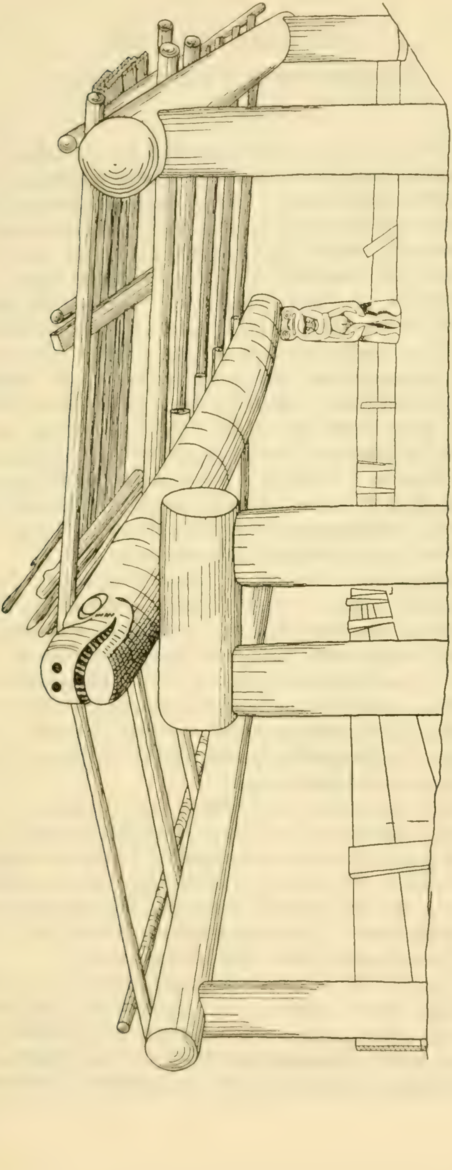

FIGURE 14.—House frame at Yukwɔt (Friendly Cove), restored from photographs (taken ca. 1873) in W. A. Newcombe Collection. This was probably the tsica'ath house.

At these major sites—the winter and summer villages, and principal fishing stations—stood the permanent house frames. Roofing and siding were movable, but ridge poles, side plates, and their supporting posts were left fixed. A house frame was properly laid out "two planks wide." One informant insisted the proper length of wall planks was 4 fathoms; but actually they seem to have varied from 2½ to 4 fathoms, which, according to the standard described, made the houses anywhere from 30 to 48 feet in width. The early accounts indicate that from 30 to 40 feet was the usual range of width. The length varied considerably, ranging anywhere from 40 to 100 feet. These houses were normally built broadside to the beach, although in recent times some were set end-on to the waterfront.

The framework of a house, which was the permanent part of the structure, consisted of the center posts supporting the ridge pole, and side posts which supported the plates. Roofs were invariably of the gabled, or two-pitch, type. The number of center posts depended on the length of the span to be supported, as did the number of side posts. Two posts in each row sufficed for smaller houses; rows of three served for the very long ones. There were two variant types of supports for the peak of the roof. One consisted of using two "ridge poles" 6 to 10 feet apart, each supported on a set of posts; the other made use of paired posts at the door end of the house across which a short cross-timber was laid. The ridge pole rested on this cross-member. At the rear of the house the ridge pole was supported by a single post. Which of these two variant forms of supports was used depended on the hereditary right of the chiefs. Some chiefs had additional hereditary prerogatives which consisted in the right to allow the ends of the ridge pole or ridge poles to project beyond the end of the house, and to be carved into generalized animal heads, which were always supposed to represent sea lions (fig. 14). The ridge pole supports were ordinarily about 10 to 12 feet high and usually carved into rather rudely done human figures, which were not idols in the usual sense, but were special "privileges" said to have been bestowed on a lineage ancestor by supernatural beings for use by him and his direct descendants. The side posts were 9 or 10 feet high, ordinarily. All posts had a slightly concave bed cut in their upper end, to retain the beam securely. The ridge pole itself, invariably a single stick of timber, was adzed down to a diameter of 3 or 4 feet for its entire length. The final adzing was often done so as to leave a fluted surface the length of the pole. Sometimes rings of red or black paint were daubed about the ridge pole. The side plates were similar, but somewhat smaller in diameter.

Around the sides of the rectangle formed by the posts and plates were set pairs of poles 4 to 6 inches through, just less than average plank length apart. These poles were impermanent, and if there were a number of short or exceptionally long planks, would be set to fit them. The lower planks were placed with their ends overlapping between two adjacent pairs of poles, a cedar withe was tied around each pair of poles over the planks to serve as a sling to support the next row. Each course of planks hung in the withes so that its lower edge was slightly outboard of and overlapping the one below it, producing an effect similar to that of modern clapboard, though much less neat. At the top the pairs of poles were secured with cedar-bough withes to the plate.

For the roof, rafters were laid from ridge pole to plates, and over them a number of poles were lashed horizontally. The roof boards were laid sloping, transverse to the long axis of the house in two layers. One layer was spaced well apart, and an upper layer covered the gaps between the lower planks. Enough overlap was given to prevent leakage. If the house was exceptionally wide or the planks short, a second range of planks was placed on either side of the ridge pole. The roof planks were loose. They could be moved aside to let out smoke simply by shoving them over by means of poles from inside the house. It is said that during stormy weather logs and large stones were placed on them to keep the gale winds from whipping them off. As a rule the planks from the two sides did not quite meet over the ridge pole, thus providing some outlet for smoke even when the weather was too stormy to move roof boards apart. The longest and best planks were used for roofing, but they were not guttered or channeled at the edges.

The doorway was in one of the narrow ends of the house. Recent houses built end-on to the beach had their doors facing the beach; the older houses did not. There were no real doors to cover the doorways, formerly. A mat was hung over the aperture, and, in bad weather, a plank might be leaned against the mat to keep it from whipping about. A siding of planks was set up on either side of the doorway to prevent the wind from blowing directly on the fires in the corner places. Doors and windows did not come into use until late in the ethnographic period, after sawed lumber became available.

In addition to the main entryways, small openings were left between planks here and there, especially along the back of the house. These served as informal entryways, and during time of war, as escape exits. In fine weather space might be left between planks in lieu of windows, to let in light.

The ragged makeshift effect of the houses, produced by use of unequal widths of planks, with ragged ends protruding here and there, as well as the untidy housekeeping within them, caused many of the early white visitors to sneer at them as rude hovels despite their great size. Nonetheless, they were well-suited to the local practice of shifting residence several times in the course of each year from one fishing station to another, for one set of planks, which could be transported by canoe without too much difficulty, served for all the different sites a group moved to. The house frames—posts and beams—being so large and unwieldy, could not, of course, be shifted.

Within the house the floor was on a single level. Informants recall no instance anywhere on the coast in which a house had a deep central pit or other excavation in the floor, nor do the early historic accounts mention such a feature. Near the center of the house was a large shallow circular depression that served as the fireplace on ceremonial occasions, and near the corners and along the sides were smaller hearths used by the families occupying the house for daily cookery. Some Central Nootkan informants maintained the fireplaces were rectangular rather than round, but that may have been a recent modification. In late times, when the natives learned how to bake bread in sand, the fireplaces were dug out deep, then filled with fine white sand from the beach.

The principal family spaces were allotted according to an invariable system. The nominal owner of the house, that is, the chief of the lineage, occupied the right rear corner ("right" being used according to native concept of the speaker standing inside the house facing the door), a place referred to as hiłsa'aʟ. The chief next in rank, usually a brother or other close kinsman occupied the opposite corner (hiłsōkwas). The corners to the right and left of the door were similarly places of honor, and occupied by other important branches of the lineage, and if the group was a large one, the two central places along each side, called simply "middle places" (åpwinił) were assigned to other branches of the family. These four (or six, as the case may be) areas were considered to have been owned by their occupants, who consequently did not move about from one house group to another nearly as much as did the other people. The places in between—any number that the size of the house allowed—were occupied by kin of low rank, who usually recognized equally strong ties with other lineages and shifted frequently from one house to another. Each individual family, whether of high rank or low, had its own fireplace, a plank or two along the wall for a bed, and stacked its possessions, wooden boxes, dishes, baskets, and the like around the sleeping place. The plank "beds" (hi'tsak) were carefully selected boards, the wider the better; often they were considerably shorter than the wall and roof planks. They were laid level on low frames of poles supported on notched stakes driven into the ground, and were covered with mats. A tale speaks of a suspicious husband who hid under the bed to spy on his unfaithful wife but it seems that the indicated height of the platform was introduced with the story from alien sources, for the beds were normally only six or eight inches off the ground. High storage platforms were built only by the Alberni Canal groups in their Salish-type shed-roof houses; the other tribes did not make them. Sometimes planks were set on edge between the family spaces, or at least, around the areas occupied by the ranking families who owned their places, but more often the wooden storage chests piled across the ends of the family space served to set it off. It is rather a question whether there was much attempt made to "set off" the family spaces in any case; probably the boxes were placed thus for accessibility rather than from any yearning for privacy. The chief often stacked his boxes of food and possessions clear across the end of the house. In the vicinity of the fire, the housewife often slung withes from the rafters, on which dried fish or meat was hung, so that the smoke would keep the food from spoiling so quickly.

The early travelers were none of them impressed by the neatness of Nootkan housekeeping. They invariably complain of the disorder of the houses, with bladders of oil and bundles of greasy fish dangling from overhead at just the height to smear one's face as he blinked his smoke-irritated eyes; baskets, boxes, dishes, mats, and tools scattered about the floor; and the floor itself a seething stinking mass of trash, fish guts, shellfish, and other refuse.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the early 1900's, when sawed lumber and nails became available, it became customary to build large houses resembling the aboriginal ones in plan, but with the siding nailed fast to the framework, which meant, of course, that the old posts and beams came to be disused. The siding was also put on vertically rather than horizontally, and windows and doors came into vogue. Sleeping platforms 3 feet high were built around the walls. The custom of painting the house front, not very practical when the sidings were taken down and reassembled every little while, became more common, possibly compensating, in a way, for the old carved and painted posts and beams. Also individual family houses, patterned after European styles, began to be built with missionary encouragement, and some of them achieved with considerable success Victorian ugliness with bay windows and fretwork.

Building a house in former times was a feat involving control of a considerable amount of manpower, which in turn depended on economic resources to support the people while they worked, with enough surplus to give feasts and other diversions to entertain them. Consequently, it was not undertaken casually, nor for that matter, very often. The old houses are said to have lasted almost indefinitely. Roof boards and sidings, and their respective rafters, poles, and lashings, were, of course, subject to damage in the frequent shifting of residence, and were continually being replaced. The house frames themselves, being of good sound cedar that has a very long life even in Northwest Coast dampness, were claimed to be practically imperishable. Of course, informants add, once in a while a post showed signs of rotting out, but there would be no need to rebuild the whole house just for that: the beam it supported could be shored up and the post would be replaced. Similarly, a beam would be replaced if necessary. Thus, over a long period, the entire roof and siding of a house might be renewed, and one by one the posts and beams would be replaced, but it would still be the same old house that had stood in that place since the lineage who owned it had been given the right to build their house there in the dim epochs of traditional times. As a consequence, there was little elaboration of special practices associated with house-building, or house-warming rites. Since the beginning of the last century there have been few occasions in which a younger branch of a family split off from the parent lineage and established a new house, for the population has been declining, not increasing. The chief occasions for building new houses for the last several generations have been after raids in wars in which the victims' houses were burned out; the survivors, if there were enough of them, eventually reassembled and rebuilt their houses.

For handling heavy weights, levers were the chief tool to supplement sheer manpower. Posts and beams were dragged up the steep bank forming the water front of most villages by a combination of dragging and levering them up inclines made of poles and old planks.[13] Gangs of men heaved in on lines fastened to the ends of the timbers, while others used poles and long wedges to block the weight. For a post, a hole was dug with one vertical side, the other sloping, and an old piece of board was stood against the vertical side so that the butt of the post, which was placed against it, would not catch, or knock dirt into the hole. The end of the post was raised with levers and blocked up so that cross poles could be inserted under it. As many men as could get a grip on the cross poles seized them, while others pried on the end of the post with levers, and still others took the slack out of a line made fast to the top of the post to be ready to haul on it as soon as the post had been raised far enough for their pull to become effective. A shear legs was usually made ready to be slipped under the end of the post when the latter was at an elevation of about 45°, to allow for a brief rest, and to permit the workers to take new grips on their poles, or to make ready to push on the post itself. One informant asserted that the chief building the house would sing a special song at this juncture, and throw a few small objects of value into the hole alongside the butt of the post. Throwing in the offering was the signal for all hands to heave up on the post and the shear legs, and haul on the line, to straighten up the post with one great effort. Then it was twisted about so that the shallow notch lined up for the beam, and large stones and dirt were filled in against it. If the post were a carved one, the carving was done before raising it.

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[13] Koppert's description of a method of rolling up timbers with parbuckles (in the bights of lines secured to stakes driven in the bank) was denied by my informants (see Koppert, 1930, pp. 12–13). It seems impractical on the face of it, for the loose midden soil at old sites would probably not hold the stakes, and in sites where there was little deposit the compact gravel and shallow bedrock would have made driving of wooden stakes next to impossible, with aboriginal methods, at least.

To raise a ridge pole or side beam, the timber was dragged into place alongside the posts intended to support it. A quantity of heavy poles 15 to 20 feet long were made ready nearby. One end of the beam was raised by means of levers until one of the poles could be laid under it crosswise, then the other end was raised and another pole put under it about 15 feet from the first. A pair of poles was laid across the ends of the first pair, parallel to the beam, then the ends were raised, one at a time, for the insertion of a third pair of poles. This process was continued, forming a cribwork under the beam. The members of the cribwork were wedged in place and secured with withes whereever there seemed any likelihood of them slipping. Such a cribwork was called patswɔnám. If the beam was not too large it could be seesawed up and down for the insertion of the cross poles by hand; if too large for this, it was rocked by means of levers on low blocks for fulcrums with lengths of pole against the working face of the lever.[14] A lever used in this way was called qitcϵq. Informants said that the beam-raising methods described by Koppert (1930, p. 14) and by Boas (1909, p. 339) for the Kwakiutl, in which one end of the beam was raised into place on one post and then the other end raised to its post, would be dangerous, for hoisting the second end of the beam would cause it to exert a horizontal thrust against the first post that might push it over, or force the beam to jump out of the shallow notch. Rocking a 90-foot beam over a cribwork of poles sounds like a more ticklish proposition to me than the technique described by the authors just referred to.

Mass efforts such as those involved in raising posts and beams did not rely on irregular individual lifts and jerks, but were coordinated by a chanteyman (hīhīxōqa), who called, "wūiiii wū!" The workers heaved away on the second, sharply barked-out "wū!"[15]

The house frames standing at the salmon-fishing stations were like those at the winter villages, except that the posts and beams were smaller. It is said that at tacīs, for example, there were no carved posts, and some of the houses were set with their ends so close together that doorways had to be left in the sides. When the people moved, they had a busy time ahead of them. Not only was it necessary to board over the house frames with the planks they had brought along on the "rafts" but there were drying racks to build, wood to gather, and a variety of small odds and ends to prepare, such as cedar splints to spread the fish for smoking, and cords of cedar bark or spruce-root withes to hang them up by, and the like.

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[14] *Cf.* the levering method in Boas (1909, fig. 60).

[15] Boas describes the same procedure for the Kwakiutl, adding that the workers gave a shout each time, in reply to the chanteyman's commands (Boas, 1909, p. 340).

The drying rack was made by placing two sets of poles crosswise of the house, one set 5 or 6 feet high and the other set 3 or 4 feet above that. On the lower set of poles, longitudinals were placed the length of the house in two pairs about 3 or 4 feet apart. Cross poles, squared sticks between 1 and 2 inches through, called ta'aqas, were laid close together across each pair of longitudinals. The space between the two racks was to allow more smoke to reach the upper rack, which was formed by a single pair of longitudinals with the cross sticks extending all the way across the roof. The fireplaces were along the long axis of the house. There might be two or three hearths in the row. One Moachat informant described "smoke spreaders," ɔhɔtsum, consisting of lengths of green fir poles about 6 inches through, set on racks a couple of feet over each fire, which diverted the smoke to either side.

The dwellings erected at camps where the people planned to stay but a short time were simply smaller and ruder editions of the big houses, sometimes descending to the level of small huts. Such huts were sometimes built with "shed" (one-pitch) roofs, but a two-pitch roof was more common even in such structures. Shelters of bark slabs and mat lodges were not used, however, except by the groups up Alberni Canal. Pile dwellings, elevated caches, separate storehouses of any kind, and storage pits were all unknown to my informants. A party of travelers would take refuge under the overhang of a rock shelter, if there were one along their route, or under a big fallen tree, or if no such place were available, they would turn their canoe over and crawl under it for the night.

Household furnishings were simple and few, and most of them have been mentioned in passing. Various natural containers, of bladder or gut, were used for storage of oil. Other receptacles for storage, cookery, and serving of food were of wood or basketry. Woven mats of cedar bark were used to sit and sleep on, supplemented by mattresses of tule mats in recent times. Headrests made of bent boards, whose length was the width of the bed, were used; in recent times these consisted of two boards nailed together at right angles, turned open side down. My notes on these objects are somewhat confused: the remarks of several informants suggest they may have been back rests, to sit against and lean back on, rather than pillows in the ordinary sense, but the edge of the sleeping mat was pulled up against them, so that sleepers rested their heads against them. Small individual wooden pillows of the northwest California type were not used. There were no stools, and boxes seem to have been used to sit on only in ceremonials when it was desired to place someone, usually a child, in a prominent position where he could be seen by all the spectators seated on mats on the floor.

A description of furniture should probably include the "seats" along the edge of the water front, although these were outdoors, not in the house. Interpreters call them "benches" as a rule, and some of them may have had a horizontal board on which one sat. The most important part, however, was a wide plank supported by stakes driven in on both sides at just the right angle for leaning back against comfortably. Though chiefs usually installed these affairs, they were like our public park benches: anyone could sit on them to think, to admire the view, or just to sit. Men lounged about on them almost any time of day, and even when a light drizzle of rain was falling.

Detached "totem poles" (as distinguished from house posts and carved entry poles), are a fairly recent addition to the Nootkan scene, although the two erected at Friendly Cove some time between 1912 and 1915 are claimed to represent privileges obtained from the Nimkish in marriage several generations ago. Simpler poles, with but one or two figures, are said to have been erected early in the latter half of the last century, or even before. Mr. Newcombe has a photograph of the Clayoquot village taken about 1903 that shows a series of very weird "totem poles" there that appear to be sawed timbers painted with encircling stripes, barberpole fashion, with figures representing "coppers" [15a] and the like nailed on. I did not know of them until after my brief visit at Clayoquot, so I have no information on them. They are probably late imitations of the Southern Kwakiutl and Bella Bella poles. Informants insist, however, that there is a type of "totem pole" that has been used for a long time, and that is a tall slender pole with a small carving representing an eagle at the top. The eagle was named, and was said to be "watching for strangers" (to invite them to a feast). The only person who may set up such a pole is the Owner-of-the-Beach, the chief, usually first or second in rank in the tribe, who has the right to be the first to invite strangers into his house. I judge from the descriptions that these poles were similar in appearance to the slim poles surmounted by bird figures shown in Boas' plates of scenes at Fort Rupert. (Boas, 1895, pls. 9, 10, 16, et passim.) Perhaps the form of the devices represents Kwakiutl influence, although I am not sure that they had the same function among the Southern Kwakiutl.

[15a] The term "coppers" refers to specially shaped ceremonial objects of native copper common in the North.

CARPENTRY

Wood was one of the essential materials of Nootkan culture. Houses, canoes, vessels and containers in great variety, and masks and other ritual objects were made of one kind or another of wood. The abundance of useful woods in some variety facilitated such elaboration of the carpenter's art, no doubt: the clean-grained easily split red cedar, the slightly more compact but easily worked yellow cedar, and alder, and the dense elastic yew furnishing woods with a wide enough range of qualities to provide for almost any purpose. The skilled workmanship and neat finish that Nootkan carpenters could achieve when they so wished were characteristic of their handicraft at the time of first white contacts. Their canoes in particular excited the admiration of their seafaring visitors. Yet their tool chest was rather limited—almost inadequate, considering the size of some of the lumber that was used.

The carpenter's kit (it should be noted that he was both carpenter and logger) consisted of the following tools: Maul, chisels, wedges, D-adze, straight adze, simple drills, grindstones of sandstone for finishing, sharkskin for fine polishing, and we may add, though they are techniques rather than tools, steaming of wood to manipulate it, and scorching to produce dense smooth surface finish. Some of these tools were given up quite early in historic times, and information on them is based on folk memory or on specimens that old people kept as mementos of ancient days. This is especially true in regard to the bits of chisels and adzes. As a matter of fact, when Cook first entered Nootka Sound he found iron blades to be the common type for these implements. Other tools of European origin, such as axes and saws, have come into common use only within the memories of people now living. At present, but a few "old-timers" know how to use the ancient tools.

The maul (pinȧxpinȧx) was of the unhafted pyriform type of extensive distribution on archeological horizons. It was made of any hard stone of suitable size from a river or beach. The manufacture was a slow, laborious process, done at odd moments over a long period, until the maul was finished. I was presented with a maul about one-third done at a feast at Hesquiat; the donor, who said he had been working on it for a long while (and who proved to be one of the few remaining people who know how to make such implements), gave me a brief demonstration: he pecked the maul briskly with a hard cobble until a fine dust was visible on the abraded area, then told me that if I were to do that during my spare moments, in 3 or 4 years I should have a fine new maul "just like the old-time people used." The chipping and grinding technique of manufacture described by Koppert (1930, pp. 38–39) was not corroborated by any of my informants, nor does it seem likely they could have been applied to the types of stone used for mauls. A maul was a prized possession, yet one does not hear of them being used in exchanges, or as gifts on formal occasions. Chisels (qa’yahwas) were hafted in open beds of yew handles. The blades have been of iron for a long time; Cook says at the time of his visit he observed only one chisel blade of "bone." Northern Nootkan informants speculated that bone blades were used anciently; Central Nootkans said small stone celts were used. Perhaps both materials served. None of my informants knew of the elkhorn chisels that Sproat (1868, p. 86) describes. Tough strands of spruce root served to bind the blade to its bed, and of the same material was made a grommet to keep the head of the haft from splitting. The length of the haft depended on the work to be done; for making deep narrow cuts a long haft was used, whereas a shorter one was naturally more convenient for fine work, or shallow cutting. Wedges (ʟanáł) were made of yew wood. The carpenter provided himself with a set of these, ranging in size from 2 to 3 feet long to tiny ones a few inches long, depending on the job he had in mind. The wedges were rectangular in cross section, with their maximum thickness between half and two-thirds of the way down from the head. Below this point they were cut away in even bevel for nearly the thickness of the original block of wood; on the back a very gentle curvature was given to form the point. A grommet of cedar or fir twig was made onto the head of the wedge. The adze (tcahayák) was of the familiar "D" type, consisting of a small flat blade bound to a handle similar in form to that of our handsaws. Informants' opinions differed markedly as to whether the blades were small flattish stone celts, or of shell. Some said the thick heavy deep-sea clam shells that washed up on the beach furnished material for adze blades. Steel blades have been used as far back as any of my informants could actually remember and probably long before that. The handles were of yew wood or whale bone, and sometimes ornamented. Informants consider important a small facet carved on the inner side of the handle to serve as a thumb rest, insisting it contributed to accurate adzing, although the Nootka adze handles figured by Boas (1909, figs. 48, 49) do not show such a feature. The blade, of whatever material, was lashed to an open bed on the lower side of the handle and kept snug by small flat wedges driven up between the blade and the handle. The straight adze seems to have been like the chisel with a short slightly curved handle. It went out of use early in historic times.

The drill (sūhta) had a bit made of compact bone, such as that from the leg of deer or bear, with a flattened head so that it would not rotate in the haft. It was driven up hard, into a closed bed, lashed, and then sharpened by grinding the tip to an abrupt square point, according to most informants, or to a narrow notched point, according to a few. I did not record any preferred material for the handle. Informants from the head of Alberni Canal (hōpȧtcisȧth and tsica'ȧth) confirmed Sproat's description of the use of a hollow tubular bit of bird bone, but this trait was denied elsewhere, so it must have been a local peculiarity. The bow drill was not known until quite late times (I have the impression it must have been first seen by men who went ashore in Alaskan or Asiatic ports on trips to the Bering Sea seal fishery). Several informants knew of it but were sure that they already had steel augers and gimlets by the time they first learned of this device. The grinders of sandstone were small flattish slabs of this material that were picked up here and there, and the strips of sharkskin or dogfish skin were simply stripped off and dried, to be used as needed without trimming or fitting on blocks. Nothing comparable to a modern steam box, nor even as complex as the Kawkiutl earth-oven-like process, was used for steaming boards and other things to bend them; they were simply placed as close to the fire as they could be without burning, and kept moistened with water or urine.

With this somewhat skimpy kit of tools, which he could carry about in his checkerwork "wedge-basket" (ʟȧtsȧts), the Nootkan carpenter obtained his lumber and split his boards or blocks and fashioned the many objects he made of wood.

LOGGING

Well-informed people unanimously said that to make boards, canoe hulls, and the like whole trees were seldom felled.[16] There seem to have been good reasons for this: tall cedar with clean knotless trunks grow back in the woods, where a single tree would be almost impossible to fell because its crown would foul those of the forest giants clustered about it. Only trees growing at the water's edge or in brushy clearings can ordinarily be felled easily, and these carry branches low on the trunk, making them unsuitable for splitting into boards or carving into canoes. Therefore, the usual procedure was to split a large slab off a standing tree. This was done by making two cuts, one above the other, the lower narrow, the upper one a high, open notch. The distance between them was that desired for the length of the boards or canoe. The lower cut was made from a tied-rung ladder or a simple staging of poles lashed together above the swollen infolded butt, which in old trees may carry from 10 to 20 feet up the trunk. The upper cut was made from a tied-rung ladder. Each cut was made nearly to the center of the trunk. Then wedges were driven in, downward, in the upper cut until a good-sized pole could be inserted in the split. The logger then went home. After some time the action of the wind rocking the tree and the weight of the cross pole combined to extend the split till it reached the lower notch, and the slab fell off. Persons familiar with the woods have told me of seeing huge cedars still standing with pieces split out of them by this process, although, of course, most trees thus mutilated died or were blown over. This procedure obviously solved the difficulty of felling whole trees in dense stands of timber, and though it was slow, avoided the dangers to which the logger would have been exposed had he tried to split his slab off while working on his shaky ladder high above the ground. Making the lower cut some distance above the ground obviated an extra cut to get rid of the irregularly grained material of the swollen base of the trunk. Burning out notches, etc. was not used in felling trees.

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[16] Koppert (1930) writes as though they ususally were, and my Clayoquot informants were of the same opinion, but I believe them to be in error.

Trees were not sounded to determine whether or not they were hollow at the center. For a canoe hull, it did not matter; in fact it saved a good deal of labor if the tree were hollow, for the bow and stern pieces were fitted separately in any case. A man who intended to make boards depended on both experience and luck for the selection of a sound tree. Should both of these fail him, he split off the sides on either side of the cavity as waste and took his boards from the remainder.

For house posts and beams, which were made of the full round of the tree trunk, so that a few knots did not matter, trees standing close to the water's edge were felled. The limbs were cut off and then the trunk was towed to the village, where bark and outer layers of the sapwood were adzed off. Modern informants use the white woodsman's "undercut and backcut" technique of felling whole trees, and believe that it was always used by their forefathers.

BOARD MAKING

For making boards, the slab was turned with poles, if necessary, so that it lay with the split-off side up. For the first plank, a line was marked with the chisel three finger widths below the split face across one end of the slab. From eight to a dozen small wedges were started on this line and hammered up a little at a time. As the split started, larger wedges were inserted. It was claimed that from a slab of the best straight-grained cedar, boards could be split off the entire 4-fathom length by driving up the wedges at the end; there were few such pieces of timber, however, and usually as the split commenced wedges had to be inserted along the sides. A common practice when two men worked together was for one to drive the wedges at the end and the other to pry along the sides of the split with a stout pole used lever-fashion. Slight irregularities were expected, for of the original three-finger thickness, about one-third (one finger width) was adzed off in truing up the plank. The second plank was marked off another three fingers below the face of the slab and split off the same way. The best planks were those from the original face of the slab (near the center of the tree), in which the split transected the growth rings nearly at right angles. After a few planks had been taken off, the cleavage planes tended to follow the curvature of the rings somewhat at the middle of the plank, making it concave in the middle. This irregularity had to be adzed off later; there was said to be no way to control it with the wedges. When it became marked, a narrow wedge-shaped section of waste was split off one or the other side of the slab, so that the next series of boards would come off at a slight angle to the plane of the first ones. As the outside of the slab was neared, the boards, of course, became narrower, and had a stronger tendency to curve, until the last remnant of the slab was abandoned as not worth troubling with. The adzing off of the boards was not done in the woods, but at or near the village, to which the rough planks were taken after they were split out.

There was another method of splitting off planks in use in recent times, which is essentially the method of "Tangential" splitting as Boas (1909) describes it for the Kwakiutl. It was often used with whole logs, and therefore informants insist that it came into use late in our ethnographic period, after axes, saws, and peavies simplified the problem of felling and handling logs.

MEASURES

The following linear measures were used, not only in carpentry, but for lines and other objects as well. There was a series from the fathom down to a finger width, based on natural bodily division. Presumably some units, like the fathom and the span, were more commonly used than others.

ɬahciɬ, fathom (fingertip to fingertip of extended arms).
ʟikiyū, three-quarter fathom (fingertip to opposite elbow).
tacȧpȧshȧm, half fathom (fingertip to sternum).
a′ȧpswunɬ, arm (fingertip to armpit).
nū′pī′tahta, long span (extended thumb to middle finger).
qūpyȧk, span (extended thumb to first finger).
tcūhqwī, hand with extended thumb.
sūsūtcinik, hand with prone thumb.
mōmōyinik, hand, four fingers.
tsatsawinik, finger width.

CANOES AND THEIR APPURTENANCES

The Nootkan canoe, that caused admiration among the hardbitten mariners of the maritime fur-trade days, as well as among the neighboring tribes, who preferred it to their own types in many cases, has been described in detail by various writers, and treated quite fully by Waterman (1920). To avoid unnecessary duplication, this section shall be made brief, emphasizing chiefly the information not hitherto recorded.

Boas (1909, pp. 344 ff.) has presented textual accounts of the processes of manufacture of the Kwakiutl canoe, which apply, allowing for the differences of lines, to Nootkan canoe building. My informants all insisted that the same technique of excavating the interior, after the outside of the hull had been shaped, was used by the Nootkan canoe maker: areas were chiseled out at intervals along the inside, and the intervening blocks were split out with wedges.[17]

Fire, they maintained, was not used to excavate the canoe interior. The rough shaping of the hull was done in the woods, as a rule. Most men brought others along to help them turn the slab over when the outside had been roughed out; one or two operated long poles as levers while the remaining man blocked up the slab. There were said to be a few men who preferred to do the whole job by themselves. They would prepare heavy poles and blocks to weigh down the end of the lever until they could block up the slab or get a new bite with another pole. After the hull had been roughed out, the canoe maker cleared a path for it and got friends to help him drag it to the water, to tow it home and beach it above tideline for finishing. Sproat (1865) remarks that two or three weeks sufficed to make a sizable canoe, but most men took longer than that, for they do not seem to have worked steadily at their ship wrighting. Commonly, a man went down to the beach at dawn, worked a few hours, than knocked off.

The final shaping of the outside of the hull was done with great care. The sides, of course, had considerable sheer, and this was sharply augmented from just below the gunwales to their edge. (Cf. Waterman, 1920, p. 12). The frequently described method of drilling holes along the sides with a marked drill to get the proper thickness of the sides when adzing out the interior was used. Several men spoke of driving up small fire-blackened twigs into the drill holes;[18] others said wood of naturally dark color was used for these plugs, so they would be seen immediately the adzing had reached the proper depth. The drill holes were later carefully plugged and pitched over. When the hull was done, the prow and stern pieces were fitted on as Swan (1868, pp. 36–37), Waterman (1920, pp. 16 ff.), and others have described. If the canoe were to be spread, it was partly filled with water, hot stones were thrown in, and as the wood heated and became more flexible, temporary thwarts were put in to hold it in position. The thwarts were secured in the fashion described by Waterman.

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[17] Boas' texts describe this method, but in his general discussion he refers to the use of fire to burn out the waste wood (loc. cit.).

[18] This is slightly different from the method Boas has described (loc. cit.); the Nootkans drilled holes to the exact desired thickness of the canoe at that particular point, and stopped adzing when they reached them, while the Kwakiutl seem to have drilled deeper holes, and begun to measure with their yew-wood measuring sticks as the holes were uncovered.

The exterior of the canoe was blackened by oiling it, scorching it very lightly, and then rubbing it down with fir twigs and old mats. The interior, of the large canoes at least, was painted over with a mixture of red ocher mashed up with salmon eggs. In recent times purchased oil paint has been used.

Waterman has commented on the "lifelike" appearance that the slender arching prow piece gives the canoe. My informants agreed with the Makah that it "represents nothing," that is, it is not thought of as a representation of an animal or bird head (which it suggests to our eyes). The nomenclature suggests that nonetheless the piece made the same impression on the Indians, even though they did not consciously think of it as a representative form. The uppermost points (really extensions of the gunwales) were called the "ears" (pa'pi), the forward projection, "tongue sticking out" (tcuptsqinim), the area just below the headlike portion, "throat" (tcatinł).

There were several "standard sizes" of canoes. Most informants agreed on the following list:

(1) The "freight canoe" (pinewuł) was the largest size, used for moving from one station to another with all the family gear, and was also used on ceremonial occasions. Such a canoe was ordinarily from 6 to 7 fathoms long (by the keel), and about a fathom in beam. A few exceptional examples of this type are recalled that exceeded 8 fathoms in length. All canoes, of course, had the same general form, but only these had the distinctive feature of having four narrow rows of fluting around the inside just below the gunwale. This decorative feature was considered very important. It was these canoes that had the inlay of gastropod opercula along the outer sides just below the gunwale strips. An important chief might have a design painted on the bows. Some informants felt this was a modern custom, inspired by Kwakiutl contacts, but Hoskins (1941, p. 248) learned the name of the "Feathered Serpent" (hai'i'ʟik) he saw painted on the canoes in 1791.

Every chief had to have at least one such canoe, for affairs of state and ceremony. He also had, especially among the Northern Nootkans, the right to long series of names for his canoes, for his "potlatch-to-another-tribe canoe," his "marriage canoe," his "making-war canoe," and so on, and in public announcements indicated his intentions by the name of the canoe he said he intended to launch. A series of accounts of chiefs' activities suggests, therefore, that they had whole fleets of these large canoes. Actually, they would have but one or two, and would refer to them by the special name appropriate to their plans.

(2) The "whaling canoe" (ō'ōtahsȧts) was the next in size. Informants were inclined to disagree as to whether the whaling canoe was actually in a separate class. Five to six fathoms is given as the proper length, almost always, and some informants claimed it was usually a trifle beamier than the freight canoe. Others said that it was simply a good freight canoe, cherished during the whaling season, and made to haul freight or loads of passengers at other times. Perhaps the recent decline of whaling was accompanied by a disregard of niceties of observance. Informants who insisted it was a special type and used for nothing else, always added that it never bore painted decorations or the opercula inlay.

(3) The fur seal canoe (yϵcmaqȧts, which one informant derived from yecmal, "to go out to sea") was probably a recent refinement of canoe building related to the development of pelagic sealing. These canoes were 4 fathoms long, with racy lines and scant beam. They could carry a crew of three, but usually were manned by two men. Their hulls were scorched and polished to a mirrorlike smoothness, and they were never dragged along the beach, but always carried.

(4) The hunting canoe (tcapuk) was the older type of sealing and sea otter hunting canoe. It was 3 to 3½ fathoms along the keel, slim-waisted, and speedy. The normal crew was two men. This type of canoe was also used for fishing and general work in the off season, for sea hunting, or when the individual specimen was old and battered.

(5) The fishing canoe (ȧtcȧqinahais, or tcapana) was from 2 to 3 fathoms long, meant for two persons but easily managed by one.

(6) The last class consists of small rough canoes, usually without bow and stern pieces, that just keep afloat with one person and a bit of firewood or a basket of clams, and the like. These were much used by children for play and practice at seamanship.

In addition, there was a type of canoe called ʟītsuł, known to most informants but invariably claimed by them to have been a Kwakiutl import. It was said to be more like the Nootka canoe in form than it was like the usual Kwakiutl vessels, having a short vertical sternpost. The prow piece was said to be wide, and to rise vertically from the forefoot. Apparently, this was the Kwakiutl "mᴇnka," which Boas has stated may have been an ancient type among that people, and whose occurrence Barnett has recorded among the Klahuse and Homalco divisions of the Comox (Barnett, 1939, element 569, and note). A number of tales refer to the use of an emergency craft of fir bark made watertight by binding the nearly square-cut ends between pairs of clamps. It is difficult to say whether this is merely a fictitious element in the plots of escapes of slaves or not. Informants cite these tales as proof when queried on unusual canoe types, and perhaps a kidnapped Nootkan familiar with the tale might have been inspired to make himself one if he had no better way to get home from Cape Flattery or Bella Bella.

Paddles were of one type only, maintain informants: they were of yew, with a crutch handle (dowelled on), the shaft flattish at the top below the crosspiece, narrowing and becoming rounded at the grip, then widening to an elliptical blade tapering to a slender point. The form with the very long slender tip type described in early accounts as a dangerous potential weapon is not regarded as a distinct type. The paddles were blackened all over by rubbing them with gum from white fir "blisters" and scorching them, leaving light-colored areas at the grips and usually a strip across the blade by wrapping these places with strips of kelp stems during the scorching. There were no differences between men's and women's paddles, nor was a paddle carved or painted. The proper length of a paddle was from the ground to the wielder's chin.

The bailer was of the triangular scoop type described by Waterman (1920, p. 27) for the Makah. No other types were used, so far as I could learn.

During the historic period it became customary to carve a mast socket in the foward part of the hull of the large canoes and to install a double thwart directly over it to stabilize the mast.

There were three methods of rigging sails in a canoe. The sails themselves were of specially woven cedar-bark mats, made of thick strips of bark for extra strength. Suits of canvas sails were obtained from white traders occasionally. The simplest rigging, and one considered to be the earliest type, was the miłqīłitsȧpim, "square sail," a square sail stretched from two yards and braced with sheets at each corner. Such a sail was furled from the top of the mast by casting loose the upper spar and rolling it downward. The second type was called qatsīłim, "stick on the corner," and was a rectangular sail entirely outboard of the mast with a boom slanting diagonally from the lower inboard to the upper outboard corner. The boom was stayed by a line from its outboard end rove through a block on the mast and secured at the base of the latter, and trimmed by a sheet rigged aft from the upper tip. Another sheet controlled the lower outboard corner. The third type of sail was the qatstsiklim, "stick to lower corner," a leg-of-mutton sail with a boom along the foot, with a simple rigging. I do not know whether this type of sail could be made of mats, or was more commonly used when canvas was available.

The Nootka canoe was poorly suited to sailing, of course, without true keel or centerboard, and would sail only on the wind. Despite informants' convictions as to antiquity of sails, the early historic accounts make clear that sails were quite unknown in prehistoric times.[19]

The common type of anchor was a longish rock with a constriction, natural or pecked in, around the middle for securing the line. It was let go over the side in the sternsheets, or, in halibut fishing, for example, by the bow, in which case the line serving as "cable" was run over the "ears" of the prow piece. Duckboards in sections that left adequate space for bailing were often used in large canoes, especially when freight was being carried.

In the smaller canoes one knelt or sat on the bottom. The usual posture was the kneeling one in which the paddler rested his weight on his feet which he turned sideways, heels outward. This position becomes very uncomfortable to one not accustomed to it, but the Nootkans were inured to it from childhood. It undoubtedly accounts for the rather clumsy pigeon-toed stiff-ankled gait of the older people, as many of the early explorers suggested. Paddlers in the big canoes either sat on the thwarts or stood. For long expeditions people might take scraps of old matting to sit or kneel on. It was said that one could distinguish at a distance, even in former times when the hats and capes of men and women were alike, whether a man or a woman were paddling, because men pulled more with the lower hand, whereas women tended to push more with the upper hand, using the lower as a fulcrum. This difference was believed to be due to difference in strength, and not to a convention. Both sexes used both methods of applying force to their strokes; it was simply a matter of which was accented the more. In the smaller canoes, a paddler stroked on one side, giving his paddle a slight outward thrust by levering it against the gunwale at the end of each stroke to maintain course. Now and then he shifted sides to rest. In the large canoes the paddlers used straight strokes, except for the steersman whose strokes were aimed not at propelling the vessel but at steering it. The steersman was in charge, and in close maneuvers or in heavy weather shouted commands as necessary. When crossing a heavy swell those on one side or the other stopped paddling for a moment, or backed water, according to the steersman's orders, to sheer the canoe slightly to one side or the other so that it did not cross the crest at right angles leaving part of the hull momentarily unsupported. The rigid unbraced hulls were likely to split if they were thus mishandled, for they had neither flexibility nor special bracing to resist hogging strain. The instant the crest had passed the canoe hauled back on course. In heavy seas the delicate sheer of the prow (which was used as the stern in running before a following sea) split the wave crests, throwing the water in great sheets to the sides clear of the canoe. When a wave seemed likely to come aboard the men in the bow, or the steersmen, depending as the canoe was heading into the sea or running before it, assisted the prow by thrusting the blade of the paddle into the wave at an angle that would sheer the water off. This is a trick of seamanship that looks easy, but requires both perfect timing and a tremendously strong grip if one is to retain his paddle in the process. Ordinarily, no attempt was made to stroke in unison. Each man paddled his own time. On ceremonial occasions, however, while maneuvering in front of a village, or approaching the beach for a landing, a chanteyman often called the strokes, or if a chief were singing, the paddlers would keep time. For this they used an exaggerated stiff-armed stroke that soon made the canoe bob in the water. "It looked fine," informants say, "with the canoe just bouncing along."

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[19] C. F. Howay's study of this problem through historic records (Howay, 1946).

In the course of a lifetime of handling canoes, the smaller sizes of which were often quite cranky, the people developed a very fine sense of equilibrium, and even today handle their craft with a nonchalant skill that leaves the visitor amazed. Quite unconcernedly they walk back and forth in the small fishing canoes on the halibut grounds, for example, readying their fishing gear, bending over to pick up a hook or some bait, even when a small but unpleasant chop is running. Often they may be seen letting their canoes drift a bit, completely broadside to the sea, using their weight to keep from capsizing as the waves pass while they stand unsnarling a line.

In going up rivers, a canoe was turned stern first, for in poling most of the steering must be done by the man forward, and the projecting prow would be in his way. Also, the prow, because of the weight of the attached piece, swam deeper in the water than the stern. Any long slender pole served for propelling the canoe, although people like the Gold River groups of the Muchalat made and kept for constant use choice poles 2 to 2½ fathoms long.

The sealing and the whaling canoes, at least during the hunting seasons, were treated with considerable care. They were never dragged up and down the beach on launching and landing, as were ordinary craft, but were picked up and carried, for dragging them would scuff the carefully burnished hulls, making them sluggish and noisy in the water. A cedar dugout, even though thin-hulled, was quite heavy and could not be picked up casually like the northeastern birchbark craft. Sets of stout poles were kept handy for carrying. Men ranged themselves along either side of a canoe in pairs. Each pair slipped a pole under the canoe, athwartships, so that they could each grasp one end. When all were ready, they lifted as someone gave a signal. They seized the poles with the palms of their hands turned forward, so that when they had straightened up they could make a second lift by flexing their arms, then let the poles slide back into the angles of their flexed elbows, and walk along with the canoe. Both sealing and whaling canoes were set on racks consisting of a number of parallel lengths of logs on the beach. This kept them off the ground, made them easier to lift, and also made it easier to inspect and polish the hulls. On ceremonial occasions guests arriving in the big canoes were often met at the beach by strong men who held the bow off while many others slid poles under so that they could carry canoe, crew, and all up into the house. The visiting chief and his crew sang as they were being carried.

Even ordinary canoes, although they were dragged up and down the beach (since mooring was not practiced), were given considerable care. They were covered with old mats and boards, especially during fine weather, to keep them from checking and cracking. Cracks when they did occur were caulked with shredded cedar bark and paid down with spruce gum. Bad areas in the hull were chiselled out so that neat patches could be inserted. Nowadays such patches are commonly covered over with a piece of tin or sheet copper.

For moving families, house boards, and gear from one site to the next "rafts" (ʟūcϵnuk) were made by laying boards across two large "freight" canoes placed about 2 fathoms apart. Some of the boards were lashed to the canoe thwarts with withes. Spaces were left in the stern sheets of the canoes for paddlers. Another layer of boards might be laid over the platform, then boxes, baskets, and other belongings were piled aboard. If there was a fair wind, several wide planks were propped in place edgewise along the forward edge of the platform to act as a sail. These rafts were slow and cumbersome, and readily broke up in a choppy sea, but on a good day, with a light but steady fair breeze, and a fair tide, supplemented by the paddlers' efforts, transported heavy and very bulky cargoes in good style.

WOODEN RECEPTACLES

A variety of wooden vessels were used for containers. Boxes were made for storage of food and valuables, for cooking, for carrying water, for urinals, and for ditty and trinket boxes. The method of making all these forms was the same. A suitable board of cedar was marked off according to the size desired, and cut with a rectangular groove or channel at the points indicated, a little more than halfway through. A shallow groove was made on the opposite side of the board. The board was alternately held over the fire and sprinkled with urine and fresh water until the moisture softened it so that little by little it could be bent to a right angle. The kerf was cut vertically so that it formed a narrow channel across the board; on bending, one surface of the board was brought up against one cut edge just as in the Kwakiutl specimens Boas describes. However, the earth-oven-like steaming apparatus used by the Kwakiutl was not utilized (Boas, 1909, p. 331). The board was kerfed and bent in three places, then the ends were drilled and sewn with withes of spruce root, so snugly as to be watertight. The sewing was done in the same fashion as that described by Boas, and need not be repeated here. The bottom of the box was rabbeted so that the sides fitted snugly down over it. Then it was pegged on. A cooking box (maqeyȧ) made thus was complete, for it had no top or ornamentation. Cooking boxes (for stone boiling) were made in various sizes; some, to be used for feasts, were very large. A storage box (hōpakwɔnum) was usually rather narrow and high. It had a rabbeted lid with a wide flange extending up along one side. The face of this flange was often decorated with inlay of gastropod opercula, although most informants considered this an imitation of Kwakiutl usage. These boxes were never painted or carved with realistic devices. The chief's chests in which he stored valuables, such as blankets, masks, and dance whistles, were ornamented by a delicate fluting (ʟȧhwȧksī) on the front, or sometimes all around. Some were entirely covered with vertical fluting, others had four rows of vertical fluting at each end of the sides, with horizontal fluting in between. All the old boxes one sees look as though they had been blackened over at one time, but informants insist that this coloring comes from exposure to smoke and grease over long periods, and that they were not intentionally painted. A few chiefs, especially those of the northern divisions who were related to the Kwakiutl by marriage, had painted and even carved boxes, but these were said to all be imports, not local manufactures. Sometimes boxes were made for the storage of whale oil. These were squatter in their proportions than the ordinary storage boxes, and had flat lids that made them easier to stack, instead of the typical Nootkan L-shaped lids. Water buckets (tsaxhwɔts) were made like other boxes, except that they were square in their horizontal dimensions. Those made for taking out in canoes had a cover pegged on, and seem from the descriptions to have been quite like the Kwakiutl bucket figured by Boas (1909, fig. 121), except that the hole in the top was usually cut in one corner rather than in the center.

One drank from such a bucket while at sea through a bird bone or hollow stem "straw," not for ritual reasons but because one was less likely to spill the water than by trying to pour from the bucket. The buckets for household use had bales of cedar-withe rope, but were sometimes carried in the arms rather than by the bale. The urinal (k'ista) was a small bent box kept near the family living space. My notes do not indicate whether it had a top or not. Stale urine was used for a variety of purposes in addition to bathing and washing the hair: it was used in tanning, and in steaming wood to bend it. The hunters' ditty boxes were small sturdy affairs, usually of a peculiar shape, narrower at the base so that they would stow neatly in the bow or well back in the stern of a canoe.[20] The lids of these boxes were heavy, and often slightly raised in the center. In these a hunter stowed spare harpoon heads, and various odds and ends he felt he might need during his expedition. Women's trinket boxes (qwɔtsana) were like the ditty boxes, except that the sides were usually vertical. Almost every woman had such a container to keep beads, paint, and other small effects. It was said that the trinket boxes were given a dark reddish color by rubbing them with crushed hemlock bark. With this list of various types of boxes it would be well to mention the box drums, which were made with kerfed and bent sides, and pegged bottom like any other box. They were deep, narrow, and quite long, it was said. They alone of the locally made boxes were decorated with painted designs.

Vessels for the service of food were usually hollowed-out blocks of alder, for it was said that a cedar-wood dish gave an unpleasant taste to the food (though no mention was made of any flavor imparted by the cooking boxes). Most dishes were troughlike affairs, elongated ellipses in plan. The ends usually slanted upward and were higher than the sides, giving a form reminiscent of the stubbily ended northwest California canoe (cf. Boas, 1909, fig. 102). Size varied considerably. In addition to ordinary family size vessels for two or three persons, chiefs had very large feast dishes (xɛniqiyá) that held more than a half-dozen men could eat. These dishes were made in the same shape as the small ones, however, and decorated with rows of fluting like the storage boxes. The only exceptions were those of a few chiefs, who had hereditary rights to use dishes with representative sculptures on the ends, or, in some cases, the form of the entire vessel was modified to give it a representative shape.[21] Small cylindrical vessels of alder, which ranged in shape from cylindrical to truncated conic shape, were made for cups (nimáłsityák) for drinking water or oil. Sometimes at feasts food receptacles were dispensed with, and a small canoe was used. This was often done at feasts at which was served a rather horrid recipe, popular in the late 1800's, consisting of a thin soupy mixture of raw flour and water liberally laced with molasses.

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[20] Cf. Boas, 1909, fig. 122. The Kwakiutl "hunting boxes" figures there are quite similar to Nootkan ones.

[21] Boas (1891, pl. 21) figures a number of vessels of this general type.

Neither wooden ladles or spoons nor those of horn were made by the Nootkans. A few chiefs, in the north, as usual, had such implements from Kwakiutl dowries, but they were more for display than for eating purposes.

MISCELLANEOUS HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

There were a number of odds and ends of utensils that were quite important to women in their housekeeping tasks. A woman would have been quite lost without her mussell-shell knife. These were made of one valve of the shell of a large mussell found on outlying rocks and islets. The hinge edge served as a grip and the lip edge was ground sharp on a slab of sandstone. A provident housewife would keep several knives, or at least the shells that could merely by sharpening be converted into knives, so that if one broke she had a substitute at hand. This implement remained in use until quite recent times, especially for cutting salmon, for it was believed that use of steel knives was offensive to the fish.

Another woman's knife was the awllike bone blade for slitting herring. A prized variety of this knife was one made of a deer ulna ground to a long slim point. Deer and bear bone were said to be preferred to other sorts for making awls and similar tools. Neither chipped stone nor ground slate was familiar to my informants as a medium for making cutting edges. It seems probable that in prehistoric times ground slate blades may have been used for some purposes.

The tongs (ʟa'mȧʟ), usually made of a seasoned piece of cedar split and bound tightly with withes at the handle end to prevent their splitting out, were intended for picking hot stones from the fire to put in the cooking boxes, but were actually used as an all-purpose tool. The housewife poked her fire with them, and, shaking off the ashes, used them to stir the food; she used them to pick pieces of meat from the cooking box to serve in the wooden dishes, and now and then to wallop a half-starved dog that persisted in hanging about the cooking place.

Special roasting tongs, like those the Kwakiutl are said to have used (Boas, 1909, p. 342), were not kept about, but were improvised as needed.

The lack of ladles has been mentioned in speaking of wooden utensils. The tongs were used to serve meat, and for boiled fish a dipper (tcinixyȧk) of sticks bound together in wrapped twining was made. The ends of half a dozen short splints of cedar were bound to two longitudinal splints with strips of cedar bark to form a small rectangle. Two longer sticks (or a single one split partway down its length) were similarly lashed down the middle of the rectangle to serve as a handle. The implement served for bailing up foods that would fall apart if taken up with tongs. The liquid, of course, ran off. Informants say, "The old-timers didn't like soup much."

The only spoons, except for the imported Kwakiutl articles, were shells of the large horse clam (amīq). It is said that the lips of these shells were often ground down, so perhaps they served more as knives, for separating pieces of food, than as spoons in the ordinary sense. The housewife usually kept enough of these around for ordinary needs. Some women kept them in small cedar-bark bags.

The use of boxes for the storage of oil has been mentioned. In addition, in times of plenty most households had a number of containers made of the viscera of animals and fish hung up around the walls and overhead. Interpreters usually speak of these vessels as "stomachs" of one kind or another, and I neglected to get a more precise definition. Quite large containers were made out of some part of the sea lion—perhaps from sections of its gut, unless the stomach lining was actually used, or possibly the bladder. The codfish "stomachs" often spoken of as serving for both containers and floats were probably the air bladders of those fish. I neglected also to discover how these receptacles were prepared for their use as oil vessels, but however prepared, and whatever they were anatomically, the sea lion and cod "stomachs" dangled from the rafters oozing oil. Kelp bulbs were not used for oil storage except when they were bought, oil and all, from the Southern Kwaiutl.

TEXTILES

The Nootkan textile arts were very similar to those of the Southern Kwakiutl that Boas has described in detail. Some differences may have existed anciently that could not be brought out by my informants, for some of the techniques, such as the weaving of rain hats, have been abandoned for quite a long time. Others, such as mat making are in common use at the present day, so that descriptions can easily be supplemented and clarified with demonstrations.

The chief textile materials of Nootkan weavers were the bark of the red and of the yellow cedar, spruce roots, and wild cherry bark. Weaving was considered woman's work. Actually, men did considerable weaving also, the magnitude of their products making up in part for their lack of neatness, for the sections of lattice of the various types of fish traps and weirs were made by men using one of the characteristic basket weaves. However, men did not weave the articles ordinarily considered textile products: robes, mats, and baskets. A variety of weaves were in use: simple and twilled checkerwork, with some special variations; simple and twilled twining, wrapped twining (the so-called "birdcage weave"). Coiled basketry was not made, except by the Alberni Canal groups, and even there, there was some feeling that it may have been a recent borrowing from Salishan neighbors (quite recently a few Clayoquot women have learned the craft). The very fine twined work in spruce root, with grass overlay and imbricated design, such as was used in the ancient chiefs' hats, seems to have had a curious history. During the early historic period it appears to have been pretty well abandoned, though the fine twining without overlay for ordinary rain hats persisted somewhat longer. Among the Makah, however, it seems to have been carried on, and early became adapted, or perverted, if you will, to the fabrication of knicknacks for the tourist trade. Swan, writing in 1864, speaks of the Makah putting on the market hats (woven in the shape of white man's straw hats), and basketry-covered "bottles and vials." (Swan, 1868, p. 45–46.) Within recent decades this "curio" application of the art has been taken up anew by most of the Nootkan tribes, so that nowadays they have a number of weavers who make very neat and attractive articles with decorative motifs ranging from whaling scenes to circus animals. A small tray given to me depicts a whale and whaling canoe that might have been copied from one of the hats Captain Cook saw, and next to them a rooster and a kangaroo. This weaving is not recognized as a revivification of an ancient art, but is considered a modern innovation. The white and dyed grasses used in the decoration are today purchased from the Makah.

Products of red cedar bark and yellow cedar bark were used in almost all aspects of Nootkan life. One could almost describe the culture in terms of them. From the time the newborn infant's body was dried with wisps of shredded cedar bark, and he was laid in a cradle padded with the same material and his head was flattened by a roll of it, he used articles of these materials every day of his life, until he was finally rolled up in an old cedar-bark mat for burial.

Yellow cedar bark was obtained from trees growing back in the woods, and up on the sides of the mountains. While gathering this material was ordinarily thought of as women's work, men often, if not usually, accompanied their wives, for the bark was heavy and had to be carried some distance. A knife or chisel was used to make a cut near the base of a young tree at a point where there was a long strip of trunk without branches. With her digging stick the woman pried the bark loose at the cut, and split it free along the sides of the strip as far as she could reach with the same implement. Then she or her husband grasped the strip of bark and backed away from the tree, tugging the bark loose. There is said to be quite a knack to tearing off a length that went high up on the trunk, varying the pressure with one or the other hand, moving slightly from side to side, and so on. The bark was folded into bolts about 3 feet long. When the couple or party (sometimes a number of people went together) had all the bark they could carry, they made it up into packs to bring it down to the canoes. The coarse outer bark was not split off when gathered, except for the flat dry scales near the base. At the village the bark was unrolled and put to soak in salt water in a quiet cove. Rocks were put on the strips to keep them from washing away. After some days, when thoroughly soaked and soft, the strips were taken out of the water, laid on an old plank, and pounded with the clublike grooved beater (hisyàk) of whale bone, until the inner layers of fiber could be pulled off. These fibrous strips were beaten again with the same implement until well separated. Then they were put to soak for a few days in a box of fresh water (to remove the unpleasant odor, it was said). Finally, they were wrung out and spread on the beach to dry, so that the short broken lengths of fiber could be culled out, and the rest saved to be woven.

A part of the strands were woven into thin cord to be used in weaving the robes, rain capes, and women's aprons. Spinning of this, and all other cordage, was done by hand, on the bare thigh. Spindles have not been used within the reach of modern folk-memory. Several informants recalled having seen Nitinat women spinning with large wooden spindle whorls, apparently like those of the Coast Salish. Presumably the practice of spinning with small bone and stone spindle whorls went out of use very early. (Cf. Boas, 1909, p. 373, and fig. 68.) Mountain goat wool (tsaq) was obtained in trade from the Southern Kwakiutl, and was highly esteemed. It was spun into heavy yarns for weaving, sometimes alone, or sometimes mixed with strands of yellow-cedar-bark fiber, to make it stronger, and, we may suppose, to make it go farther. A robe with a few widely spaced strands of goat wool was prized over one entirely of yellow cedar bark, and one with many such strands was yet more highly esteemed. Only chiefs could afford to have robes in which most or all the weft strands were of this material. Dog wool, and strands spun of mixtures of bark fibers and feathers, both Coast Salish manufactures, were not used.

The robes and capes were woven exactly like the Kwakiutl ones whose manufacture Boas (1909, pp. 395 ff.) describes. Hanks of shredded cedar bark were suspended over a bar, or "half-loom," and caught together by twining with cords, or the strands of goat wool. There was an especially fine type of robe in which wool wefts, in groups of fours, were twilled, instead of being in simple twined weave. Such robes were rare. The shape of the robe was the same as that of the Chilkat blanket, with straight top and sides, and deeply curved lower edge. Wool borders were often put on, but modern informants are not very clear as to how this was done. (Cf. Boas, 1909, p. 396, fig. 89.) Sometimes strips of sea otter fur or mink fur were sewn on around the edge instead. The rain cape was woven in the same technique, but wool wefts were not used. Women's front aprons were started like robes and capes, except that the wefts were long, so that the ends could be twisted or braided into a belt. Usually four or eight rows of twining across the top held the hanks of yellow cedar bark together. A chief's daughter might have an apron with strands of goat wool, but such garments were not common.

Red cedar bark was obtained in the same way as that of yellow cedar, strips being ripped off clear sections of the trunks of young trees. When she had a number of strips, the woman sat down to strip off the coarse outer bark. At the top of each strip she pried the two sections apart with her fingers, then taking the outer bark in one hand, and the inner in the other, she put one foot on the strip of bark to hold it taut. She braced her hands against her knees, then spread her knees apart. With the even pressure thus achieved the inner and outer layers of bark separated from the tips she held in her hands to the place where she had her foot. Splitting off the inner bark was a fairly rapid process. The bark was then folded into flat bolts to be taken home and spread out for a few days to dry. As she needed it, the woman split strips off the lengths of bark. A bone knife, usually of deer ulna, or seal rib, served to start the splits. The innermost layers of bark were for fine mats and baskets; the outer ones for coarse work.

For mats, a few strips of bark were usually dyed. For a black color the bark was buried a few days in black mud. There were certain places, known to all women, where mud occurred that gave a fast black color. Nowadays, black color is obtained by soaking the cedar bark in tubs of salt water with some rusty iron. For red, alder bark was boiled and the cedar bark soaked in the infusion. Designs were woven into the borders of the better mats, and a few had all-over designs consisting of zigzags and diagonals that crossed back and forth over the mat. To accentuate the patterns in the ordinary simple checker mats the borders were often woven with wider "warps" or a single wide element was worked in; the edges were finished off as in the Kwakiutl mats (Boas, 1909, figs. 74, 75, 76, 77). Diagonal checker was a common technique for finer mats, especially the long feast mats (yūtckanuł) which might reach, it is said, 40 feet or more in length. Twilling was said to have been used occasionally, but simple checkerwork, either straight or diagonal, was the most common mat technique.

The principal difference between Nootkan and Kwakiutl mat weaving, and one of which nearly all the informants were aware, was that the Nootkan mats were woven flat on the ground, not suspended over a bar as was the Kwakiutl method. Mats had innumerable uses. They served to sleep on, to cut fish on, to sit on in the houses and in canoes, and as "tablecloths" (spread on the ground) at feasts. Old ones were used to cover canoes.

Many types of baskets or, better, bags were woven of red cedar bark. The usual shape was, of course, rectangular, for the bottom was woven like an ordinary piece of matting. Very frequently the bottom of such cedar-bark bags was coarsely woven, of wide strips of bark, and bound with a row of twining in which a fine cord served for a weft. Above this point the cedar-bark elements were split fine and the weaving continued to the rim. Diagonal checkerwork, twilled work, and several varieties of openwork were used for the sides. A common variety of openwork consisted of bands of simple checker in which at regular intervals the warps were crossed. (Cf. Boas, 1909, fig. 83.) There was another variety of openwork in which the warps were alternately pulled to right or left, so that they crossed diagonally. At the interstices horizontal elements were inserted, making a three-element openwork.

My notes refer to a number of special forms of cedar-bark bags (or baskets), and there were doubtless many more. One of the most common types was the dried salmon basket (ʟapat). This was coarsely woven, of a size to accommodate the spread-out dried salmon piled flat in it, and was supposed to hold about as much as a man could handle conveniently. Special ones, used for gifts of dried salmon (especially dried sockeye) were made larger, so that it took two men to lift them. Tool baskets, or "wedge baskets," were long slender rectangles made especially for the carpenter to carry his chisels and wedges in. Harpoon baskets (ła'ac) were small flat bags; those for the whaling harpoons were just the size of the individual harpoon. I understood that they were always woven all over in checkerwork, never made of folded strips of bark with the ends twined together, Makah-fashion (Waterman, 1920, pl. 8, *a*). Tackle bags, for fishhooks and other small oddments, were woven of very fine strips of bark into a form like that of a modern folding tobacco pouch: a long strip folded double and bound along the edges to make a compartment at one end and closed by folding the long flap over two or three times. A small flat wallet (tsa'auts) was also finely woven and used for storing dentalia and similar articles of value. A similar wallet (nuxhwȧts) in openwork, usually, was used as a ditty bag by men, especially for trips back into the woods. A man would pack some shredded cedar bark, his strike-a-light, small containers of shot and caps, and a ration of dried salmon in his wallet, which he then tucked under his robe above his belt. Some of these wallets had telescoping covers, really bags a trifle larger, that slipped over the one used as a container. The largest containers of cedar bark were the big heavily reinforced containers for the whaling line, sometimes used as drogues.

Strips of cedar bark were also woven into line, a four-strand braid being the most common type. Use of such line was limited, for it did not compare with spun line for strength. Belts, to bind the yellow-cedar-bark robes snugly about the waist, were made of diagonal checkerwork. Early accounts mention more elaborate woven belts, but the method of manufacture of these is no longer recalled (Jewitt, 1895, p. 59). The rain capes of checkerwork (not the conical twined variety) were woven of checkerwork in two layers, one fine and the other coarse, bound together at the edges.

In addition to its almost infinite number of uses in the form of mats and baskets, red cedar bark was shredded for a host of purposes. The method of shredding was to feed a strip of bark across the edge of a paddle blade, striking it with a chopper or haggler just to the right of the blade. The Kwakiutl procedure was followed precisely, and for some time the same long-bladed wooden chopper has been in use. The ancient chopper, of whale bone, rather short, and usually decorated, was recalled by but few informants. (Cf. Boas, 1909, pp. 371, pl. 27, *a*, and figs. 65 (Kwakuitl type), 66, *a–d*.) This shredded bark, which could be made into soft clothlike strands or, by finer haggling, into a fluffy cottonlike mass, was used for cradle mattresses, for infants' headpressers and washcloths, for menstrual towels, for bandages, for napkins used after feasts, for tinder, and all through the historic period until breech-loading arms became common, for gun wadding. Plain or dyed red with alder bark, it was twisted into the turbanlike ceremonial head rings, and the neck rings, wristlets, and anklets of dancers. There were few routine or extraordinary activities that did not use this material in some way.

Simple twining was used for rain hats. Informants disagreed as to whether these objects were made entirely of spruce root, split into fine strands, or whether loosely spun strands of red cedar bark were used for the wefts. Possibly hats were made in either way. The hat was started from a four-bundle starting knot, additional warp elements being added as weaving progressed. (Cf. Mason, 1904, fig. 36.) Most of the older hats appear to consist of an interwoven double layer of twining. I could not learn just how this weaving was done. A short distance from the brim, a series of the inner warps, all the way around, were twisted into loops for the insertion of the headband. Some specimens seen have occasional rows of twilling on the outside, by way of ornamentation, though most of the hat was made in a simple twined weave. The hats were a good deal like the "inner hats" of the ancient specimens figured by Willoughby (1903, fig. 153), except that the curvature of the sides was convex rather than concave. The head band apparently fitted fairly high on the head; the brim came about to the level of the brows and a couple of inches out from them (the hats were not of the wide, flaring-brimmed type used by Haida and Tlingit). Most men fastened a bit of cord into the head band for a chin strap. Nootkan informants differentiate between the work methods of their weavers and those of their Kwakiutl neighbors by pointing out that West Coast women wove with the hat turned inside upward, on the floor, not suspended from a cord or over a stake, Kwakiutl style. This difference in mode of work extended to wrapped twined baskets as well. I have already remarked that the ancient double-layer hats with designs imbricated on a background of overlay are no longer remembered. The modern overlay twining baskets are often begun from a small rectangle of checkerwork, made of small flat bundles of spruce-root warps. The basic wefts are of cedar bark. Around the edge of the base there is often a course of three-element twining, with overlay, and from there on the wefts carry an overlay of bleached or dyed grass. Two or three rows of checkerwork are sometimes used to set off the decorative field. The designs are made in red, yellow, green, purple, etc., with grasses dyed with store dyes by the Makah.

Burden baskets, hand baskets, and some tool baskets were made in the wrapped twined technique. The tool baskets of this type tended to be rather rough, but the carrying baskets were neat and well made, as a rule, although roughly made baskets sometimes were used for gathering wood, clams, and the like. Slim evenly trimmed splints of cedar bough were used for the warps. Carrying baskets (ka'ōts) were made with a narrow base, so that from the side they had a sort of blunt wedge shape. Two warp rods somewhat heavier than the rest were wrapped together at their centers, then separated and bent upward to form the corners. The other warp elements of the sides were bent over them; those of the ends were inserted into the wrappings as the basket widened. Similar strands of cedar were run around the inside of the warps as the rigid weft elements. They were bound in place by wrapping them with fairly wide strips of wild cherry bark. Such baskets are still made and used, chiefly for berrying. The closely spaced turns of the glossy cherry bark give them a very pleasing appearance. To make rougher but stronger baskets in this technique, spruce root would be used for the wrapping material. Small hand baskets (noxhàts), for picking into when berrying, were made the same way, except that they had flat bottoms of simple checkerwork, and were wrapped twined only from sides to rim. Tool baskets were of cedar splints with spruce-root wrappings, and were long cylinders in form.

Tule mats are a variety of textile whose history among the Nootkans is not quite clear. When the people began to go down to the Fraser River and to the Puget Sound hopfields, they purchased sewn tule mats from Coast Salish with whom they came in contact, and before long began to make them themselves, using long-eyed yew needles, and "creasers" of wood or bone, in good Salish style. A few informants, however, believed that before the introduction of the sewn mats, tule mats were made in a twining technique, the stalks being bound together in pairs with a selvage made of leaves of the plants. This information comes from Muchalat and the Alberni Canal groups, and may reflect an older strain of Salishan influence, if it is correct.

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

The early historic narratives all give very detailed accounts of native dress at the period of Contact, probably because the types of garments struck the voyagers as novel, and also because they were obvious and easy to describe. On the basis of this information, we may see clearly that there was little change until the last decades of the last century aside from a gradual replacement of the aboriginal cedar-bark robes by "two-and-a-half-point" trade blankets. It was not until missionary influence became strong that the people began to adopt European garments; Father Brabant recounts his bitter struggle to make Nootkan men wear trousers to church. The travel to other regions, begun in the 80's and 90's, where both white men and other Indians were seen habitually wearing shirts and trousers, probably facilitated the adoption of the disliked apparel. Formerly, and during the period of these data, the garb worn by older people was quite similar to that described for the Kwakiutl (Boas, 1909, pp. 451 ff.).

Men, on the occasional pleasant days, wore nothing at all, aside from a few ornaments. For warmth, they put on a robe (ȧłmakȧł) of yellow cedar bark. This garment could be worn over the back, with the corners brought forward over the shoulders to be pinned together, a style of dress called mō'tchitcsȧ; but was more frequently put on under the left arm with the two corners pinned together over the right shoulder, so that both arms were free. This latter method was called ʟɛ'ac. It was worn this way with or without a belt. In cold and wet weather a man would supplement this robe with a short conical cape (ʟitɛnix) twined of yellow cedar bark that hung from about his neck to his elbows, and a rain hat (tsīyapuks) woven of red cedar bark, or of spruce root. These hats were much smaller than the northern (Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshan) ones. Informants describe this headgear as having the shape of a rather blunt, or truncated cone, with convex sides and inner fitted head bands. Chiefs are said to have worn painted versions of these. There was a rain cape of double matting that covered the back with extensions that were brought forward over the shoulders to be tied or pinned. It was just like the Kwakiutl specimen figured by Boas (1909, pl. 33). Women wore both yellow-cedar-bark robes and the conical capes. Early writers indicate that the capes were considered sufficient covering for the upper part of the body. In addition under the robes women always wore front aprons of strands of shredded cedar bark that hung in a loose fringe from a few courses of twining across the top.

There were a few local variations. Muchalat informants mention fur caps made of coon or beaver skin shrunk over a wooden form (?), and a very crude type of moccasin which they considered hunting gear (for it was used only by men who hunted land game in the snow). A hōpátɔisáth informant from the head of Alberni Canal, perhaps unconsciously trying to stress the difference between ancient essentially Salishan culture and that of the coastal tribes, added that some men wore buckskin shirts and leggings, but in view of the rarity of such garments among the Gulf of Georgia Salish,[22] I am very dubious of this information.

Men ordinarily wore their hair at about shoulder length, just long enough, as one informant put it, "to have enough to tie up on top of their heads for the dances." The shaggy, bushy-haired effect esteemed by the Kwakiutl was not in vogue, nor was it customary even for warriors and hunters. Women wore their hair in two braids, usually tying the ends together. They tossed the two braids behind them to keep them out of the way when working. Several of the early accounts suggest that the ancient fashion was for women to wear their hair loose, as one of Boas' Kwakiutl informants also maintained was their custom before use of braids (Boas, 1909, p. 486). Nonritual face painting was done by both men and women to protect their complexions; younger people were more prone to do it than their elders. It was done especially on sunny days. Even nowadays people worry a good deal about getting sunburned on the infrequent bright clear days. A person first put on a base of deer tallow, smearing it evenly all over his or her face, and then applied either a coat of hemlock sap (ʟatsip), which turned black, and had a pleasant odor, or a red ocher paint (kwɔhamīs). Only one informant, a Muchalat, knew of the micaceous material used in face painting that the early historic accounts mention so often. Both sexes wore ear ornaments, usually of dentalia, or copper, or abalone shell, or at times of glass beads. Persons of high rank usually had holes not only in the lobes but in the helix of their ears. In recent times women wore nose ornaments more commonly than did men, though both sexes had pierced nasal septums. Women also wore bead or dentalia necklaces commonly, and bracelets of various materials. Women's bracelets and anklets of strips of sea otter fur were mentioned by several informants. The anklets may have been simultaneously ornaments and continuations of the bands worn by young girls for the purpose of making their ankles small and their calves thick, which was considered good looking.

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[22] Barnett, 1939, p. 247. Barnett's Sechelt informant described a similar costume; all the rest told of types of dress that fit the general coastal pattern. Such anomalous data are questionable. In any case, the Sechelt was not a group with whom the hōpátɔisáth had any close contacts.

The early navigators make a great deal of distinctions between the everyday dress of chiefs and commoners. Modern informants say the differences consisted in a chief's wearing a hat with painted decoration and a robe with some wefts of goat wool, neither of which a commoner would have. However, even the chiefs saved their best robes, with considerable quantity of goat wool, for use on ceremonial occasions. One suspects the combination of facts—first, the festive, or semiceremonial occasions on which they had dealings, during which the chiefs would don their best, and second, the explorers' convictions as to the existence of a native royal caste—lead the early writers to stress unduly the differences of dress. One garment that delighted these early whites, and which soon became too valuable a commodity to keep for personal use, was the robe made of three sea otter pelts, or great numbers of mink and marten skins neatly sewn together. By the time the maritime fur trade had run its course, there were none of these robes to be found on the coast.

In the time of informants' youth, as remarked, it was the older conservative persons only who wore cedar-bark robes. The middle-aged and younger folk had given them up for trade blankets. Progressive young men found flannel shirts comfortable on cold days, and often confined their hair with a scarf or bandanna. They still regarded trousers and shoes as uncomfortable and inconvenient. Women seemed to have begun to wear dresses of trade cloth under their blankets about this time, and for festive occasions used gaily colored shawls supplied by the traders.

CEREMONIAL DRESS

In addition to the general practice of putting on one's newest and best garments for ritual occasions, there were some special pieces of wearing apparel and ornaments for such times. A man engaged in the ritual bathing for hunting luck, or for whatever it might be, tied his hair up on top of his head and put on a shredded-cedar-bark head band in which he stuck twigs of hemlock. Some men simply took a robe of bearskin, cutting a neckhole, and sewing the sides together (some informants described an unsewed slipover made by case-skinning the barrel and forequarters of the bear). It was slipped over the head, and worn fur side out. At the place he was to begin his bathing, the ritualist slipped out of his garment, putting it on again only after prolonged immersion in the water had chilled him till he could scarcely move.

Shredded cedar bark was a common badge at times of ceremonies. In the Shaman's Dance (ʟoqwɔnȧ) all the initiates wore head bands of this material dyed red with alder bark, and some of the principal performers—novices and dancers—wore very elaborate ornaments of the same material. Some of the head bands were almost turbanlike; others were small rings. In addition to the head bands, wristlets and anklets of the shredded bark were worn by dancers. My notes do not refer to neck rings, except for the few Kwakiutl-derived Hamatsa dancers, and for the novices, who wore head and neck rings, belts, anklets, and bracelets of shredded bark in which white fir twigs were inserted. The various types of these ornaments do not differ much from those that Boas (1895, passim) has described and figured in his account of Kwakiutl "secret societies." It should be noted also that the real shaman wore head rings of dyed cedar bark during his novitiate.

For various purposes, dancers inserted feathers in their head bands, or wore special head bands with feathers in them. These varied from those with one feather on either side (which usually referred to the spirits called "ya'ał") to headdresses with a complete circlet of vertical feathers. I was not told of any preference for feathers of certain birds: eagle and hawk feathers were often used, and when white feathers were desired, those of the swan were available. Down from under the wings of eagles, and from various kinds of ducks, was sometimes piled in a circular headdress so that it floated out in the air little by little with the dancer's movements. Down from gulls was never used for this.

The Nootkans distinguished several general categories of masks. There were numerous varieties of these, representing spirits of human and animal form. One such category was a mask for the face (hɔ'qom). These masks always had a grommet rove through and wrapped on the inside to form a bit which the wearer held between his teeth to help support the weight of the mask. A second type was a maskette worn in a headdress above the face (hūłuksum). This seems to be a type that has been diffused southward from the northern neighbors of the Kwakiutl. More characteristically Nootkan was the "mask" (really, headdress), made of a kerfed and bent cedar board, carved on the outside to represent the Plumed Serpent. This was designated ha'īʟikhsim. Boas (1895, pl. 48, and fig. 198) has published two examples of this type. Finally, and likewise very

Nootkan, was the headdress hollowed out of a block of cedar and carved to represent the head of a wolf. These were called xɛniqītsum. There were also a few masks or headdresses obtained from the Kwakiutl that represented great birds' heads, or heads of grizzly bears.

On all ritual occasions, participants wore their newest robes, and, those who had them, robes with the greatest amounts of mountain goat wool. Anciently, before they were bought practically off their backs, chiefs wore the rich robes consisting of three sea otter skins, neatly sewed together, with sea otter tails sewed on as ornaments. In recent times Chilkat blankets and "button blankets" (trade blankets with designs formed by mother-of-pearl buttons), were purchased for such displays. As usual, it was the Kwakiutl who were the last of the series of middlemen involved in the trading of these blankets from their source far to the north.

Several of the early sources mention a dance apron of deer hide to which jinglers of dewclaws and quills were attached. This garment was reported used by Central Nootkan informants; it seems to have fallen into disuse early in historic times among the Northern tribes.

The early sources also mention elaborate face painting, including the common use of the micaceous substance dusted over a well-greased base. Most modern informants know only of two kinds of face paint: red ocher, and charcoal for black. For ceremonies these were put on in a variety of stripes and other ways, distinct from the all-over daily style. Painting of the face with blood sprayed on by the mouth of the dancer's attendant was a special style for Shamans' Dance novices at one stage of the ritual.

SKIN DRESSING

Some modern informants say that their people did not dress skins as well as the interior people of the mainland (Interior Salish, for the most part, whom they have seen in the Fraser Valley). However, the quality of the preparation of sea otter skins and the like brought no complaints from the early traders, and the elk-skin armor of the war chiefs was softened enough to be wrapped around them and yet permit them to move about, so probably the deprecatory remarks should be modified to say that not so much tanning was done as by the interior tribes, and there was far less interest in buckskin. Furs were usually open-skinned, that is, cut down the belly, out along the limbs, and peeled off the back. Some of the bear-hide "vests" worn by some men during training rituals were case-skinned. Opened skins were laced to a fixed rectangular form made of four poles lashed together. The flesh side of the skins was scraped in former days with a large mussell shell. In recent times iron blades lashed to handles to form end scrapers have come into favor. Usually two men worked together on a hide. After scraping it well, the slack was taken out of it by tightening the continuous lacing by which it was fastened to the frame. It was allowed to dry a bit, then sprinkled with warmed stale urine and scraped again. This process was continued over a period of some days until the hide remained soft. Ashes, brains, etc. were said not to have been used. No one nowadays is quite sure how the hides used for armor were tanned; most people think the hair was left on, and the skin was put through the same process, but left a bit stiff. The only dehaired hides (so far as is known in modern times) were (and are) the deerskins used for the recently introduced tamborine drumheads. These are buried tightly rolled up a while before beginning the scraping, and "the hair slips right off," say informants.

TRANSPORTATION

The Nootkans traveled considerably within their small world, little outside of it. The chief mode of travel was, of course, by canoe. Baggage was easily accommodated in the roomy large canoes; when there was much gear, as during the movements from one fishing station to another, they made "rafts" by lashing house boards across two large canoes and piling their goods on the resultant platform. Logs, for house posts, beams, and the like, were towed in the water.

There were not many occasions for carrying loads on the back. Women picking berries, or digging roots or clams, used burden baskets, usually with a strap across the chest. A few special articles, like cedar bark, also had to be carried some distance at times.

The tumpline (mama'anim) was made of lengths of selvage twined together loosely in the middle to make a flat band, and with the ends braided in three-strand. Both men and women used it to carry loads, such as firewood. A cross-chest carry was used more commonly for heavy packs than the head carry. The tumpline was used by women for berry baskets, and other containers, such as the cedar-bark "baskets," or bags, called ʟapat, in which dried fish were packed.

There were other ways of baling up loads, depending on the materials involved. Strips of cedar bark, for example, were rolled into flat bolts 1½ to 2 feet long. Four or five such bolts, depending on their width, were laid parallel to each other and across two straps of bark 8 to 10 feet long. Two light rods were laid on top of the bolts parallel with the straps, and caught to the latter by thongs passed between the bolts. Another layer of bolts of bark was laid on and lashed down with rods in the same fashion. When four or five layers had been bound on—depending on the size of the bolts of bark and the distance to camp or to the canoe—the long straps were brought up over the bale and tied firmly a little to one side of the middle. Then loops were tied in them for shoulder straps. Any convenient scrap of bark was used to tie the straps across the chest to steady the load (fig. 15).

Meat, such as that of deer or elk, was commonly butchered out off the bones and rolled up in the hide (or pieces of the hide in the case of an elk). Armholes were cut in the hide, and the shoulder straps thus formed were caught with a thong or strip of bark across the chest, like those of the cedar-bark pack.

Blankets, when transported in quantities, as for instance for marriage payments, or the gifts a chief took home from a potlatch, were baled up in cedar-bark mats. Ordinarily these bales were carried to and from the canoes in the arms, but if there was a long portage, they would be packed with tumplines.

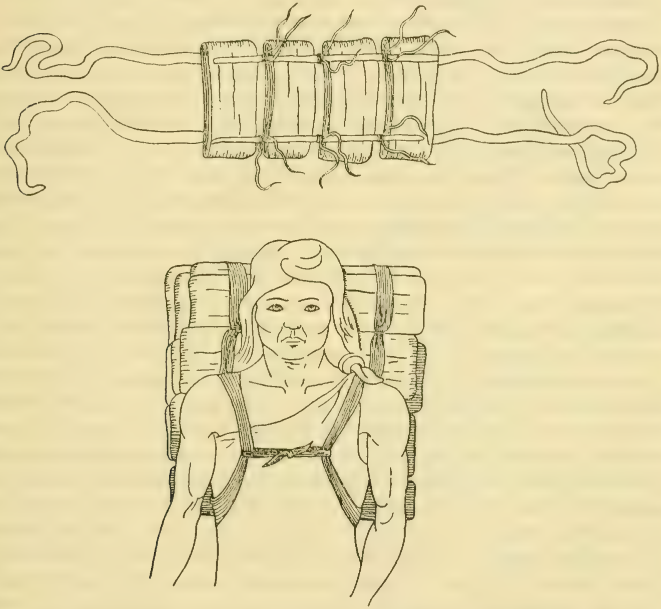

Figure 15.—Method of preparing and of carrying pack of cedar bark.

Small bundles ordinarily were tucked under the arm for carrying. The checkerwork ditty bags, in which were carried small valuables, or various useful oddments, or a hunk of dried salmon one took for "lunch" on a trip into the woods, were transported thus, or tucked into the overlap of one's blanket over the belt.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Musical instruments of the Nootkans were limited to a very few articles, used during rituals. Rattles were of three types: the wooden rattles, usually carved in the form of a bird (they usually look more like ducks than any other species, although no one nowadays knows why this should be so); shamans' rattles of baleen or imported mountain sheep horn, made by steaming and bending an elliptical piece of the material till it was folded double over a wooden handle; and the pecten shells strung on a withe used by the tsaiyeq dancers of the Central tribes. All rattles were called kuhmīn. The dance skirt, adorned with bird beaks and deer hooves or dewclaws, might be included as a sort of rattle. Few modern informants know of it, however, though it is frequently mentioned by early voyagers. One form of drum was a long plank laid across short sticks to raise it off the floor and pounded on with short hardwood billets. Another was a long narrow lidless box, one end of which was raised by slinging it from a line over a beam to increase the resonance. The drummer wrapped a bundle of shredded cedar bark about his fist to thump the instrument. In recent times the tambourine drum—a piece of rawhide stretched over a circular hoop frame and beaten with a padded drumstick—has been introduced for accompanying lahal-game singing. A special item in the sound-effects department was a long wooden box (sometimes the box drum was used) in which a lot of fist-size stones were put, to make a thunderous sound when the box was tilted first one way and then the other. Whistles were the only wind instruments. They were used only for the Shamans' Dance. These are said to have been of many varieties, although the main points of difference seem to have been between the small simple whistles of certain novices, and the larger whistles with reeds of the men who played the part of Supernatural Wolves (some of the large whistles did not have reeds). There were also multiple whistles that produced several tones. Flutes or flageolets were unknown. The bull-roarer, a board whirled at the end of a string to make a humming noise, was like the whistles associated with the Shamans' Dance. The musical bow was not known.

FIRE AND LIGHTING

The ancient method of kindling fire was by use of the simple drill rotated between the palms against a wooden hearth. Drill and hearth were of dry red cedar. Finely shredded cedar bark was heaped at the base of the hearth as tinder. It is said that when the prevailing dampness made it more difficult than usual to ignite the fine dust produced by the drilling, the firemaker dug a little wax from his ear and smeared it over the drill tip to speed the process. In any event, making fire by this method was claimed to be very difficult—all the informants said their old people had told them so. Only men could do it, they were told. Women lacked the necessary strength and endurance. Lighting fires was not a daily chore, for the cooking fires were banked at night with chunks of half green or water-soaked wood that would hold the fire until morning. If a woman's fire went out in the night, she could borrow a brand from a more careful housemate. When shifting residence, slow matches of tightly twisted cedar-bark rope that burned very slowly were carried.

Drilling fire was only a memory, or a method to be used in emergencies, in informants' lifetimes, of course. Strike-a-lights were introduced by early traders, and later block matches were considered an indispensable item. For a long time, however, the practices of keeping fires going continually, and carrying a slow match, were kept up, for fire lighting is difficult at best in that damp climate. The bow drill, for making fire, was introduced in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Just how and when could not be learned. One surmises that the implement might have been observed in some Eskimo or Aleut village where some sealing schooner with Nootkan hunters put in. Since the device had to compete with continually better types of matches it never attained great favor, although many people know of it today.

Both men and women got wood, although women's wood gathering consisted chiefly of picking up small driftwood along the beaches. Men got "big wood"—big lengths of driftwood, or lengths of sound windfalls not too far from the water to be levered down to the beach with poles and towed home. It is claimed, incidentally, that there was much less driftwood on the beaches before the days of the logging industry. Men also gathered quantities of thick bark of Douglas fir for hot smokeless fires, and the partly rotten hemlock wood for smoke-curing salmon.

The household fires provided the only lighting in the houses, formerly. On ceremonial occasions the family fires were put out after a huge fire in the center of the house had been lit. Whale oil was thrown on this central fire to make it blaze up at appropriate times during the rituals; at other times, to permit stage shifting, as it were, men came running in carrying buckets of water with which they suddenly doused the fire to leave the house almost dark. By the time it had been rebuilt from the embers, other men had set up whatever mechanical contrivance was to be shown, or had changed their costumes, or had done whatever else was ritually necessary. Torches, usually of long splints of dry cedar lashed tightly together, or seasoned resinous knots, were often carried outside at night.

A few people recalled hearing of a lighting device that appears to have been used, though not extensively, about the 1850's or perhaps a little earlier. It was a lamp made of a large deep-sea clamshell, of the sort that washes up on the beach, filled with dogfish oil. The wick is said to have been a thick hank of shredded cedar bark. Memory of the object is perpetuated in its name, hahatmaq, referring to the dogfish oil (hatma), which was transferred to coal-oil lamps on the introduction of this latter by white traders. The source of this oil lamp, so suggestive at first glance of some Eskimo-Aleut connection, is shrouded in mystery. The informants who told of the clamshell lamp, incidentally, considered it to have been a very ancient device of their people; they had no notion that it was a historic introduction. It must be noted, however, that early historic sources are quite explicit as to the absence of any lighting but that of the household or ceremonial fires. While casual visitors might have overlooked the lamps, it is difficult to believe that such observers as Moziño and Jewett would have missed them. It seems certain that the introduction or invention must have been made in historic times. Yet, unlike the bow drill, which apparently is to be attributed to about the period of the Bering Sea sealing voyages, what few clues informants could assemble—that is, who of their elders had told them of the lamps, and so on—suggest that the device had its brief vogue 20 to 30 years or more before the Nootkans began to go fursealing.[23] Were it not for the unusually rich literature on Nootkan life and customs of the period of first European contacts, we should have to accept modern informants' opinions that Nootkan lamps go back to prehistoric times.

TOBACCO AND CHEWING GUM

Prior to the maritime-fur-trade period, the Nootkans neither knew tobacco nor any substitute for it, either for smoking or for chewing with lime in the Haida manner. Early sources and modern informants agree on this point. It was some time before smoking became a popular habit, and once it was taken up, was used European fashion, as a casual pastime without ritual significance. Trade tobacco was smoked in clay pipes of the sort used by English and American traders of the day, imported, of course, by the traders.

Chewing spruce gum was a Nootkan pastime or vice, however one may view it, to which the people were addicted long before the introduction of the modern confection based on chicle. Lumps of the hard dried gum from recent scars on trees were collected and made soft, and cleaned as well, by heating the gum on the end of a stick held near the fire, and catching the drippings in a clamshell of water. Bits of bark, needles, and miscellaneous debris were picked out of it at the time. Of course, the gum had other uses beyond keeping people's jaws occupied: it was used for covering over the bindings of harpoon points to make them smooth and waterproof, for mending cracks in canoes, and many other processes, and was thus much more useful than modern chewing gum.

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[23] Hough (1898, p. 1039) also refers to Nootkan shell lamps in which whale oil was burned, based on information from a man who visited Cape Flattery and Vancouver Island about 1850.

PETS

Dogs were kept, for no particular reason except that the animals managed to survive and preferred human company to competing with the wolves in the woods. Only rarely did the animals serve any useful purpose. One Ehetisat chief of bygone times had a famous large dog that chased deer and elk from small islands into the water, but so far as is known the chief's contemporaries made no attempt to train their pets to be similarly useful. The dogs were not of the woolly sort raised by the Gulf of Georgia Salish. If the beasts were of no particular use, neither can it be said that they were pampered. They lived on what scraps they could scavenge, chiefly offal, and efforts were made to prevent their eating even this poor fare during the early part of the salmon runs while restrictions were still in force. Chiefs' dogs were given high-sounding names, referring to their owner's greatness. Other men's dogs received casual names, referring to their color or markings.

Of other pets, tame crows and seagulls are said to have been the most popular. They became quite tame when caught young, and could be let loose, for they would come back to the house in the evening, it was said. Most chiefs had special names, which only they could give their pet birds. Smaller birds were often taken, but as they were given to the children as playthings, they did not last long. One Muchalat informant made quite a name for himself in his youth as a sort of Nootkan Frank Buck by finding a number of wolf dens, and bringing home the litters; he also caught a bear cub on one occasion. Some of the animals he sold, some he gave to relatives. They were kept tied up. Those that lived all became vicious, and either escaped to the woods or had to be killed. Probably the same thing has happened many times in the past, young animals being brought home, played with a bit, then left alone till they escaped or died.

WEALTH GOODS

The Northwest Coast has long been characterized in accounts of travelers and ethnographic descriptions as an area where wealth bulked large in native consciousness. Interpretations of the aboriginal social structures as being integrated by the wealth complex have been made. Conditioned by that sort of picture, one rather expects to find elaborate systems of currency, or near-currency, and scales of relative values minutely worked out. Actually such minute and precise interest in wealth goods seems to have been developed only in northwestern California, the extreme and marginal periphery of Northwest Coast culture, where the people haggled and split hairs over microscopic variations in the few dentalia that reached them. The northwest Californians tattooed themselves with marks to measure dentalia by, and thought of stabbings and black eyes in terms of how many shells would be required to salve the plaintiff's pride. As one proceeds northward to the heart of the area such notions dwindle away. Nootkan wealth-concept revolved about economic wealth in the form of territorial holdings; ceremonial wealth, in the form of honorable names, titles, and ritual privileges. Token wealth ranked after these in importance. And the tokens (simply luxury goods of various sorts) were not elaborately graded, and there were no standards of relative values. For example the big "war" or "freight" canoes, used in changing residence and in ceremonies, are almost invariably mentioned in listing valuables or riches. Yet there was no fixed scale according to which such a craft was worth so many sealing canoes, so many slaves, or such an amount of dentalia. The wealth goods could not be used to buy or sell, in the precise meaning of these terms: they could only be bartered. There were rough standards, of course—no one would seriously offer a single dentalia shell for a large canoe—but each exchange was arrived at as an individual case, just like a horse trade in our culture of frontier days. Even more often there was no preliminary agreement. A chief might tell a canoe maker to make him such-and-such a type of canoe. When it was done, he gave the man a gift in return. Interpreters say "he paid the canoe maker," but the amount depended on the chief's prosperity and attitude toward the canoe maker, and even more his own self-esteem. The more he gave, the more he showed that his resources were so abundant that they mattered little to him. The canoe maker would be content if he were given a sea otter hide; if he were given two or three he would realize he was dealing with a great personage. Something of this attitude has persisted, I believe, to the present day, making the native attitude toward modern wealth tokens—Canadian dollars—rather different from what their white neighbors expect. Modern economy does not do much to alter this attitude either, for when a man makes a thousand dollars or more in a few weeks' fishing one season, and the next year works harder and barely breaks even on expenses, it is difficult for him to think of money in terms of an equivalent in human effort or any other rigid standard.

Consistent with this vagueness as to values and the loose barter system, there was no concept of borrowing and lending, and even less, of loans at interest.

Checking the lists of potlatch gifts and the bride prices and dowries, which seems to be a good way to learn what things were reckoned valuables, shows that during the latter portion of the nineteenth century most of the items were trade goods. Cotton blankets, cash (which became common on the coast with fur sealing, for the sealers paid off in cash), guns, and cotton cloth predominate. The minor items, given to women at potlatches, included cheap chinaware, glass beads, shawls, and the like. Dentalia are never mentioned, except for the ritual hair ornaments of pubescent girls, and a few necklaces and the like that conservatives saved for special occasions. Abalone shells were cut up to make ornaments, ear pendants, and the like, but are seldom mentioned as gifts. Big canoes are among the very few articles of native manufacture figuring often in potlatches. Speaking in generalties, people say that slaves were regarded as wealth goods, and could be traded off, or given away. Specific instances of giving slaves away are very rare indeed, however, though many were bartered to distant tribes, where their chances for escape were few. Coppers, as used by the Kwakiutl for prestige-making gifts and exchanges, were known of but not used by the Nootkans. All in all, from a survey of the modified recent culture, one wonders what, besides a few dentalia and goat-wool yarn and canoes, constituted the ancient wealth goods. So far as one can tell, in recent times and earlier as well, these "wealth goods" were simply luxury items, esteemed, but scarcely regarded as treasure, and definitely not as "money."

DENTALIA

The dentalia fishery of the Nootkans has brought them some fame, as these tribes were apparently the source from which the prized shells were spread up and down the Pacific coast, and inland, in early historic times at least, to the Great Plains. The shells actually grow, as I understand, over a wide area in Pacific waters, but apparently only under rather special conditions do they occur in beds shallow enough for the Indians to reach them with their rather crude sounding devices. Oregon Indians and Haida alike claim to have found dentalia occasionally washed up on the beaches, but such shells were often damaged and lusterless. The Nootkans were the only people who got the live shells from the beds.

Even in Nootkan territory dentalia grounds were limited. The only known bed available to the Northern tribes was that at cahqos, northwest of Tachu Point, in Ehetisat territory. As mentioned in the discussion of territorial rights, a number of individual chiefs of adjacent groups, Nuchatlet and Kyuqnot as well as Ehetisat, owned rights to utilize those grounds. There seems to have been another important bed in Barkley Sound, and shells are said to wash ashore frequently on Long Beach, near Ucluelet. These are the only places of which I heard, although it is possible there were a few other minor ones, where dentalia were obtained.

The method of bringing up the shells is well known, even though none of my informants had ever actually seen it performed; it was abandoned before their time. A bunch of fine cedar splints was lashed to one end of a long fir pole in a round bundle flaring toward the unlashed end in a form resembling somewhat that of a home-made broom. The bundle was 8 or 9 inches across at the open end. The splints in the center were quite fine, those near the edge, coarser, and around the outside was a row of flat rather wide splints. A hole was cut in a narrow piece of board so it would slip over the end of the bundle where it was lashed to the pole, but would not slip off the flaring end of the "broom." Two stones of about the same size, weighing, informants estimated, about 10 pounds each, were lashed in withes and secured to the ends of the perforated board. The dentalia fisherman provided himself with enough additional poles in 15- to 20-foot lengths, to reach bottom at the grounds when joined end to end, and a quantity of good heavy cordage of nettle fiber. He went out to the grounds with the poles and the broomlike affair in his canoe. There he laid the "broom" in the water, with the perforated board in place. The weight of the stones pulled the "broom" end down, and the fisherman lashed another of his poles to the upper end, continuing to join the poles till he could sound the bottom. For greatest efficiency of the rather clumsy implement, of course, the stone weights should have almost counterbalanced the effective buoyancy of the poles and board; it may be that the estimates of weights given are a little low. In any case, when he had enough poles lashed together, he jabbed downward sharply a few times, then pulled up the pole, letting the top lean over till the whole length was afloat in the water. One informant specified a line was made fast to the lower end, just above the bundle of splints, to pull it up by; this sounds like the most practical method. As the gear was raised the weights drew the perforated board down snug over the splints, compressing them slightly. If he had been lucky the fisherman found a dentalia shell or two pinched firmly between the splints (not, informants insisted, skewered on them); if not, there was nothing but mud and trash from the sea floor. Then he had to unlash his poles, paddle back to the place he had been sounding, for the water was too deep to anchor in, and rig his gear for another sounding. It was a slow laborious task, by all accounts. One hardly wonders that it has been a long time since anyone has gone to all that trouble.

The fact that the apparatus is an invention of no mean order is worth stressing. The part that made the gear function—the weighted perforated board that made the splints grip any small object inserted between them—is mechanically quite neat. One is impressed by the abstract reasoning involved. A primitive inventor conceivably could work out a new device for, let us say, hurling a spear, in great part by trial and error, for he could actually see what his experimental model was doing. Whoever invented the dentalia gear had to be able to visualize what his equipment was doing out of sight in deep water. He had to be sure enough of it to know that when it brought up no shells on several tries the reason was no shells grew where he made the sounding, until he eventually found the beds (unless he was such a fortunate individual that he achieved success on the first few tries).

The day's catch of shells were boiled in a small cooking box to remove their unfortunate occupants, and then put into a box of fine sand to polish them up a bit. Informants said rather vaguely the shells were "stirred around" in the sand—one might guess they were shaken gently back and forth to remove mosslike marine growth that the boiling had not detached. Not a great deal of such polishing was necessary. After some quantity of dentalia had been collected, they were sorted into lots of large (ɑ'ɛh), medium (ō'ō'umh), and small (àtcàqinhais) shells and stored in small finely woven cedar-bark baskets. The sizes were not measured, but roughly estimated by eye. There is said to have been no particular difference in value of the three sizes, but "it looked better to have all about the same size on a necklace." The shells were also sometimes strung on fathom-long strings for storage.

ABALONE SHELLS

The Spaniards seem to have begun the importation of "Monterrey shells" to the Nootkans. There is a persistent rumor, referred to also by Swan (1868, p. 47), that large richly colored abalone shells occur somewhere in the Gulf of Georgia or upper Queen Charlotte Sound region, and that they were obtained from the Southern Kwakiutl in prehistoric times. The local abalone, with its small thin pallid shell, was never used. Whether or not the large shells ever reached Nootkan territory before white contacts, they soon came to be highly esteemed, and many a fur was traded for them. The fur traders' tendency to try to standardize the rates of barter led them, it is said, about the middle of the past century, to set a price of one shell per span of length of a sea otter skin. When the Indians learned this scale, it did not take them long to discover that a green sea otter pelt could be stretched a span without visibly affecting the density of the pelage by weighting the lower end when it was hung up. It seems clear that they could comprehend the principle of stabilized relative values if it were brought to their attention.

SEA OTTER PELTS

The sea otter skins themselves were valuables of a sort anciently esteemed so highly that only persons of high rank wore cloaks made of them. All through the historic period until the fairly recent very rigid enforcement of game laws, the occasional sea otters that could be taken were prized as tradable commodities. Even then, when the pelts were given away in potlatches on rare occasions, no particular notice was paid, so far as we can learn, to size or quality, although the Indians were well aware that the white trader would measure the skin, feel the density of the fur, and so on, in setting a price on it.

BLANKETS

Informants conjecture nowadays that their forebears used the yellow cedar bark "blankets" or robes as potlatch gifts before the day of the cotton trade blanket. Men of high rank would have been given robes with goat-wool wefts. While it is likely that the robes with varying amounts of the imported goat wool were esteemed, being considered proper for chiefs, one is inclined to doubt that the common ones of yellow cedar bark ever had such a use. For one thing, there is no hint, either from native sources or from early historic accounts, of production centers in which quantities of yellow-cedar-bark robes were woven to provide surplus quantities, nor on the other hand, do we hear of people who lacked the garments because of their poverty. In other words, the women of every family wove the robes the family wore, so there was little room for a wealth-token function to attach itself to these articles. The goat wool, already spun, or in the form of four-finger-wide strips of hide, was different, because its possession indicated not simply high rank, but also formal relationship with Southern Kwakiutl chiefs from whom the material was obtained. The real use of blankets as wealth tokens derives from white contacts, going back to the days of the fur and dogfish-oil trades. Following the lead of Hudson's Bay Company, the traders used the cheap cotton blankets, valued at $1.50 a pair, as the unit of value, just as the "beaver" had been established as the trade unit in the interior. It was the traders, not the Indians, who set the prices of guns, powder, molasses, beads, and other articles in terms of blankets, translating dollar values of their merchandise into this unit. The blankets soon became popular and became the nearest thing to currency there was, because the traders would receive them in exchange for other items.

An additional incentive to their use was that they were showy, in their four colors of white, red, green, and black.[24]

CALENDARS AND MNEMONICS

Among the various items of knowledge, we may include the calendric system. Time was measured only in the crudest way by the Nootkans, the year being noted as a unit consisting of two phases according as the sun was increasing in northerly or southerly declination. So far as modern informants know, there was no designation for "year" nor for the two parts of it just mentioned. It is said that the summer and winter solstices were noted by people who took it on themselves to watch the apparent point of emergence of the sun. At the point of maximum southerly and at that of maximum northerly declination, the sun was said to rise in the same place for 4 days, then "started back" in the other direction.[25] The names for the solstices were simply phrases expressing literally the rising in one place that was believed to occur: tɛ'aɫ hūpàɫ, "continually in one place—the sun," i. e., the solstice. Lesser periods were computed according to the lunar periods, 12 or 13 to the year.

The moon count was of the descriptive type for the most part, referring to natural phenomena, the fish runs, flights of waterfowl, and the like. Informants are divided in opinion as to just when the count was conceived of as beginning in former times. Some think it began with the moon following the summer solstice, and there is some early validation of such a belief in early historic accounts, such as that of Moziño (1913), who gives a midsummer moon as the first one of his list. Other people believe it began with the "elder" moon, about November, which ordinarily marked the beginning of the ceremonial season, when the people had assembled in their winter villages after the fall salmon fishing. This was also the moon when many men began their sessions of ritual bathing for one or another activity.

The moon counts of the Northern tribes seem to have been identical, although occasionally informants switched pairs of moon names about. By adjusting these apparent errors (some of which are obvious because of the events mentioned in the moon name), we get the following list:

Month (about)	*Moon name*	*Meaning*
November	ma'mīqsū	Elder sibling (moon).
December	qaɫatik	Younger sibling (moon).
January	wīyàqhàmɫ	No (food getting) for a long time (?) moon.
February	axhàmɫ	Bad weather moon (?) (one person suggested the word referred to axcil, "ebbing" (of tide)).

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[24] The blankets used by the Kwakiutl and other tribes in the Hudson's Bay Company territory were chiefly white, although for wear other colors (perhaps more expensive) were in vogue. The greater variety available to the Nootkans was apparently due to competition between the independent traders.

[25] This is actually not true, of course, according to modern astronomical concepts.

Month (about)	*Moon name*	*Meaning*
February	ai'tamił	False (spawning) moon.
March	aiyakámił	Herring spawn moon.
April	hō'ukamł	Geese moon.
May	taqʟatqɔámł	Stringing (berries) moon.
June	qawɔcámił	Salmonberries moon.
July	asatsámił	Wasp moon.
August	satsámił	Spring salmon (run) moon.
September	hɛniqoɔásámił	Dog salmon moon.
October	etsosimił	Rough sea moon.

As may be noted, I had the usual trouble of fitting the 13 lunar names into our month system, but the sequence was as above. Informants tell of "old-timers" arguing over what moon it was; presumably, if the geese came north early one year the month in which they came became the "Geese moon" no matter if the previous moon had not run its course.

A moon count given by an Ahousat informant differed more widely from the other counts than any other. He insisted it began in midsummer, with tɛasimił, "Solstice moon," followed by máʟimał (referring to baiting hooks ?); na'ał, "Berries (moon)"; tciyakámił, "Cutting fish moon"; áthesámił, "Long nights moon"; īɛhhámił, "Big moon" (this was supposed to be several days longer than the rest); tɛasimił, "Solstice moon" (December); yakwɛ'hau'ásimł, "Next to (solstice) moon"; haiyasimił, "Great cold moon"; ʟusámił, "Herring moon"; aiyakámił, "Herring spawn moon"; and huyakámił, "Geese moon." This was the only moon count reported that did not use the terms for elder and younger sibling for two of the lunations. A Clayoquot calendar retained the same terms as used by the Northern Nootkans except that it substituted inihitckmił, "Getting ready (for whaling)" for "Stringing (berries) moon" and ta'atokámił, "Drifting moon" (said to refer to the fact that whales swim rapidly, so the canoe "drifted away" from them), instead of the "Wasp moon." Knipe (1868) published a Toquiat moon count, that also presents some new names, although retaining the "elder" and "younger sibling" moons. Why there should have been such differences, is difficult to understand; one would expect all the moon counts to differ, or that they would all be uniform, instead of being uniform among the Northern tribes and varied among their neighbors.

It should be added, while discussing the moon count, that according to Nootkan usage, a moon "began" with the appearance of the first quarter, not with the dark of the moon as in our system.

To keep records of the passage of moons, for example, when a man's bathing ritual required 4 or 8 or 10 moons of bathing, it was customary to tie knots in a string kept for the purpose. These simple quipus were used for other records as well: a famous sea hunter at

Kyuquot had his wife spin two long strings of yellow-cedar-bark fiber (apparently because the weak cordage would not be used for some other purpose and lost), and in one he tied knots to indicate the number of hair seals he killed, and in the other a knot for each sea otter. The number of days duration of a voyage, a pubescent girl's days of restriction, and other things were similarly recorded by the people concerned. There were no special types of knots used for different classes of objects; only the owner of the string would know whether the knots represented hair seals or moons of bathing ritual. A tradition tells of a young chief who improvised a simple quipu of this sort to remind him of the number of songs of a ritual that he learned from supernatural beings.

Of course, the bundles of sticks used in potlatch invitations were mnemonic devices, though of a less permanent sort than the knotted strings. The speaker making the formal invitation had two bundles of small splints made for the occasion; one splint for each chief to be invited who was to occupy a potlatch seat was in one bundle, and in the other bundle, one splint for each person of lower rank. As he called each name in order of rank, he or an assistant threw down the stick from the proper bundle.

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

In Nootkan culture as in all others there were two types of patterns aimed at molding the individual into a socially acceptable, adequate person. The first of these were the common life crises observances. These were essentially therapeutic, intended either to protect or aid the individual, or to protect society from contamination by him, and must be compared to such practices in our culture as vaccination and quarantine. In the native view the practices were strictly scientific—action A necessarily producing effect B—although to us the line of reasoning may seem obviously specious, and often downright quaint. There is little in this that is novel in Nootkan culture, and perhaps little that is instructive in the long list of prohibitions and prescribed activities although the material is easy enough to collect. I regret that I overlooked an intriguing aspect of these customs: the extent to which individuals actually observed them, and the causes and effects of their disuse in modern times. In one respect the life crises patterns of the Nootkan Indians were noteworthy (although it is a feature they shared with their neighbors on the Northwest Coast) and that is the emphasis they put on combining activities which were societal in import with the ordinarily individualistic rites. That is to say, every important step along life's road, including the life crises, called for a public announcement and festivities. Of course, the extent to which this was done varied with the person's rank. A chief's life was punctuated by an infinity of public celebrations: feasts, potlatches, and Shamans' Dances, each time with the assumption of a new name to signalize his new status, from the time his mother's pregnancy became known until his heir gave a memorial potlatch to remove the tabu on the last-used name a few years after his death. A child's first tooth, the first solid food he ate, the first bird he slew with his toy bow, the piercing of his ears, were all potential occasions for festivities. Since the scale on which these announcements of social significance were celebrated varied both according to one's rank and the condition of the family exchequer, this aspect of the Nootkan life cycle will be dealt with somewhat casually here, and stressed in the discussion of rank.

The second type of malleable patterns were the more subtle ones of childhood training and education. I am very conscious of the deficiencies of my data in this important field. I have, therefore, combed the notes for casual references that seem to give some insight into the problem of how people were brought up to be Nootkan tribesmen. Perhaps these scant notes will provide useful leads to further investigation.

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH CUSTOMS

The following accounts of the usages prior to and after the birth of a child, as related by a Muchalat and an Ehetisat informant, may be taken as typical of observances at these times among all the Nootkan tribes. Both accounts are given because they differ at some points, and emphasize different parts of the observances; some of these points cannot very well be accounted for except on the basis of local differences. For example, not only the Muchalat account presented here, but all the Central Nootkan informants, specified that the parturient remained in the hut in which the birth had taken place for 4 days, and the child was kept in the mat cradle the same length of time, whereas the Ehetisat informant insisted on 10 days as being the proper length of time. Since the latter was a woman of high rank, and had been made to observe the old customs punctiliously when her children were born as well as at most other times of her life, it is likely that there was a real difference of custom involved, the Muchalat following the Central rather than the Northern Nootkan pattern. Statements of even such good observers as Sproat and Moziño to the effect that women went about their daily affairs immediately after parturition are to be discounted; such women as they saw going about soon after childbearing must have just been released from the confinement hut after the locally proper period of seclusion.[26]

The account of the Muchalat observances during pregnancy and childbirth was prefaced with a remark that, "they were more particular about the rules during a woman's first pregnancy" than for subsequent ones, owing to the attitude that the first delivery was the most difficult and most dangerous. As soon as the woman became aware that she was pregnant (on cessation of the menses), she confided in her mother or other elder female relative, who instructed her in the necessary behavior. The rules governing her activities from this time on were all directed to the end of ensuring an easy delivery and a healthy child. Food restrictions were few: the woman could eat almost anything at this time. The point of most importance was that she must not eat left-overs of any kind. Should she do so, eating food or even drinking water that had remained for long in the cooking box or dish, the child would remain in the womb long past the time for delivery. This observance was carried to a logical conclusion, and its strict practice was guaranteed, by insisting that she be the first to be fed at each meal. She likewise had to be the first to drink from a bucket of fresh water. Ideally she should not drink more than twice a day, in morning and evening, and fresh water was brought from the spring each time. Among the few items of food prohibited to her was "wild rhubarb" (hū'mak), lest her child when born would cry until out of breath and then choke (hū'hūmakc, or hū'ma'aik, "he chokes, or strangles"). Perhaps the similarity between the two words led to this association. Other practices were similarly designed to protect either her or the child. The woman must never pause in the doorway when going in or out of the house. Since hinged doors have become common, this tabu has been extended to prohibit her from closing the door behind her. All work involving weaving, including the making of mats and baskets, and in addition, such pastimes as cat's cradles, were prohibited, lest the child's umbilical cord become "snarled up." Her mother and other kinswomen prepared all the necessary shredded bark, and mats. To see a land otter, or the death struggles of any animal, to look upon a dead person or even to hear the wailing for the dead would do her child harm. These last tabus applied equally to her husband, and obviously restricted both his hunting and fishing activities considerably. In recent years the belief has become common that the child will be harmed if its father "liquors up" during the period of gestation. In general, a pregnant woman was expected to be quiet and inactive; her kinswomen did most of her chores for her, made the first cradle, which was of matting, and the various pads, mattresses, head presser, and the like for her. It was said that the couple should not have intercourse from the time the woman became aware of her pregnancy. When her time came, the woman went to a little hut of brush and mats prepared for her by her mother or other kinswoman. The informant explained the need for sending her out of the big house by stating that it was because they could not tell if she were going to bear twins, or a deformed child (becoming "qwaiyás").

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[26] Sproat, 1868, p. 94: "Instances are known of women being at work twelve hours after their confinement;" Moziño p. 27; ". . . they do not suffer the severe anguish of our women, for immediately after discharging the afterbirth they dive into the sea and swim about energetically."

Quantities of finely shredded cedar bark were provided in the parturition hut. A seat, made of a board heavily padded with shredded bark, with a pole backrest against which she could lean, was prepared. The parturient was left alone for a time. Her mother ordinarily stood by near the hut, however. When the pains became frequent, the parturient's mother would enter to assist in the actual delivery, cutting the umbilical cord with a knife made for the occasion (of mussel shell), examine the child to see that it was not deformed, and wrap it in shredded cedar bark. She, or sometimes another woman hired because of her known skill at the task, would put her finger in the child's mouth to "raise its palate," and "shape" its face to conform to the standards of beauty. Apparently this last consisted of pressing gently on the features, pressing upward, for example, on the brows to mold them into the highly admired arched form. A shaman with power for the task, or some other person with special secret knowledge, might be called in to manipulate the infant's viscera to make sure that the organs were in their proper places. I do not know just how this was done, but suppose it was more of a magical than a manual process. Friends and neighbors, standing around outside the hut, were informed as to the child's sex, beauty, and other qualities.

Shamans were not called to aid a parturient unless delivery were unusually difficult. There are said to have been some who could correct an awkward presentation by manipulating the parturient's belly. In addition, many families had secret magical recipes, usually of herbs, crushed up so fine as to be unrecognizable, to administer prior to and during delivery to ease the process. Some of these herbals were mixed with a special kind of oil called qumo'oxsit, which was particularly effective against a condition known as "ma'ʟas," in which the child "was stuck to the side of the womb." If the parturient's family, blood or affinal, had no such hereditary remedy, they could request someone who had to prepare and administer it. They might pay him for his service at the time, or wait to give him a special gift later on during a potlatch.

The parturient's mother massaged the woman's belly to help her expel the afterbirth, which seems to have been left near the hut for 4 days, with no special attention. At the end of the 4-day period, however, the afterbirth was wrapped in shredded cedar bark and disposed of in a ceremonial fashion. There were various procedures, some which may have been inherited family secrets while others were common knowledge, for treating the afterbirth so that the child's life would be influenced along certain lines. For example, if the parents hoped the child would be a good singer, they would have the relative who disposed of the afterbirth sing special songs over it. To make a boy grow up to be a skilled woodworker, a chisel and an adz might be wrapped up with it. Nowadays a coin is often included in the bundle. It is well known that AJ, at Nootka Sound, is a lucky gambler because a coin and a deck of cards were placed with his afterbirth. In the case of a girl baby, bits of basketry and matting were commonly included in the bundle. A girl's afterbirth was shallowly buried in a dry sheltered spot; that of a boy was buried in a wet swampy place, "so he would be able to stand the cold."

This 4-day period prior to the disposal of the afterbirth was one of restrictions for both the mother and father of the infant. The child's mother remained in the hut, sitting or squatting with her legs flexed. To straighten them out would do her great harm. She was fed warm broth of black cod, and boiled dried dog salmon. Steamed clover roots were also given her. The codfish broth was especially beneficial, for it was thought to stimulate the secretion of milk. She might drink cold water if she wished. A fire was kept burning in the hut to keep her warm. Her husband remained in the big house for 4 days, subsisting on dried fish. Relatives fished for the black cod, provided firewood, and looked after the various chores during the couple's restrictions. The infant, meanwhile, had been put in its first cradle of matting. This consisted of a small rectangular checkerwork mat called na'yáqpa'tū in which two sticks, slightly longer than the mat, had been placed longitudinally. They were separated by a distance slightly greater than the width of the occupant's body, and held in place by having their ends jabbed through the matting. A series of small loops or eyelets were attached along each stick. Six or eight inches from one end a cross stick was placed, lashed at its ends to the longitudinals, and carefully padded with shredded cedar bark. This piece was to support the infant's neck. Three pads of very finely shredded cedar bark, one flat with the bottom of the cradle, the other two set edgewise, were placed to protect the back and sides of the head. A "mattress" of loose shredded bark filled the space between the longitudinal sticks below the neck rest. The infant was placed in the cradle, a special pad of shredded cedar bark was placed over its navel, its legs were flexed, partly supported by a pad under its knees (for to straighten its legs out would cause its navel to protrude), and a cover of shredded bark was placed over its body and secured by a lashing rove back and forth through the eyelets on the stick. The head presser (atcum), consisting of a long narrow triangular bundle of shredded bark with its tip doubled back toward the base, was placed with the wide end to the top over the child's forehead and secured by a cord laced across through three pairs of eyelets. The lower end, which was not lashed down tightly, came over the bridge of the infant's nose. This head presser, together with the side pads, produced the ideal long narrow head shape. (Informants comment on the difference between this type of head deformation, and that practiced by their Makah relatives, who, they say, flattened their heads to a "wide flat shape.") The heads of all infants, even the children of slaves, had their heads shaped in this way.

During the 4 days while the infant was in its mat cradle, it was fed a few drops of oil of a small variety of dogfish (qomux). At the end of this time its umbilical cord was supposed to detach. The mother left the hut without any particular ritual, except that a kinsman was sent to bury the afterbirth, as previously related, just before she left. Once back in her place in the house, she put her infant into its second cradle, a large container shaped much like a Nootkan dish, carved out of a single block of wood. At this time the infant's legs were straightened out for the first time, then flexed again with a shredded cedar-bark pad under the knees. An old man was called over, the infant in its new cradle was laid on the floor, and the old man jumped over it shouting, "yu!" so that the child would not be frightened easily when it grew up. The infant was lashed into the wooden cradle in a fashion similar to that used for the matting one, and the head presser was retained for some time, in fact as long as the cradle was used.

According to the Ehetisat informant, when it appeared that a woman's time was approaching, her mother and other female relatives collected and shredded red cedar bark, to have a plentiful supply ready. The woman's mother also wove a number of strong little mats, about 8 inches wide by 20 or so long. These were for the child's first cradle. (The restrictions during pregnancy were about the same as those described by the Muchalat, with most emphasis against eating "left-overs," and on work involving weaving or handling cordage.)

The birth itself had to take place in a dark quiet spot, far enough from the village for no noise to disturb the parturient. For daughters of chiefs, a shamaness (?) (or specialist ?) was called. Usually the parturient sat, supported by her mother, while the attendant "caught" the child. The attendant massaged the woman's belly to assist the birth, and by the same method assisted her to expel the afterbirth. The child was bathed, wrapped in shredded cedar bark. A fine bit of bark was poked up the infant's nostrils four times, beginning with the right one—"to make him breathe." Stones were heated and dropped into a wooden "chamber pot" to make steam through which the infant was passed four times. "This made him strong, so he would not catch any sickness."

There were other "medicines" as well, for the infant's welfare and to influence its future. It was not made clear whether they were necessarily the property of the parturient's family or whether they could be secrets belonging to the attendant, which she was paid to use. There was a way of putting a finger far down into a newborn infant's throat which insured his becoming a good singer. To make him a good dancer, the freshly expelled afterbirth was laid on new mats, sprinkled with down, and a top was spun on it four times. For the mother there were medicines too—plant infusions to drink, or leaves to chew, to lessen the pains and make the birth easier.

The newborn babe was wrapped in shredded cedar bark and put in its cradle of the small mats with transfixed longitudinal rods to which loops were attached for lashing the child in. Pillowlike pads of shredded bark were put under the child's neck, on either side of its head, and under its knees (to keep them in a partially flexed position—they were not straightened out till 10 days had passed). At the same time the head flattener, a triangular pad of shredded yellow cedar bark doubled back in the middle was applied, wide (base) end upward.

After 4 days, the afterbirth, which had been kept wrapped in matting was taken out to be buried, by an elderly female relative. Magical family recipes were used at this time. They consisted of special songs which the old woman sang as she carried away the afterbirth, and things to be buried with it. There was a way of including shavings and chips from canoe making which would make a male child a good canoe maker when he grew up, and a mode of burying bits of cedar bark with the afterbirth of a female which ensured her becoming an industrious weaver of mats. When the old woman returned, the infant was laid on the floor, and she jumped over it four times, shouting its name (?) each time, so that when it grew up it would not be frightened by loud noises.

The occurrence of the Mongoloid spot (ya'pɛtsaʟ) on an infant called for no special comment. It was believed to mark the place on which the weight of the afterbirth lay.

At about the same time the afterbirth was buried, the stub of the umbilical cord ordinarily detached. (If it fell off after 3 days, instead of 4, it indicated the child was sickly.) It was tied on a loop of string 3 or 4 inches across. An elder sibling or cousin of the infant was given the string to hang over his or her right ear. The child had to run through the woods shaking his (or her) head, without noting the point at which the string fell off.

On the same day (the fourth) commoners pierced the child's ears, and, in the case of a girl baby, her nose. A chief might have it done at this time, or might wait even several years, for a more convenient day, for he would pay whoever performed the operation, and give a potlatch to celebrate the event. A boy's nose was not pierced for some years, until he was a "good-sized" lad.

After 10 days the infant was put in the wooden cradle instead of the cedar-mat one. There were two varieties of wooden cradles in use among the Ehetisat, one a dugout affair, shaped a good deal like a wooden dish with high ends, the other made like a box with sides of a single board, kerfed and bent. It made no difference which type was used. In either case, the cradle was made large enough to be used until the child was about 3 years old. A framework of sticks, with crosspieces to raise the head and feet slightly, was set into the bottom of the cradle to tie the infant in. The cradle of a girl child had three holes drilled through the lower edge for drainage of urine; that of a boy baby lacked this feature, his lashings being arranged so as to leave his penis uncovered. Otherwise there were no differences in cradles according to sex of the child. The infant was nursed in or out of the cradle. It was taken out from time to time to clean it and change the shredded cedar bark, nursed, put to sleep, then lashed in tightly. At these times, the head and brows were greased with "red fish" oil (the variety of fish from which this oil was obtained could not be determined), before putting the head presser back on. The cradle was often slung horizontally from a springy pole, or from a beam, and swung to put the child to sleep after his cleaning.

Until the time of shifting the infant from the mat to the wooden cradle, the child's mother remained in seclusion in a sitting position. She was propped up with mats and blankets and a brisk fire was kept up near her. She ate only old dried salmon (not fresh dried) and cold water, during this time. The child's father was subject to the same food restrictions, for 4 days. After the end of the first 10 days had passed, the mother massaged her legs—it was, so the informant said, difficult to walk after sitting still for 10 days—and then bathed with warmed water. For about a year she refrained from eating certain foods that might harm the child: rock cod, squid, the "dark side" of halibut, spring salmon, hair seal, sea lion, whale meat, sea bass, huckleberries, salmonberries (unless they had been kept overnight after picking), and salmonberry sprouts. She had a separate water bucket, cooking box, spoon, etc. (because other people ate things tabued to her), and ordinarily a kinswoman cooked for her. What she ate was usually boiled with a good deal of water, so that she would have abundant milk.

For the first month especially, the infant was never left alone. When, after the seclusion period, the mother went out of the house, she either took her child along, or left it with a kinswoman. When she carried it outside, she painted a little spot on its nose (with charcoal) and carried a small knife. A low fire was kept burning all night at the family living space, and the mother was expected to nurse and comfort the infant to quiet it, no matter at what hour it began to cry.

The first name was given at or soon after the time the child's ears were pierced. A commoner would give a small feast to announce the ear piercing and the child's name—or he might give what wealth-goods he happened to have to the chief of the house, so that the latter might potlatch and announce the name. A chief would bestow a name on his offspring when he celebrated its ear piercing.

A portion of the traditional history of the chiefly lineage at Clayoquot gives some details as to some of the special "medicines" used to produce desired physical and personality traits in children. It is related that hicqȧ, the youngest full brother of the chief ya'aistōhṣmáłnī, who later in life took the name wikɛnanic and is said to have been the "Chief Wikananish" of the early white explorers, was a great warrior. In fact, this youngest brother's exploits contributed much to the chief's fame, wealth, and power. Even before the birth of hicqà, his mother decided that she would make him a warrior. She told no one when her time came, but went alone into the woods to bear him. As soon as he was born, she put a stone war club into his hands. She herself cut the afterbirth into four pieces, one of which she put in a cave in the woods, and the other three in places in the sea inhabited by fearsome supernatural beings (one place was that where a great supernatural Shark dwelled, another was the home of a huge supernatural Whale that devoured canoes). When the baby slept, she put his cradle outside, even in cold weather, to make him hardy; when he reached the age of 3 or 4 years, she made him sleep without blankets. The only time he had blankets to warm him was when she rubbed his body with plant "medicines" to make him strong and brave, applying them so energetically that his skin bled—then she covered him with a blanket so that people would not know he was being "trained." She used two kinds of plants for these massages. From time to time she made a tiny cut across the bridge of the child's nose between the eyes, "so that he would not sleep much when he grew up." Her treatment was successful, it is said, for when hicqà grew to manhood "he was four spans across the chest," and became renowned all up and down the coast for his boldness in war.

Several tales of heroes of more remote epochs refer to the cuts made on a child's nose to make him sleep but little. They also describe a sort of deformation to make boys become warriors which may be entirely imaginary. These yarns tell of mothers laying large flat stones on either side of the infant's chest so that it would grow flattened on the sides and protrude forward, "like a deer's breast," which for some reason made the child more courageous.

Secret family rites and medicines for children's health and strength are mentioned in traditions quite often, as a matter of fact. Certain details were omitted—there were undoubtedly formulaic prayers and songs to be used with them that constitute essential parts of the secret.

An ancestor of the tsaxanaàth lineage of the Muchalat was named wīna'axcta'kama. He was noted for his swiftness. When he was an infant his mother bathed him in a wooden tub. The instant the child was taken from the tub, the swiftest runner of the family seized it and ran to empty the water in the swift current of the river. They also had a procedure for catching four raindrops at a leak in the roof which the child was made to swallow (cf. the mythical Wolf Messenger called Raindrop-falling because he traveled so swiftly on an errand that he returned before a drop of water from the eaves struck the ground). When the child had grown to young manhood, he was taught to bathe ritually, and to rub his body with twigs on the tips of branches (without breaking them off). He pulled down a branch, scrubbed his body vigorously, then released the branch saying as it snapped upward, "May I leap so swiftly." These rites were successful it is claimed, for he became the swiftest runner of all time. Once he encountered a wolf on the trail, and began to pursue it. He soon overhauled the animal, and gave it a kick, saying, "Why don't you run a little?" He eliminated his opponent instead of animating him, however, for with his kick he broke the wolf's tail and it died.

TWINS

A special and extremely severe set of observances followed on the birth of twins. The bases of these rules were the belief that twins were intimately associated with the Salmon Spirits, and that on their care depended the future abundance of salmon in tribal territory. In a sense, twinning was felt to be closely akin to having a supernatural encounter, and gave to the father power to "call" dog salmon, and other important food fish.

All the Central Nootkan groups from whom information was collected on this topic set the period of restrictions as 8 months; Northern Nootkan accounts (on which the present detailed description is based) were unanimous in setting the duration of seclusion at 4 years. This seems almost impossibly long, yet informants insisted on the point, adding that the twins were "good-sized" youngsters before the people (aside from close relatives who visited the family from time to time during the seclusion) ever saw them, and that frequently at least one other child (to whom a special term was given) was born to the couple during their isolation. In all other respects, there was little variation in the observances of the Northern and Central tribes.

Some people wished, and even performed bathing rituals for twins; others (and they were more numerous) did everything they could to avoid twinning. One measure to the latter end was that a pregnant woman should not sleep alone. If her husband was away, she got a kinswoman to sleep with her. Should a pregnant woman sleep alone she might dream that a supernatural being came to her bed and had intercourse with her, in which case she would invariably have twins.

When twins were born, no one approached the woman for 4 days, except her mother or an elderly kinswoman who tended her. After the 4 days, the woman and her husband moved to a little hut of boards built back in the woods by her kin. Two carvings representing sea gulls were set up atop of tall poles in front of the shack (sea gulls were associated with twinning). The couple lived on old dried salmon and roots. Food, wood, and water were brought them daily, by their kin, and their fire was kindled for them. If the fire went out, or if they needed anything, the husband beat on a box drum, to call the persons looking after them. The couple painted their faces and bodies with horizontal stripes of red. After 4 days, they moved to another hut deeper in the woods. As I understood, they moved four times, the last move taking them up to the head of some remote inlet where they could dig clams and roots for themselves. If they were taken by canoe, a screen of hemlock boughs was put up around them in the canoe so they could not look on salt water. In this last remote camp they had to stay for 4 years. Kinsfolk visited them from time to time, to bring them dried salmon. Visitors had to paint their faces red, and wear new blankets and bird down on their hair. If the couple had children born previous to the twins, the latter stayed with kin for the first year, then might join their parents in exile. Nightly, the couple sang to bring salmon, herring, and whales, he drumming on a box drum and she shaking a wooden rattle. The father wandered much in the mountains, seeking a supernatural experience, and, as a matter of fact, often met with one.

The twins themselves, if they survived birth (even if they died or one or both were born dead, their parents were exiled just the same), were treated according to special rules. The main point was that they be treated exactly alike, so one would not become jealous of the other. If one cried in the night, he was not cuddled and nursed to quiet him, as were ordinary children. Both had to be suckled at the same time, each in his cradle, but with the cradles tilted away from each other. They were never put face to face while small, lest "they talk to each other" (agreeing to return to Salmon's Home). If one of the twins died in infancy, his body was not buried, but laid on the ground in a swampy place. It was tabu to mourn the death of a twin. Twins that grew to adulthood often became shamans, and had special powers of clairvoyance. Even the children of twins were luckier than the average person.

After the 4 years had passed, the relatives of the twins' parents went to bring them back to the village. They brought them to the place where their first hut had been, and fed them there on freshly caught black cod. They then could come back to the house, and, little by little, partake of other fresh foods.

The birth of a deformed child, or of a monster, was followed by similar restrictions, but for only a year, informants claimed. A child born to the parents of twins during their 4-year exile was called a na'tca', "Salmon's tail." Informants had never heard of triplets or other types of multiple births being born to Indian parents.

HAIR CUTTING

A child's hair was not cut until he was about a year old. At this time it was singed off close to the head. Usually it was not cut again by girls, and by boys only when they were big enough to go out in the woods where long hair disturbed them, getting tangled in the brush. Then they haggled it off with a knife to about shoulder length, and evened the edges by singeing them with live coals.

EDUCATION

Like most American Indians, the Nootkans were fond and indulgent parents, at least by our standards. Yet they did not leave education and personality formation to chance, but had a well-established system making youngsters into useful adjusted members of the community, just as they ensured the physical growth and health of the child through the magical and rituals processes of the life crises rites. Though to us the educational methods may seem to have been more useful and efficient, to the Nootkans themselves training and rites were equally important and necessary for the task of bringing up their children. As readily becomes clear on comparison with Pettitt's stimulating survey (1946) of Indian educational methods, the Nootkans were not unique in regard to the efficiency of their methods, nor in the general pattern of the methods which they themselves shared with most other North American tribes.

Psychological effects of the use of the cradleboard (the Nootkan cradle was simply a cradleboard with sides, the child being lashed in so snugly it could not move) have been discussed in Pettitt's study (op. cit., p. 11 ff.). It is purely speculative, but one wonders if the cradle may not have acted something like the hammer in the ancient joke about the man who hit himself on the head with one "because it felt so good when he stopped"—that is, if the long period of restricted activity in the confining lashings might not have made the child exceptionally responsive to the fondling and petting given him on taking him from the cradle. I have no precise information on the frequency of such handling, but it was said that infants were taken from their cradles for cleaning fairly often. At these times their bodies were rubbed with an oil considered mild and soothing to prevent chafing, their limbs were massaged, and they were played with and often suckled (though normal feeding was done while in the cradle). One thing seems clear, no matter what the other effects were, and that is that there came to be a strong association of security with the cradle. Commonly, youngsters who were no longer lashed in, climbed into their cradles of their own accord to sleep. Many children gave up this habit only when the cradle became too small for them.

Toilet training probably was begun late, to judge by the many references to taking the child from the cradle for cleaning, though there was a custom of blowing on the child's genitals, which was said to make it urinate while out of its lashings. Observation suggests the modern Nootkans do not hurry a child much in these matters. Physical punishment in connection with such training, whenever it began, was unthinkable. In fact it was said that children were never slapped or spanked for any reason. "It would make a child 'mean' to strike him," as one informant phrased the child's resentment to such punishment. A Kyuquot girl who seems to have been mentally deficient and who flouted all morals and proprieties until her death in her teens was never punished for her acts so as far I could learn. She was quite uncontrollable "because she wouldn't pay any heed to what her mother told her." Jewitt (1815, p. 133) makes clear the Nootkans' distaste at use of physical punishment when he introduced the civilized custom of flogging the insane. This abhorrence of violence in any social situation (except war) is typical of Nootkan culture. There was only one type of corporal punishment of which I heard: left-handedness was discouraged, when an infant seemed to show signs of it by reaching out more frequently with his left than with his right hand, by putting a hot stick (unpleasantly hot, but not burning, of course) in his left hand when he tried to grasp something.[27]

In addition to the complete lack of physical punishment, except for the minor custom just described, "bogymen" or supernatural disciplinarians do not seem to have been used in child training. I did not inquire specifically on this point, but no mention was made of such a usage in any connection. The only exceptions to this statement are references to the danger of "someone" working black magic against the child when offended by him. Such remarks were of necessity vague and unspecific, and could have made little impression. No one knew the identity of witches in the first place, and even if a certain person were suspected, no one would risk his sure enmity by telling a child, who would likely blurt out the accusations at some inopportune moment. It is quite clear that the kidnaping by the Wolves in the "Shamans' Dance" (ʟōqwonȧ) was not the basis for threats made to misbehaving children; one did not say, "The Wolves will get you if you don't be good." Small children were usually frightened during the performance, it is true. The hullabaloo and running about, the rough practical jokes (carried to the point of throwing people bodily into the sea), the kidnaping and purported slaying of siblings and playmates, all combined to make the small children the least entertained and most perturbed of the spectators. Their parents and grandparents took care to shield them from the more rough-and-tumble play, when they might have been stepped on or knocked about, and tucked them under their robes or blankets to "save" them from certain of the supernatural beings (this last, of course, was a convenient way to keep the children from seeing certain indispensable parts of stage setting and dressing of performers which had to be done by the nearly but not quite extinguished fire). The facts that the "kidnaped" children later came to be the center of attraction, to be admired and praised, and that *all* children had to be taken into the rite sooner or later and all its mysteries explained, would, of course, have soon vitiated its disciplinary effect, and recognition of these points may have prevented attempts to use it so.

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[27] This was done because eating with the left hand was a deliberate insult to others present, at least when done by an adult. It was not that the *child* was committing a breach of etiquette, but the people realized that the habit was easier to break in infancy than later in life. Northern Nootkan bear trappers alone were permitted to eat with the left hand, for that was one of their common ritual acts ("bears reach for bait with their left paw").

From the native view, the most important mode of education was through oral instruction. This includes scoldings by way of punishment. People invariably say that when a child misbehaves, one should never strike him, but should "take him to the house and talk to him." For youths, and even for adults, such talking-to ordinarily meant emphatic and vigorous dressing-down, with stress on the shame motive. For children, however, scoldings took the pathetic approach, variations, so to speak, on the "can't you see you're breaking your poor old daddy's heart" theme, and always included a long discourse on the way the child should do in the future. Threats had no part in these harangues. The parts dealing with the correct modes of behavior the child had heard many times over, for they formed the nucleus of the instruction begun while he was still in the cradle. The parents began these discourses on mores while the infant was quite small. The thought of a chief lecturing his son of tender months on the advantages of giving feasts and potlatches may strike us as ludicrous as the behavior of young fathers among ourselves who rush home with footballs and air rifles for their sons of similar age, but according to Nootkan thought it was quite logical. "It doesn't matter if the child can't understand yet, he takes the words in anyhow, and later they come to mean something to him," they say. When the child was in the cradle, and later, when it was sleepy and lay in the arms of its parent, and while it was eating ("he takes the words in with his food, and remembers them"), were favorite times for such instruction.

As has been indicated, social behavior, good manners, and the like, formed the chief theme of this instruction. The children of chiefs were told to be kindly and helpful to others, and never to be arrogant; they were told that they must "take care of" their people (commoners), providing them with food, giving them feasts, winning the good will and affection of the commoners, for "if your people don't like you, you're nothing" (phrasing pretty exactly the relationship between chiefs and commoners). They were told not to quarrel; "If someone, whether chief or commoner, says something 'mean' to you, don't answer him, just walk away. A real chief doesn't squabble." A child of low rank would be told to play with a chief's children carefully, to help them, and never to quarrel with or strike them. These discourses express so clearly the ideals of social behavior that I have quoted samples of them at length in discussing that topic. What with their explicit phrasing and infinite repetition the ideals of behavior became an influential factor in regulating one's acts in later life.[28]

In addition to the mores, other sorts of information were included in the lectures to children. Among the more important of these were the individual rituals which ranged from common practices of general knowledge to closely guarded family secrets consisting of formulaic prayers, magically potent herbs and plants and the method of using them, and including the complicated procedures for using the shrines for "calling" runs of fish, stranded whales, and so on. Chiefs' sons naturally heard more of this than did commoners, for one of a chief's principal obligations was to provide food for his people through such rites, and it was important for him, in recent times, to kill many sea otters to be able to potlatch. Almost everyone had such secret knowledge, however. A small child would be told only the bare outlines, of course; the more highly classified portions of the rites were revealed to him only when he was approaching the age at which he would begin to perform the acts. In addition, the traditions concerning the numerous rights and privileges to which he was heir were drilled into a child of rank from his earliest days.

The folk literature was, of course, an important teaching aid. My impression is that the mythology was told principally for amusement, though some myths had explanatory elements tacked on, and the stereotyped lay figures, such as Raven, could be used as type of examples of antisocial behavior. The family traditions, distinguished by the natives from the myth cycles, were to them more important, and were told and retold. One often hears that the basic reason for the long detailed accounts of the origins and descents of privileges at the potlatches was for the purpose of instructing the young, "who *had* to know where all those rights came from." Still more important is the use of current anecdotes. Pettitt (1946) has remarked on their use among other groups. The long involved yarn of the troubles of an Ehetisat shrew was related to young girls to show them what happened to a woman who continually nagged her husband and mistreated her parents-in-law. Many of the cases recounted by informants to demonstrate certain phases of social relations were similarly widely known, because they had passed into the literary realm—and most of them had done so because they set off in such sharp relief ideal and antisocial conduct that they made first-class examples for instruction of the young.

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[28] Sapir and Swadesh (1939, pp. 184-200) give a long text based on the sort of counsel a chief gave his son or grandson that contains the above concepts, as well as other topics to be described.

A certain amount of practical demonstration went along with this oral instruction, wherever it would fit. A father might take a 7- or 8-year-old son to a pool or lake, and accompany him in a simple brief bathing ritual. The arduous all-night bathing was not for children, for "they would not be able to stand it." Only mature men carried out the really strenuous rites. A recorded instance of practical demonstration, though for a different purpose, was that in which MP's mother took him, when he was to be taken into the Shamans' Dance, to the place in the woods that served as the dressing-room for the men taking the part of Wolves. There she pointed out to him that the "Wolves" were really only men he had known all his short life, and were not to be feared; then she told him which of the men would come to carry him away. He had been frightened by the Wolves at previous performances, but his fears seem to have been quite calmed. His only anxiety seems to have been whether he would remember the instructions given him. It was said that a chief would take his son, when the latter was old enough to begin the serious rites, to the shrine whose features and use the young man had heard described many many times, to show him how to use it.

There are a good many indications, when one begins to look for them, that combinations of demonstration and practice were regarded as important aspects of the learning process, both for children and adults, and suggest, incidentally, that the habit of listening to oral instruction made people receptive to such teaching. For example the "novice" in the Shamans' Dance had to learn a number of songs that he or she would sing solo before all the people. An adult would act as his speaker, to help him over the difficult parts of his individual performance, but he had to sing his songs for himself. In addition, although a complex dance would be performed for him by an adult, he had to learn a simple dance, and various procedures essential to his part in the ceremony. These things were taught him by his instructor or instructors (usually elderly relatives designated to take care of him during the rite), who first gave him the material orally, then made him practice over and over. Similarly, when a man gave his son-in-law masks and dances as a dowry, their display at the ceremony and the handing over of the masks themselves were assumed to suffice for teaching them, despite the fact that elaborate dance routines, numerous songs, and often other things as well were involved. Actually, on questioning, it appears that the giver subsequently spent days with the recipient and his songsters, who practiced each song an infinite number of times until letter perfect. With such teaching methods in vogue, we are not surprised (although it is almost unique as far as published accounts of Indian tribes go) at hearing of a war party going through full-dress battle practice, with practice landings and sorties as well as individual drills at dodging arrows and spears, before staging an actual attack.

To return to the education of children and youths, it seems clear that such teaching, with explicit and detailed phrasing, and demonstration and practice by the student where applicable, must have been successful. The Nootkan attitude plainly assumed it to be. There was no provision for deviation from ordinary rules of inheritance of songs or rituals, public or private, because the proper heir could not learn them. If they were part of the family heritage, the heir, unless he was an out-and-out mental deficient, would learn them all. The people find nothing surprising in accounts of intricate procedures handed down for several generations without being used, which eventually were successfully revived, as they say occurred with whaling at Ahousat. Both ritual and practical features of the complex, they claim, were transmitted for four generations without use, then the Ahousat chiefs suddenly began to go whaling again. The chiefs who had not hunted whales "knew how, but just didn't go out (i. e., lacking energy or were occupied with other things)." I suspect that some Hesquiat and Clayoquot teachers intervened, but in the native view it was not necessary.

That play could be a useful form of training was understood. Adults encouraged, and supervised to some extent, games in which the children staged "play feasts" and "play potlatches." Even Shamans' Dances were put on by children as a game, with their elders' encouragment and advice. The Kyuquot informant mentioned one occasion in which some old men helped the children to the extent of making a Grizzly Bear costume out of gunny sacks, and gave them bits of glass to use as supernatural crystals. "They didn't allow us to use real Shamans' Dance songs, though—we had to use 'play-songs' (which presumably their elders made up for them). But when no grown people were around, we used the real songs."

The discussion of education has stressed social behavior and ritual knowledge up to this point, not by chance but because these are the topics emphasized by the people themselves. They obviously felt that such things had to be taught, and centered the formal education about them. Yet it was realized that other activities had to be learned as well. For example, in both tales and case histories, instances occur in which chiefs' daughters after marriage found themselves in the same straits as some brides in our culture: they did not know how to prepare and cook certain dishes. The explanation invariably was "her mother didn't teach her, because there were so many women (of lower rank) in the house to do it for her." (The particular dishes were usually those involving the most laborious preparation.) A popular anecdote, widely known and related because it is thought funny, concerns a party of Kyuquot war chiefs invited to a feast at Ehetisat. They consumed enormous quantities of provisions (they had asked to be invited, and therefore were under obligation to eat all that was offered them). After several days of feasting, they departed for Kyuquot with a canoeload of "left-overs" (actual left-overs from the feasts, plus extra portions given them to take home; the purpose was to enable them to give a feast on their arrival to tell their tribesmen their experiences). A bad storm caught them and they made camp, where they were storm-bound several days. Before the storm let up, they devoured all the "left-overs" they were supposed to take home, except a couple of boxes of dried herring eggs. These they could not eat because they did not know how to wash the eggs to remove the fir needles; women always did this, and *men never learned how.* At last they got home, ravenous, and with only the herring eggs instead of the canoeload of food they had set out with. Such comments by informants make evident that the natives understood that merely seeing a process performed is no substitute for a step-by-step explanation and demonstration. Their formalization of social and ritual education simply implies that they felt these things to be more difficult and to require more concentrated attention.

Training in technologic and economic arts was given by various persons, not only parents, but parents' siblings (*not* only the mother's brother), and especially by grandparents. It seems that these last-named played an important role in teaching, especially while children were small. Any of these people, however, might make toys for children, and with the making, show them the way to use whatever the object might be. Older women made dolls of shredded cedar bark for little girls; fathers or older men made small bows, harpoons, and toy canoes for the boys. MP related how he and his playmates clustered about the Muchalat war chief, tuckai'ilam, then an old man, who regaled them with tales of his hunting and trapping adventures and made small sets to illustrate his yarns. Such useful information he interspersed between stories of catching wolves and land otters with his bare hands, which contributed but little to the boys' store of useful information, but enthralled them considerably. Such entertainment was an important factor of learning. Some games, particularly those involving marksmanship with spears or bows, impressed the adults as forms of useful training, I was told, and they encouraged the boys to play at them, and praised those who did well.

Another source of instruction, as informal as that just described and even more difficult to get specific information on, was the teaching of various skills by other children. Linton has pointed out how frequently there exists a sort of culture-within-a-culture consisting of knowledge and skills transmitted on the children's level. Among ourselves these complexes consist mostly of games and obscenity, but some more practical procedures may be disseminated the same way. These were the things that the older children taught the younger who joined the play groups presumably either by direct teaching to display their superior wisdom, or perhaps by their own hesitant and less skillful performances which may have given their new playmates something approximating slow-motion demonstrations. It seems probable that most of the things that adults assumed "came naturally" to youngsters, such as canoe paddling, throwing of lances (and harpoons), and swimming, were learned on this level, from teachers but a year or two or three senior to the pupils.

Real participation in adult activities with its concomitant opportunities to learn by observation (once the basic skills were mastered) and from an expert companion's tips on the special knacks of doing things did not begin for Nootkan youngsters until they neared puberty.[29] As girls gave physical evidence of approaching pubescence, their mothers began to keep careful watch over them. The first step was to keep the girls in the house as much as possible, and to see they were accompanied by older female kin, whenever they went out. Their mothers and "aunts" would call them over, saying for example, "Look now, this is the way you begin to weave a mat (or spin thread, or mash fern roots, or whatever it might be). Watch how it is done, for you will have to do it yourself when you are married." One gets the impression that not only did the woman undertake this practical teaching to prepare her daughter or niece for future duties, but to distract the child from boredom, and also hoping to prepare her for the eventual abrupt announcement that she was to be the wife of so-and-so, and that henceforth her days of play and freedom were over. A girl learned spinning, basketry, and such things chiefly at this stage of her life, it seems from informants' remarks, and, as well, some of the finer points of cookery and similar housewifely tasks. Boys of the same age had perhaps begun to accompany their fathers now and then on hunting and fishing expeditions, but still spent most of their time playing.

I suspect that one reason for the late entry of the boys into the field of useful activities was that such a large proportion of Nootkan technologic and economic chores involved handling of heavy equipment or long strenuous journeys, beyond a child's strength and endurance. The cutting of heavy sections of timber for woodworking, the driving of big wedges to split planks, the lifting of the heavy weights used in deer and bear traps, were all activities in which a small boy could not aid. The struggles of a harpooned 10-pound salmon would probably be beyond him too. I must admit that this is my own opinion, and not based on statements of informants. But it is clear that the Nootkans did not expect of a boy a man's endurance of discomfort and pain, from their frequent statements that only a grown man undertook the arduous bathing rituals; a boy could not stand them.

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[29] It is true that boys, and sometimes girls, of 10 and 12 nominally held chieftainships and sat in the places of honor at ceremonies, but they were but puppets of their elders who ran the show. One never hears of ritual procedure altered by a childish whim.

There is some indication that the verbal counsel often took the tack of "what a fine thing it will be when you grow up to be a big strong man" and can do all the things grown men do—children have been sold the same bill of goods in other cultures to get them to give up their life of play for one of work. The praise and honor given a boy at the feast on the occasion of his first game, and to a girl for the first roots or berries she collected, may be interpreted as part of this; likewise, it seems to have been built up as a treat for boys to be taken along on a fishing expedition by their fathers or uncles.

FIRST GAME

A boy's parents had to give a feast, designated ō'tuł, for their son's first game, "even if it was only one salmon, or one little duck, that he got." The catch was cooked up (augmented with other foods as necessary) and guests were invited, their rank and number depending on the rank of the parents. The boy could not partake of the feast, but his parents could. The same kind of feast was given for the first berries a girl picked, or the first mess of clams she dug—at least, were her parents of high rank.

This seems to be one of the few times in a child's life when, as the nominally honored person, he was made to feel that he was the real center of attraction. At prior festivals he was obviously too young to care, and in the Shamans' Dance the adults really held the center of the stage. The First Game feast, though, must have been quite a palatable morsel to the young ego.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

At the onset of a girl's puberty, her mother called in a female shaman to massage the girl's abdomen "so she would have a child easily." This process was called tcàtswīqstił. No singing or shamanizing accompanied the massage. The pubescent (aitsat), was then made to sit up, facing away from the family fire, for 4 days. She had to sit with legs together, either outstretched or doubled under her. At night, after the other people in the house had gone to bed, she might lie down, but was not supposed to turn over. She had to resume her sitting posture early in the morning before the day's activities began. She had to be the last person in the village to sleep and the first to awake. (This was the conventional theory, at least. At night a kinsman was sent through the village to report whether all the fires were banked for the night.) Only during the dog salmon or herring runs would she be confined in a cubicle, but at no time was she perpermitted to look about, or to look at people entering the house from the outside.

During her 4-day seclusion, the pubescent was allowed to eat only freshly cooked dried fish, usually cod, although if none were available old dried salmon might be given her. The Ehetisat informant maintained the girl's parents also might eat only old dried fish during this period. She was never given left-overs from a previous meal. Likewise, she could not drink stale water. A kinsman, or kinswoman, was sent twice a day for a bucket of fresh water from a never failing spring (so the girl's breasts would have abundant milk), from which the girl took her two daily drinks. She did not use a drinking tube but drank from a cup. She used a scratching stick to scratch her head and body. Her face was heavily coated with deer tallow "to lighten her complexion." Twice a day she was allowed to go out of the house, accompanied by her mother or other female relative. At these times she wore a wide-brimmed rain hat pulled well down over her eyes, for "she was not supposed to look around." She carried four pebbles, which she dropped one at a time after passing out the door. The informant could not explain the significance of this act. Her kinswoman dressed her with a new cedar-bark robe; she herself might not tie knots, or fasten anything with a pin.

There was no "t'ama singing" among the Northern tribes. This was a Central Nootkan custom, which has only recently been adopted in modified form by the modern Moachat-Muchalat group at Friendly Cove. However, the girl's (younger) playmates came to visit her and received as gifts all her toys, which she could no longer play with now that she had attained woman's estate.

On the last day of her seclusion, her mother and aunts made a number of bundles of hemlock twigs for ceremonial bathing. The next day, early in the morning, the pubescent was taken to a bathing place, accompanied by her kinswomen and a crowd of small children. This bathing rite was called "ha'tεs." Her mother and aunts disrobed her at the water's edge, and rubbed her body from head to foot with the bundles of hemlock twigs, praying that she might have a long life, many children and riches, the while. Then the girl entered the water, accompanied by two small boys, one on either side. This was so she would have male offspring. Each time she ducked her head under the water she exhaled violently. The bubbles represented the boiling of a cooking vessel, and the purpose was "to make her a good cook." After she swam, making four ceremonial circuits, the other children went into the water. Then she and her escort returned to the house. The girl was given fresh fish to eat while her hair was still wet. Her kinswomen then trimmed her eyebrows, plucking them to the admired high arch, and combed her hair preparatory to putting on the dentalia hair ornament. A Moachat informant said the girl was taken for abbreviated versions of this bathing rite for the next 3 days (making 4 days in all).

There were two types of hair ornaments, one called ai'aitshâm, a single unit suspended at the back of the head and which was usually reserved for the eldest daughter of a family, and the other, hūhūpistkum, which consisted of two parts, worn one on each side. For the former, the girl's hair was combed back tightly and done up in one braid at the nape of her neck. The end of the braid was doubled up underneath over a wooden pin 3 or 4 inches long. The doubled braid was wrapped with a string of colored beads. The hair ornament itself consisted of a row of strings of dentalia shell a span wide spread out flat by means of two or three wooden spreaders wrap-twined in place. At their upper end, the strands, which might be 2 or 3 feet long, were woven or knotted together, with two long free ends for tying the ornament to the base of the doubled braid just above the wooden pin (whose purpose was, of course, to keep the ornament from slipping off). At the lower ends, brass buttons and similar decorative oddments were attached. (See fig. 16.) A really good hair ornament, such as a chief's daughter would wear, consisted of strands of mountain goat wool, and the protective pad that hung beneath the shells, the atcasim, was also woven of the imported wool.

The hair ornaments of younger daughters were similar but shorter, and came in pairs. For these, the hair was parted in the middle and done up in two braids, which were made up into clublike rolls, and to which the ornaments were attached. These ornaments had no wrap-twined cross-sticks because they were so short, reaching only to the wearer's breasts.

Naturally there was considerable variation in the degree of splendor of these ornaments, depending on the station of the pubescent's family. While the eldest daughter of a high-ranking chief would wear a long pendant of dentalia threaded on goat wool strands, a commoner's lass might be adorned with a hair ornament of trade beads strung on ordinary nettle or cedar-bark string, unless, of course, some chief loaned her parents a richer set.

The ownership of the hair ornaments was a special privilege belonging to certain chiefs. Anyone who had occasion to use one for his daugher had to pay one of these chiefs for it. Some people actually borrowed the objects—perhaps rented would be a better term—from him; others made up their own, but in any case had to give him a payment for the use of the ornaments. If a man had several daughters (or nieces) approaching puberty, he might retain the same set of ornaments for all of them, giving the chief a present, however, each time the articles were used. A chief who made up his own set for his daughter, would perhaps give the completed ornament to the chief having this special ornament-ownership privilege as an especially splendid gesture, in addition to the payment. The amount of the payment varied according to the status of the user. One informant suggested that from one to five blankets would be an average payment, although, of course, a chief would pay more.

In connection with the end of the puberty observances and the attaching of the hair ornaments, either a feast or a potlatch could be given. Often a feast, called hatunuxpōp (referring to the ceremonial bathing), was given immediately, and followed some months later, when the hair ornaments were removed, by a potlatch, aitstōł, "potlatch for pubescent girl." If a feast was given at the time of the removal of the ornaments it was called simply ʟi'kō'ȧt, "taking off." The length of time intervening between the tying on and the removal of the ornaments was optional but as a rule reflected the status of

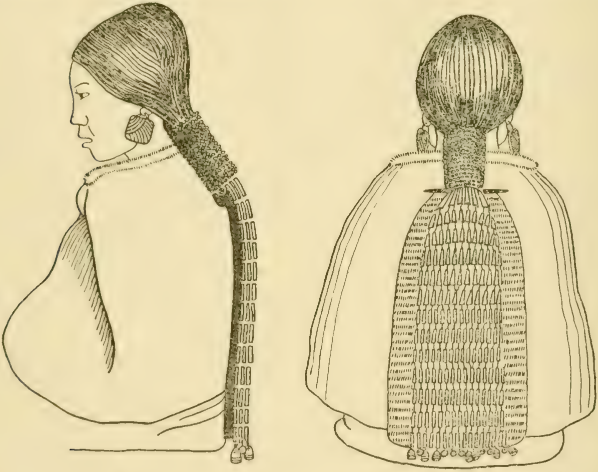

FIGURE 16.—Pubescent girl's hair ornament.

the girl's immediate family. A commoner's daughter wore her hair pendants for a month or two, as a rule, while a chief's daughter would more likely keep them on for 8 to 10 months. During the time, whatever it was, that she wore the ornaments, the girl was subject to various restrictions. She was not permitted to eat either fresh dog salmon or fresh herring, nor salmonberries. The rule applying to the drinking of fresh water still obtained, except that, so the informant said, water was brought for her three times daily instead of twice. When traveling in a canoe she had to sit in the bow. During festivals, she might neither paint her face nor wear feathers, nor, in fact, could she attend any dances except those given in her own house. She went out of the house but seldom, and never went about unchaperoned. She was allowed to weave mats, and the like, but must not finish them off herself. She had to continue to use the scratching stick.

The final festivities for a girl's debut in woman's estate varied considerably according to her status. A poor commoner could do little to celebrate the event beyond giving a feast to the chiefs of the house in which he stayed. A man of higher rank, that is, a closer kinsman of a chiefly line, who had privileges in his own right, or could count on borrowing them from the chief, would give a potlatch. In the days to which these data relate, an enterprising commoner, after a good trapping or sealing season, or a lucky encounter with a sea otter, would likewise potlatch with borrowed display privileges. A chief, naturally, would stage the most elaborate ceremony of all for an elder daughter with a major potlatch at which a "screen" of boards was displayed on which were painted the privileges the girl's children would inherit. These were named and "explained," i. e., the right by which the chief used them was related, while the maid in whose honor the festival was given sat before the paintings. The tōpatī, or marriage contest privileges, were shown as well, before the distribution of wealth goods. If the girl's ears had been pierced during her puberty seclusion, the gifts were referred to as tūthwai, "earrings." After the guests had left, the girl's hair ornaments were removed, and she was subject to no tabus.

Among the Central Nootkan tribes women came in from other houses during the girl's confinement to sing tama songs. In the native view, they took the initiative, although the girl's parents knew when they were coming and were ready for them, and, in fact, they would be expected to come on two or all four days if the pubescent were the daughter of a chief. The women came in in everyday garb, unpainted. The girl's mother gave them paint. After they had painted their faces a small feast was given, during which the women sang, either individually or in groups. The songs were made up especially for the occasion. Often, they were humorous or even satirical in nature. They were called tåpyik (the same word as that for love songs, my informants said, "but the songs were not the same"). Afterward, the women were given small gifts. This tama singing could be done prior to a girl's puberty, as a matter of fact, if the parents let it be known, informally, that they were ready for the women to come to sing for their daughter. In quite recent times this latter sort of tama singing has become popular in the Moachat-Muchalat community at Friendly Cove. The tåpyik songs can be used on other occasions too, if they become popular, "whenever they feel happy." People often sing them at "home-brew feasts."

At the time the girl's hair ties were removed, among Central groups, there was an occasion for singing the same kind of songs. This was sometimes referred to as tama singing, sometimes as "tama songs for the pubescent girl" (tåpyik aitsōwił). On these occasions men as well as women sang. Persons clever at improvising songs let it be known beforehand that they wanted to sing, and also that they would like to be given certain objects that the girl's father or close kinsman had. At the festival, the girl's father called out, "Here is what you wanted, so-and-so," (a'kō'ałac ya'au'iłintak) and the person's name, and then the one called on came forward, received his present, and sang his song. In a festival given by a Hesquiat man in his daughter's honor a few years ago one man asked for a big iron kettle belonging to AA (my interpreter, a close relative of the man giving the affair), and received it, and a Clayoquot who had let it be known he wanted a canoe was given one by the girl's father. A Hesquiat informant said he had once been given the right to a salmon trap for a 4-year period on a similar occasion. None of the Northern Nootkans had this custom.

A tama song popular while I was at Nootka was made up by an old lady living at Friendly Cove. It referred to the following incident: an old Moachat woman had gone with some other people to see an airplane moored to a float at Nootka Cannery (airplanes were still quite a novelty on the coast). Through some younger English-speaking person she asked the pilot who was lounging about where he had come from. On being told, "Vancouver," she volunteered she had a daughter living there, whereupon the pilot in jest said he would take her to see her daughter. The old woman took him seriously, and went about excitedly telling people about it; everyone else realized the pilot had been joking, and was much amused. The song was made up to poke fun at the gullible one. The words were translated to me as, "That is the one, going along up there in the sky, the one who invited me to fly with him, the 'captain' of the airplane."

The debut of the informant M differed in some respects from the generalized account of proceedings at a girl's puberty for several reasons. One was that because of her father's high rank, he felt that nothing less than a Shamans' Festival was adequate to celebrate the event. Another factor was that the procedure was hurried as much as possible, for she had been formally married 2 years or so before her first menses to the young chief of the Kyuquot tacīsàth, and her parents were anxious to comply with their duty by delivering her to her husband before anything happened to disrupt the arrangement. Thus, she did not wear her hair ornament for the customary several months, but for a few days only. (A revealing light on the restricted behavior of high-rank children is cast by the informant's opinion as to the cause of the tardiness of her pubescence. Other girls her age had gone through their puberty rites, a long period of wearing their hair ornaments, and were married, before her first menses, because, she believed, she "was a chief's daughter and had to stay in the house so much, and was not allowed to run and play like other children.")

When M's first menses began, she woke her mother to tell her. Her mother began to sing (a song used at girl's puberty potlatches) so that the people would know. Her father had two men put on blankets "like Wolves" and gave them Wolf whistles. Two other men and two women took M outside. The Wolves whistled several times, then "abducted" her. They, and the other four people, took her out into the woods, where they constructed a hut and cared for her in the manner proper for a girl's puberty seclusion. In the village (or rather fishing station—the people were all at maktɛ'as fishing halibut, and sealing) the Shamans' Festival proceeded in normal fashion. At the end of the 4 days she was taken to bathe in the ritual fashion and her hair ornament put on her. Then she was smuggled into the house and dressed in the hemlock-twig cape, skirt, and headdress of a novice. Meanwhile, the people were out with the usual rafts. The Wolves appeared with a girl similar to M in size and build. When M's double was rescued, taken through the village and into the house, she removed her novice dress, put on ordinary clothes, and slipped out of the house by a side door. (How many people were taken in by this maneuver is difficult to say. The reason for it was that M, being pubescent, was subject to restrictions on going about. It was believed that appearing with the Wolves, dancing through houses, and so on, would harm her.) That night M sang "a song that the Wolves had given her," and her father's speaker announced that the Wolves had ordered the people to practice two marriage ceremony privileges belonging to her: playing scramble ball (patsakum), and catching a feather danced from a string on the end of a springy pole (hinimīx). Four days later, M's father gave a potlatch to his tribe in his daughter's honor. She sat on a high "bench" (patsatsum), on which the chief or his speaker stood to throw the scramble ball. The women danced a dance called tcīstcīsa. Her father gave away blankets, and sticks representing pieces of blubber from the next stranded whale that beached on his individually owned territory, and other sticks representing baskets of dried salmon. (To give a stick representing a specified gift is called ōya'kułcił. That very winter he "got" a whale and was able to discharge his obligations, incidentally.) Then her hair ornament was removed, and her parents began preparations for taking her to Kyuquot.

MENSTRUAL OBSERVANCES

Women kept track of the phases of the moon to know when their menses were due. The moon caused women's menstruations in some obscure manner—this fact was known, one informant averred, because the culture hero Snot Boy told the people so back in mythic times. During the 4 days following the onset of her menses, a woman was not permitted to eat fresh fish of any kind, nor wild rose haws, nor could she approach sick persons even of her own family. Otherwise, her activities were restricted but little except during the dog salmon or herring runs. She could work at anything she wished, cook for her family, and mix with the people of her household. Her husband could hunt and fish just as at any other time; her condition did not affect his luck.

During the time of the dog salmon run (and some informants included the time of the herring run as well), the menses were referred to as sitsūł (instead of the ordinary term, nūmakámił). At this time, a woman had to make a little cubicle of mats or boards in the house, in which she was secluded for 4 days (or 10, if her menses occurred at the beginning of the run). She could not go out by the front door (which faced the river), and had to cover her head with a blanket or robe when she went out by an improvised "back door." She had to use a scratching stick, and had a separate set of cooking and eating vessels (for other people were eating the fresh salmon). She ate dried cod or halibut; women always kept a small store of these dried foods for these times.

POSTPUBERTY

From the time a girl's play had been restricted as she approached puberty, and the supervision over her increased, until she was married, she was in what amounts to a sort of seclusion. The confinement during her first period was but an accentuation of this restriction, in a sense—she was made to stay in the house much of the time, and might go out only when accompanied by older kinswomen. As described under the topic of education, she was taught many household arts at this time and, as well, she had pointed out to her that the reason for her constant chaperonage was that it was not proper for her to speak freely with men outside her own family; she should avoid their company, and even when in their presence in the company of her own family, should not speak to them, and should keep her eyes downcast. The advice and chaperonage was more abundantly provided for chiefs' daughters than for those of commoners, of course.

Boys were subjected to no rites or restrictions to qualify them for man's estate. They were expected to begin to take active part in economic pursuits, and were called on to assist in ceremonial activities, but, of course, were leaders or major figures in none of these. They soon found themselves sharing the center of public interest once during this period, however, when they married. Parents tried to arrange marriages for their sons before the boys' sexual appetites were aroused and led them into illicit alliances that might cause trouble to or bring disgrace on the family. After this brief taste of the spotlight, however, the youths returned to the background.

Indians' generalization about a man's life leave this part blank. Now and then one hears of a youth potlatching at the birth of his first child, but inquiry usually shows that his father was the prime figure in the affair. MP's description of his own life during his teens indicates that his major interest was hunting. His parents had not let him go out in the woods alone to hunt until near the time he was married in the 1870's (he judged himself to have been about 15 when he married). He was the only surviving son, and they were still not convinced that the wars with the Moachat were ended. He began to go out by himself, or with a cousin of nearly the same age, setting traps for fur bearers. The two important events, to him, from the time he was married until he actually found himself taking his father's place at the latter's death, were the time he found a den of wolf cubs and took them home and sold them, and the time he caught a bear cub. For the rest of his life, however, from the time he gave the mortuary potlatch for his father, he was a major figure in tribal affairs.

It appears that through their teens and until at least their mid-twenties young men were serving a sort of novitiate in economic, social, and ceremonial life. They were learning things, and busy (busy too with their sexual interests, licit and otherwise), but kept in the background by their ignorance of the real social mechanisms and by the domination of the middle-aged men who directed all tribal activities. Modern young men in late teens and early twenties impress one as acting much as their forebears must have at that age, being almost invariably bashful and retiring before others. Only when they are with a gang of age mates away from critical eyes do they become boisterous and self-assertive. Oldsters criticize them because they cannot sing or speak at feasts and similar gatherings when they occupy their hereditary places of honor. The old people say, "In the old days, the young chiefs paid attention to their elders; they paid attention to their elders and learned the songs, and the speeches. Some of them did not need speakers to speak for them." It may be that the elders were able to put more effective pressure on the young chiefs in those happy days.

REMEDIES

Some home remedies were known to almost everyone, others were secret prescriptions known only to those of a certain family and jealously guarded by them. The herbs and other simples were ordinarily mashed beyond recognition when the owner of one of these secret "medicines" was hired to treat someone outside his immediate family. He would be paid "a dollar or two" for the treatment. No songs or prayers accompanied the applications of the medicines, although they may have been used while collecting the materials.

Spider web, or a "gutted" slug, was put on a cut to stop the bleeding. Bruises and minor aches were treated by applying nettle as a counterirritant (this was a remedy known to all). Bleeding, not tapping a vein but making a series of shallow slashes, was done to reduce swelling. This was no secret curing method, "anyone could do it who knew how to cut quick." It was never done for luck. Deep-seated "rheumatic" aches and the like were cured by applying a live coal of a root of a swamp plant called ahwah; a burning pellet of cedar bark could be used too, but the ahwah root was more potent. When the burn festered and became pustulous, "That was the sickness coming out." Applied to the back of the neck, these embers cured persistent headaches, it was said. Simple fractures were bled to diminish the swelling (a compound fracture apparently took care of itself). There were a few people who knew how to reduce a fracture. The injured limb was padded with shredded cedar bark and bound with strips of the same material.

One of the several cures for the sickness resulting from contamination by a supernatural being was a crude steam bath. The procedure was called tī'kwin, referring to the steaming of tī'pa roots. In the lean-to or hut to which such a person was taken, a pit was dug. It was filled with hot cooking stones (my notes do not make clear whether the stones were heated at a separate fireplace or not), water was sprinkled on the stones, and a covering of mats was put down, on which the patient, bundled in blankets, sat. There were no songs used at this stage of the cure, nor was steam sweating used for any other purpose than curing spirit-sickness.

Bezoar stones were not believed to have magical properties. The informants were not aware of their occurrence in deer and elk, but claimed that sea lions had them. They are said, jestingly, to be the sea lion's "ballast."

MORTUARY CUSTOMS

Death was to the Nootkans a fear-inspiring phenomenon, despite the fact that as hunters and fishers they were used to watching the death struggles of their quarry, and in war, they often mutilated their victims. When a member of the household died, from whatever the cause, grief was accompanied by the desire to dispose of the corpse as promptly as possible. Father Brabant maintains the urgency was felt to be so great that at times unfortunates were crammed into a box and carted off for burial before they were really dead (Moser, 1926, p. 58). Some of the instances he cites (based on hearsay) are still recounted by whites along the coast. It is not impossible that such things occurred now and then.

When a chief died, they wrapped his body in a cedar-bark blanket (and occasionally in robes of sea otter), without washing or painting it, and crammed it into an ordinary wooden box. A hole was made in the wall for the box to be passed through. Four middle-aged men carried the "coffin"; usually the same ones were called on to do this for all the deaths of the tribe. The tribesmen joined the procession, following the body to the burial place. It was tabu to wail while the body was being carried off. When taken by canoe, for instance to some burial islet, it was put in one canoe and towed; no one rode in the same canoe with a corpse. The box with the body might be put in a cave (or rock shelter), lashed in the upper branches of a tree, or merely set on some prominent point alongside a memorial (qamata'ȧ'), such as was erected for the predecessor of the present Moachat chief (in this case the body was moved later in secret to a burial cave). The memorial, if there was to be one, was set up at this time. Valuables of various sorts were taken along to put with the memorial. (A Chilkat blanket, sewing machines in abundance, and other articles can be seen in the photograph of the Mōqwinȧ memorial (pl. 3, *c*).) Most informants averred that slaves were not killed, however, but would be given away later. While the men were taking the body to the burying ground, the women cut their hair to shoulder length in sign of mourning. They hacked it off with knives, then burned it. They did not scratch their faces as the Kwakiutl women did. (I neglected to inquire just when the men cut their hair. Perhaps it was on their return from the burial. Whenever it was done they cut it to just below the ears.) When the men returned to the house, they made ready to sing the mourning songs. These were property of the chiefs, or of the chiefly lines; some had two, and some four. The cadence was slow and deliberate. The accompanying drumbeat was an unchanging one, two, rest. When the songs were finished, red paint was passed around, and each man painted his face. Neither feathers nor head bands might be worn. The heir's speaker announced that they were going to send away to (mȧtsap) the dead chief's soul. Planks and drumsticks were distributed. They beat four ruffles. After this, food was distributed. At this feast, the heir announced that he was taking the place of the dead chief.

A few days later, depending on the situation, including such matters as whether other tribes were to be invited, a "throwing away" potlatch (tcitcmȧʟskwī) was held. The gifts were called "carried away under the arm to accompany the dead." Blankets, slaves, and the like were given to men, and beads to the women. If the dead chief's big canoe was to be dragged into the woods and smashed, the fact was announced at this time. Privileges such as certain songs and dances, and even entire ceremonials, were discarded—not given to guests, but "put away" never to be used again. More commonly, they were "put away" for a set period of several years. This was called ʟatchsintłic (from ʟatcił, "to fold something up"). Announcement of the fact was made at this potlatch.

This potlatch was also the time for announcing the name tabu. Not only was the use of the (current) name of the dead chief prohibited, but elements of it, if they were common words, were likewise proscribed. For example, when the present Moachat first chief's predecessor died, he was using the hereditary name of haiyū'a'. The word "haiyū," "ten," was prohibited. Instead, they said "ō'ūmhai," "it fits," or "completes." Several men, well-informed and important elders, met before the potlatch was to be given to decide what word or words would be tabued, and what would be substituted for them. In ancient times, so it was told, "they would kill a person who violated a name tabu." In recent times he was merely berated. This name tabu lasted for a year, or perhaps two, when it was formally removed by the chief's successor at a potlatch given for the purpose. After this both the name and its components could be spoken freely. Ceremonials which had been temporarily "put away" would be resurrected at the same time.

There were no tabus on mourners. Close kin, at least, were expected to keep to the house for a while, and not engage in merriment, but there was no formalization of this attitude, in terms of a set period, or real seclusion. After a time they began to mingle with the people once more.

Those who had handled the body, and carried it to its resting place, bathed before returning to the village, and that was all. They were under no restrictions.

For lesser chiefs, and well-to-do commoners, instead of giving a potlatch a few days after the burial, the dead person's heir gave a feast called łaktūła, at which presents were distributed to the chiefs only. As the giver of the affair passed out each gift he said, "ᴌaktskwai" (said to be derived from łakwâqnâqcił, to become "heartbroken"). This phrase would seem to mean something like "for grieving." No formal name tabu would be set for a chief of low rank, much less for a commoner. Of course, his relicts would not like to be reminded of their sorrow by hearing his name bandied about, and their friends and neighbors would not speak his name in their hearing for a time.

The bodies of low-rank chiefs, and of commoners as well, were put into boxes, to be lashed to trees or stowed in caves, like those of high degree. At Kyuquot suspension of the coffin in a tree was practiced only for chiefs of the mâtsūwaiàth lineage. Bodies of younger people were put in caves; those of the aged under a canoe. Small islets near villages were the usual burial places among all the Nootkans. Bodies of the very old Moachat were taken to a special burying place called ōtsa. Anciently, it was said, boxes were not used for commoners or slaves—their corpses were merely wrapped in mats. Aside from this, there were no differences in method of disposal of the corpse according to status. Shamans were buried like anyone else. The only people given special burial were twins and persons born deformed, and their parents. Such persons were not put into boxes, nor lashed up in mats, but laid on mats at the entrance to a cave or rock shelter covered with a robe as though they were in a bed. The face was left uncovered.

When they found the body of a suicide who had crawled into a deadfall and tripped the pin, they removed the logs, wrapped up the remains and left them there. Such a person was mourned like any other.

Cremation was not practiced by any Nootkan group. Kinship terms were not changed at death, even in the case of a chief. At Clayoquot, and possibly by other Central Nootkan groups, the skull of a chief was recovered from the grave box "four" years after his death. His heir displayed it at a potlatch, and stowed it in a box where other ancestral skulls were kept. This was the time at which the name tabu and other restrictions, such as those on use of certain rituals, were formally lifted. None of the Northern Nootkans did this, nor was any other form of secondary burial practiced.

In view of the marked fear of the dead evinced in their haste to get a corpse out of the house immediately after death, it is noteworthy that the Nootkans claim to have practiced autopsies and similar post mortem dissections at times. Tales concerning deaths in which witchcraft was suspected frequently tell of the parents cutting the corpse open, or hiring it done, to establish cause of the demise. Of course, to give point to the procedure, in most of these tales it is related that bits of sharpened bone, duck claws, or similar objects were found, proving the deceased had been slain by black magic.

Another occasion calling for dissection was that in which a woman died in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The abdomen was invariably laid open so the fetus could be removed. Informants maintain this was for the protection of the father of the child, who would otherwise surely die should anything so intimately connected with him be left in his wife's coffin. The purpose was not to save the child, though the natives were aware that such a thing was at least possible. One lineage at Ehetisat claims an ancestor in the direct line brought into the world through one of these post-mortem Caesarian operations, and this tradition is invariably cited as evidence to prove that if the embryo were sufficiently well developed and showed signs of life they would attempt to save it. Dissected bodies were not given any special burial subsequently, but were treated like any other. A fetus, removed as described, would be put in a little box and buried separately, but with nothing to distinguish it from any other infant burial. The beheaded corpses of war casualties were treated like any other dead.

In recent times, when individual family "white man style" houses became common, they were frequently burned at the same time as personal effects. Informants tell of one disastrous year (about 1905) when many schooners with crews of Nootkan hunters were lost in the Bering Sea seal fishery. As survivors returned to tell of having seen such and such a vessel go down with all hands in a terrible gale "houses were burning all up and down the West Coast." It was insisted, however, that the big multifamily houses were never burned even when the chief died, for that would work hardship on too many people.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

Two marked attitudes toward their everyday world gave a distinctive cast to Nootkan cosmological and supernatural concepts. The people's "pilot's knowledge" of their own land, that is, minute knowledge of the alongshore and foreshore, and unfamiliarity with the interior, may be noted first. To most of them, mountains were objects to be lined up in ranges to locate offshore points, rather than localities to be traversed and known intimately. It is consistent that the woods and mountains were thought to be populated by vast numbers of dangerous and horrendous supernatural beings, while the sea contained fewer and less malignant spirits. The other attitude that seems to have colored metaphysical thought was the lack of interest in, and limitation of knowledge of places outside of Nootkan territory. The Northern divisions knew, of course, and occasionally visited the Southern Kwakiutl neighbors of Quatsino Sound and the Nimkish River; the Alberni Canal groups were familiar with the Comox, and all the Central divisions were in frequent contact with the Makah and knew through them of other northwest Washington groups. But they had little interest in lands and peoples south and east of the Makah, and north of the Southern Kwakiutl. Their cosmology reflects this provincial outlook: there were no elaborate concepts of other worlds, heavens, underworlds, or lands across the gray Pacific.[30]

A few myths (imports from other peoples, to judge by the wide distributions) tell of legendary heroes who climbed up to a Sky-world, and others who descended to an Underworld, but informants are perplexed in trying to account for such places—it is clear that there was no well-defined system of thought about them. There was an Undersea-world not far off the Vancouver Island shore that everyone knew about, for it was there that the Salmon-people and the Herring-people lived, each tribe occupying half of a great house. These beings lived there "just like people," in human form when they doffed their salmon (or herring) guises, which they put on or took off like robes. With them dwelled the souls of twins. By an extension of the same idea, Whales and Hair Seals were also believed to have houses under the sea, though the entrance to the house of the latter beings was through a cave in a high island.

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[30] Of course, with the growth of the Bering Sea fur sealing, many Nootkan men visited not only Alaska, but California, Japan, and other exotic places during prolonged cruises. This widening of horizons was accepted as an increase of practical knowledge, but did not seem to be reflected in any way in philosophical abstractions. Missionary influence of the same period introduced the notions of the Christian Heaven and Hell, which seem to be clear only to the younger school-trained generation.

This interest in Salmon's Home, Hair Seal's Home, and Whale's Home, all near the Nootkan foreshore, to the exclusion of speculations on remoter worlds, was typical of native philosophy. The Nootkans were far more interested in the important animal spirits and monsters of their inlets and woods than with any remote deities. There was a belief, common to all the tribes, in the "Four Chiefs"—Above Chief (hai'łɛpī ha'wił or ha'wiłai'iłâm), Horizon Chief (hałsū'is hawił or ha'wił sū'isai), Land Chief (hai'ya'å'ai ha'wił or ha'wiłume), and Undersea Chief (hałasō's ha'wił or hinasō's tcɛ ha'wił). Men called on them in prayers during bathing rituals, but never attempted to explain their powers or domains.[31]

Of much more concern were the many beings (tcɛha) who peopled Nootkan territory, and who might be encountered at any time to man's benefit or peril, as the case may be. It scarcely needs to be pointed out that these beings had as much place in the Nootkan world as did the neighboring tribes, the fish, and the animals of the forest. One soon learns of them, in talking with elderly people, and hears much of their effect on human lives.

Wolves were placed in a special category among all the animals, as possessed of great supernatural powers whether in animal guise or, without their skins, in human form. They were a "tribe," and lived in a great house under a mountain. There was some peculiar relationship existing between Wolves and Killer whales; some people believed the latter emerged from the sea to turn into Wolves. Neither animal was considered dangerous to man. In fact, they were more likely to be friendly than most spirits. There was no prohibition on killing either species of the real animals.

A very important race of spirits were beings called ya'ai. They were similar to men in form. On either side of the head, projecting upward, were tufts of feathers (I never understood whether these feathers served as ears, or grew from the ears). Sometimes their bodies were described as white, sometimes as covered with coarse hair. They might appear singly, or in groups of 4, or 10. Often they came paddling a Supernatural Canoe (wīnatciɛt). Sometimes this Canoe was seen without its ya'ai crew. The ya'ai spirits possessed numerous sorts of power that they could bestow on human beings: shamanism, the art of whaling, wealth, as well as ritual displays and songs. They also slew without mercy the ceremonially unclean persons who chanced upon them.

Several other races of anthropomorphic beings inhabited the woods—the tcīnīāth, tall shaggy-haired red-skinned beings who pursued people with spears, and måʟɔh, a race of pacific giants whose women had long hair that dragged on the ground when loosened. Neither of these gave any gift of moment to humans except the right to represent them in dances. Far more feared were the lost human souls, called puqmīs. When a person nearly drowned, and then made his way ashore, weakened and chilled to the bone, he would see flickering fires inviting him back into the woods. Should he try to go to them to warm himself, they led him on and on, like will-o'-the-wisps, till he turned into a puqmīs, becoming an ugly white color, with protruding eyes "that looked like icicles." The nails of his hands and feet became long claws, and he could run incredibly swiftly. A puqmīs was thoroughly malevolent, though there are traditions of men who obtained their eyes for charms.[32]

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[31] Several early historic accounts refer to a single deity, dwelling above "Quaw-autz" (or like names) of whom modern informants know nothing. (Cf. Jewitt, 1815, p. 172-173.)

Somewhere up amid the remote snow-covered peaks lived the thunderbird (tūta, also tītska). He was a huge man, who put on his birdlike dress to hunt whales. Few mortals had the fortune to encounter him; they more often met his "dogs," the Feathered Serpents (hai'ī'ʟik), who were simultaneously Lightnings. A scale from one of these creatures was an extremely potent charm. There appear to have been a variety of kinds of Feathered Serpents: in addition to the huge ones ("like alligators," say young sophisticates who have seen these reptiles pictured in books), there were some very small ones, and others with heads on both ends.

High up in the mountains, too, were caves in which grew Supernatural Quartz Crystals (hai'na). Some of these were of huge size. They swayed back and forth in the caves, emitting a weird humming noise. There are tales of ambitious men who plucked the largest crystal in the center of the cave. It became night all over the world, except in the vicinity of the crystal, until the object was released. Most noble families had small ones as hereditary treasures.

Shaman-Squirrels, Minks, and Ravens were sometimes seen in the woods, singing, and shaking tiny rattles. Often they shamanized over old rotten logs, making the logs writhe and groan through the power of their songs. Their gift was shamanistic power, as was that of a mysterious Right Hand that stuck from the ground shaking a rattle. (A Left Hand gave death to its finder.) If there was more to this spirit than the hand—if it had a body and face—only shamans knew, and they never told.

There was really an infinity of dangerous beings lurking in the woods. There were headless "mallardlike" birds of brilliant plumage, birds with human faces, a kind of mountain lion that walked backward and killed men with its long lancelike tail, and many other horrid and dangerous creatures. The Souls of Trees were malignant too;

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[32] They were not the ghosts of the drowned whose bodies were recovered; we may suspect they were those whose bodies were never found.

no one ever saw more of them than a shadowy movement "like someone stepping behind a tree," but this was often enough to kill the viewer. Small snakes, of the "gartersnake" type (there are no poisonous snakes on Vancouver Island) were dreaded. To find a den of them was especially dangerous, for with lightning speed they hurled themselves into the bodily orifices of the unlucky discoverer. There were also dwarfs, who had houses inside of mountains, where they enticed the unwary to dance with them around and around a great wooden drum. Sooner or later he stumbled against the drum, and became afflicted with a peculiar disease called "earthquake foot"—every time he took a step the ground shook. No one with this malady lived long.

In recent times a series of apparitions in which blood figured became common. There was no specific spirit connected with them. A person simply saw blood spurting from mirrors, from stones, and the like. Such an apparition invariably caused death; the unfortunate finder came to his end bleeding heavily at the mouth and nose. There was no known cure.

By contrast, the waters contained fewer perils. Of course, the Salmon and Herring, if angered, could do harm to mankind, and in each species of salmon there was a poisonous one, cīcawuł, which was to be avoided (it was easily recognized for its scales were turned backward). At certain places, usually deep holes at the foot of cliffs, dwelled enormous Sharks that could swallow a big canoe with all its occupants. People ordinarily gave such spots a reasonably wide berth, but war chiefs deliberately bathed at these places. There were also tremendous Squid at certain places, but one never hears of them attacking humans: most frequently they were seen far up some fresh-water stream fighting with a yew tree. Such an encounter gave courage and strength for war to the finder.

Another sea spirit was a giantess, called kaptca, who came floating to the surface slowly like a drowned body, her tremendously long hair streaming out in all directions. Many men received wealth, power, rituals, and honorable names from "finding" her if they had the courage to yank out one of her long hairs for a charm. But no one ever saw her face and lived to tell of it. If she raised her face from the water, the mortal who saw it died.

Just as their concepts of supernatural beings were particularistic, not organized into groups or hierarchies, so the concepts of various natural phenomena were vague and unsystematized. The sun and moon (both called hūpał) were personified in certain well-known myths, but despite this fact were not ordinarily regarded as supernatural beings. One Kyuquot man of the past generation saw a "Moon Spirit," from whom he received many songs and names which he gave to his chief (since he was of low rank and did not potlatch himself). This seems to have been a novel encounter, without precedent in native traditions. There were names for stars and various constellations, most of which were associated with myths, but again there was little real belief that these bodies were supernatural beings. There seems to have been but little interest in heavenly bodies. I doubt very much that they knew enough about them to steer by Polaris when far at sea (as Waterman reports), until they learned from white seamen how to use that useful but rather inconspicuous star.

Eclipses were caused by a Sky Codfish (tuckaiiłam) that swallowed the sun or moon. People sang spirit songs and drummed on planks to frighten the Codfish away—Jewitt describes their consternation and the tumult produced at such an event. Modern informants emphasize the occasion as potentially fortunate, rather than as one of panic as suggested by Jewitt: children were brought out of doors and made to mimic fishing, hunting, and the like so that they might grow up to be skillful and lucky at these pursuits. There seems to have been no explanation as to what the Sky Codfish was doing in the heavens, however. Another being said to be in the sky, but only vaguely accounted for, was the Sky Dog (ϵłtcai iłȧm), a huge mangy beast, who caused snow to fall when he scratched himself (the snow being the mange scales). The elders considered this belief sufficient grounds for scolding children who ate snow. Hail and thunder were caused by the Thunderbird, who was, as remarked, far more clearly conceptualized than the other beings associated with the various phenomena. He caused thunder by flapping his wings (the lightnings, of course, were his dogs, the Feathered Serpents).[33]

The origin of the southeast wind is a source of amusement, for it is explained in a popular myth as caused by an old man who breaks wind. To bring calm weather people sang songs of the birds and animals who, according to the myth, tried to stop the southeast wind. It is difficult to tell how seriously they take this proceeding. It was my impression that at present, at least, this singing is rather for amusement. There are said to be other more effective forms of weather magic.

One would guess, offhand, that the Nootkans would have had some rather elaborate explanations of the tides that were so important to them all their lives. For certain kinds of fishing—trolling for spring salmon, for example, and for raking and dip-netting herring—the stage of the tide is more important than whether the sun has risen or set, and the fisherman went out according to stage of the tide. Yet no informant knew of any explanation for them, other than the theory of lunar attraction which was recognized as being of European origin. On the other hand, there existed a firm belief in two tidal phenomena for which I can find no justification in the tidetables. It was said that in midwinter, at about the time of the winter solstice, there occurred at night an enormously high tide, the highest of the year. Sometimes it rose so high that it entered the houses, although all but a very few people slept right through it. This tide was called "Turning over" (kwistsītcił) because as it rose and fell it turned over, then righted again, everything in its path—every stone on the beach. To wake and see it at the very crest brought great good fortune. No one knew what caused it. In midsummer there occurred, it was said, the lowest low tide of the year, but this gave no particular luck, so far as I learned.

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[33] Sapir to the contrary (1916, p. 20), there are violent thunderstorms on Vancouver Island. They are not frequent but when they occur are very spectacular, especially in early winter, when they are accompanied by heavy falls of hail.

Fog was explained on the basis of a myth that told that Crane released it from his "kneecaps." The rainbow was not explained. Modern informants recalled no prohibition against looking at it, though an early source describes such a tabu. Northern lights were neither explained nor considered significant except as a weather sign. "It means there will be cold weather," say informants, which is true enough, for the lights are seen only during the clear cold weather that accompanies a north wind in winter.

Nootkan thoughts on life were not particularly abstruse. One had a soul (kōātsåkstum) that was believed to reside in the brain. It could be lost, or stolen (for instance by vengeful Salmon); the loser wasted away gradually, dying if it were not restored. The life principle (titītcū) was distinct from the soul. It was situated in the breast (in the heart, tītcmå), for as one informant pointed, the shamans listened, or felt a patient's breast, then reported, "He still lives. His titītcū is here yet."

Both soul and life simply "went away" when one died. The Northern Nootkans had no notion of an afterworld or Land of the Dead, so far as informants knew, nor any theory as to what happened to a soul (except, of course, souls of twins, who returned to Salmon's Home).[34] One informant, after we had discussed the matter at length, suggested that perhaps the supernatural beings who, according to one legendary account of the origin of a short version of the Shamans' Dance, came to dance in the house sites 4 days after the people had moved away, may have been ghosts, or spirits of the dead. This seems to have been derived from the commonest opinion (when any thought was given to the matter at all): that spirits of the dead simply wandered about in this world. The Central tribes believed the spirits of the dead became owls, which seems to be a belief common to many Coast Salish groups.

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[34] There was a well-known variant of the widespread myth about a person who went to the Land of the Dead, in an Underworld, but was sent back for fastidiously refusing food consisting of cooked fleas, nits, and the like. For some reason however the journey to this Land of the Dead seems not to have been accepted as explaining the fate of souls in general, but was regarded as a unique adventure of one person.

TALES OF SUPERNATURAL EXPERIENCE

To make the foregoing description of the commoner spirits and supernatural concepts more concrete, a few tales of encounters with supernatural beings will be summarized. It must be noted that these sketches are from stereotyped versions of the traditions related at festivals to account for certain rights, and the like, and are not first-hand experiences. They do show the concepts underlying the situation of man-meets-spirit, however, and formed the basic yarn of knowledge from which actual visions and supernatural encounters were spun.

The following adventures are related of a noble ancestor, saiyatcapis, of the wɔhīnuxtakámłáth lineage of the Ehetisat: When he was a young man he had a series of encounters in which he was given privileges for ritual displays, and others from which he derived good luck and wealth power. It is said that he had these experiences before marriage. His first encounter was with the Supernatural Canoe (wīnatcict). The young chief had gone out one night to harpoon porpoise. He sat in the bow of the canoe, with two young slaves paddling for him. The slave in the stern said, "Something strange is happening to me. It makes me feel so weak I hardly hold the paddle." There was a sound, "xū!" repeated four times. The young chief and his slaves felt weak and dizzy. Something seemed to flash across the water, coming toward them in zigzags, like lightning. saiyatcapis could see it even when he closed his eyes. He splashed water on his face again. As it came near, the two slaves fainted. They lay sprawled in the canoe bleeding at the mouth, ears, temples, and from the pits at the base of the neck. The young chief could hear the sound of singing; in a brief space he heard a great number of songs coming from the Supernatural Canoe. When it drew abeam he gave a ritual cry and leaped aboard. The apparition, at his shout, turned into a huge drift log with grasses, herbs, and seedling trees growing from it. There was one of every kind of plant in the local flora. saiyatcapis took four plants, pulling them out roots and all. He selected the ones mentioned in the songs: spruce, thimbleberry, hemlock, and elderberry. He also broke four pieces of wood from the right side of the log. These things he rolled up in his cedar-bark robe. Then he paddled for shore. The two slaves came to when the prow of the canoe grated on the beach. The young chief told them what he had seen, but made them promise to guard the secret. The three rested there for 2 days, because they were weak from the effects of the apparition. Then they set out for hōhk. saiyatcapis told his parents that he had "found" the Feathered Serpent's Supernatural Canoe (hài'ī'ʟik wīnatcict ūwɔq). His father gave a feast to the tribe to announce to them, "My son saiyatcapis was gone 2 days and returned empty-handed, but maybe someday he will get something." (This was a jest; the old chief was happy about his son's encounter, but did not want to tell what saiyatcapis had found.) Then after the feast he and his son bathed in the sea nightly for 4 nights. Six of the best singers of the tribe were assembled in a secret place back in the woods so that saiyatcapis might teach them the songs; they learned them all in 10 nights. Then the chief gave a potlatch at which the Supernatural Canoe was displayed (i. e., a replica of it), while its songs were sung.

Shortly afterward saiyatcapis went out again porpoise hunting. He wanted to get several to give a feast. This time he had only one companion, an old man, very wise. The young chief had struck and killed two porpoise when his companion said, "Listen, chief! I hear some other kind of animal." They listened, as the creature surfaced, then dove. It was a killerwhale. Suddenly the canoe was surrounded by a great school of killerwhales. As they surfaced and spouted they made a tremendous noise. The old man said, "I am beginning to feel faint. These must be Supernatural Killerwales. Are you all right, chief?" The young chief replied, "I also feel a little faint, for they make so much noise when they surface. But let us follow them." They paddled after the school, following it through a narrow pass to a small landlocked basin. The old man said, "They are going to become something else now. Wait until they do so, and you will 'get' whatever it is." They paddled through the school of Killerwhales and beached the canoe. The Killerwhales lined up along the beach, and all made their sound at once. Both the men fainted. saiyatcapis fell in a small stream, which revived him, so that he was able to hear the Killerwhales howl four times like wolves, and a White Killerwhale in the midst of the school rose upright in the water to sing a spirit song. Then the Killerwhales turned into Wolves and emerged from the water. saiyatcapis gave a ritual cry. They did not disappear, but simply ran off into the woods. The old man said, when he came to, "What you have seen was very strong, chief. Let us camp here and bathe for 4 days lest we harm the people on our return (i. e., a sort of supernatural aura clung to them from the encounter which might injure persons ritually impure)." They threw away the two porpoise, also, lest they had been made "poisonous" by the supernatural influence. When the young chief and his companion returned, they found that one of the chiefs was giving a Shamans' Dance.

The messengers came to call saiyatcapis. When he went among the people, he, and they also, felt ill, because the supernatural power was still strong in him. He went back to his house to lie there on his bed for many days. As he lay there, he remembered having heard tales of a house of stone back up in the mountains. He asked his mother if the stories were true. She told him they were, but that no one could go near the place and live. Even the birds that flew over it dropped dead; the ground all about was covered with their bones. She did not want him to try to go up there. That fall, when the people were drying dog salmon at the head of the inlet, saiyatcapis put on a robe of bearskin, and tied hemlock twigs in his hair with a band of dyed shredded cedar bark. He took his two young slaves as companions, and started up into the mountains. As they neared the mountain where the Stone House was, they began to feel strangely. Soon they could hear a faint sound, as of a great crowd at a distance drumming and singing. saiyatcapis told his slaves to wait for him for 4 days, then went on alone. As he came nearer the noise increased. Each time he stopped, the noise ceased; when he began to walk again it was resumed. At last he came to a clearing. The high ferns swayed as though in a strong wind; beyond them was a house, built of stone instead of planks. As he approached he could see that the ground was littered with skeletons of small birds. Within the house he could see the figure of a woman, and heard the sound of many voices. As he stepped through the door he fell unconscious. While lying there he "saw" (or dreamed) a series of Bird Dancers (dancers wearing disguises of various birds) who appeared from behind a screen to dance as the woman sang. He learned all their songs. Then he came to, and gave a ritual cry. The house turned to a huge boulder; the woman became a bit of "foam" on the ground. He sopped up the foam in a strip torn from his robe to keep as a token of his adventure, and started back down the mountain. His slaves had to help him walk, for he was weak when he reached them. They had been picking salal berries while waiting for him.

On their return to the village, they gave the berries to some women; one who ate them fainted, and several of the others felt badly for a short while, because of the supernatural contamination of the fruit. saiyatcapis hid the strip of robe with which he had mopped up the foam in the woods. He told his parents what he had seen, and asked them to keep it secret for a time. His father told his wife not to tell their son of other supernatural places, for "he has had enough supernatural encounters now; if he tries to get more we may lose him." The young chief lay in his bed, pretending to be ill. When the lineage moved down from the salmon grounds, they had to carry him on a plank across the portage to Espinosa Arm. Then one day he appeared, dressed in his robe and wearing his dyed cedar-bark head band. He went alone up the inlet and leaving his canoe, set out afoot up the river to its head. At four places in the river he stopped to bathe ritually. Far up the mountain he began to feel strangely, so he chewed a bit of medicinal plant he had brought with him. Up on the bare slopes above timberline he began to hear a strange noise. When he came near, he could see some Supernatural Quartz Crystals on a boulder. They were swaying back and forth, making a weird humming noise. Now and then they clashed against each other, and fragments flew through the air to fall on the rocks far below. saiyatcapis was frightened, for this was the most powerful thing he had yet seen. He was afraid to go too close, lest he be killed in this remote spot where his parents would never find his body. He sat down facing eastward to sing four songs "like prayers," that belonged in his family. The ground shook under him as the Crystals moved. He gave a ritual cry, but nothing happened.

Then he approached close enough to throw his robe over the Supernatural Crystals, again crying out ritually. Then the noise and movement of the Crystals stopped. He wanted to take the largest of the Crystals, but it was too big to be carried by one person (other traditions relating to the Supernatural Quartz Crystals usually say that when the largest Crystal was taken, darkness descended on the world; this incident may have been forgotten in the telling of the adventures of saiyatcapis). He took four of the small Crystals. When he came to the river, far below, he rested for 2 days, bathing ritually, and learning the songs of the Supernatural Crystals (i. e., apparently in dreams). When he returned home he told his parents what he had done. His father stood up to sing a spirit song, then fainted before he finished, for the young chief was still strong with supernatural power. The next morning saiyatcapis told his father he had dreamed that four young spruce trees should be cut and placed one in each corner of the house. If this were not done he (saiyatcapis) would die. So his father sent men out to cut the trees. He asked his son if they should display the Crystals which were in the house. saiyatcapis was going to dance wearing a Crystal in his headdress. His mother told him to use an imitation one, lest he harm the people. He appeared wearing the imitation crystal in his headdress, and his father called on four different chiefs in turn to remove the crystal. The first three sang the songs that saiyatcapis had learned, but were unable to come close to the young chief without fainting. The fourth took the crystal and "sent" it away. Then the chief announced his son was to have the name qīqīmáxcīa thereafter, and gave gifts to all the guest chiefs.

qīqīmáxcīa continued in his quests for supernatural power. He had six further encounters, all more or less like the preceding. Among others he "found" two Killerwhales lying back in the woods, a Crane that fished for Supernatural Crystals in a small pond, the Supernatural Winter High Tide, and the Sea Spirit kaptca from whose head he yanked a hair to use in bathing to make dead whales drift ashore. It was not until he had had 10 supernatural encounters that he ceased to search, and let his parents arrange a marriage for him. Long afterward, when he was an old man, he met another supernatural being. From the effects of this encounter he died. All the songs, names, and dances he found descended in the family as display rights to be shown at potlatches, along with replicas of the various spirits. In addition, certain medicines, such as the plants he plucked from the Supernatural Canoe, the hair of the kaptca, and others, were transmitted from generation to generation of his descendants to be used in ritual bathing for good luck, wealth, and power.

One day a young chief of the mátcłiáth decided to return to the village site. All the people were at the fishing station. He set out in a canoe with a companion. As they neared the point mátcłīpīá, close by the site, he heard singing, and on rounding the point saw a row of houses there, with smoke coming from the roofs. (Actually, of course, there was nothing there but the bare house frames, for the pople had stripped the houses when they moved to the fishing grounds.) The chief asked his companion if he could see the houses; when the latter replied "no," the young chief covered him with mats and paddled the canoe ashore. He walked up the bank toward the house from which the most noise came. Peeping in through a crack in the boards, he could see the backs of a great host of beings in human form. He could not see their faces. They were dancing. Now and then, when one of them passed close by him, he would hear the being remark, "I feel strange, as though there were a tcɛha (supernatural being) around here." As they sang, the fire would suddenly flame up high, and a rainbow appeared in the bouse. The beings shouted, "tcɛha ic!" each time this occurred. Then the young chief threw a stone against the house, shouting a supernatural cry at the same time, and all the houses disappeared, turning into foam. Only one plank remained. The chief tore a piece from his cedar-bark robe to sop up a bit of the foam, and then hid this and the plank out in the woods. After this, when he slept, he would hear the songs the beings had been singing, until he had learned them all.

He began to make a canoe, a short time after this adventure. When someone came down to the beach to watch him, the young chief warned them away. If they came close to him, or stayed long, they would begin to feel weak and dizzy, for his supernatural power was still strong.

The next winter the chief ūmakʟa′a was giving a feast of salmon eggs. All the chiefs were assembled, waiting for the young chief. He was down at the beach, sitting in the water up to his neck. He remained there all day. Then he went to the feast. He was served, and took a single spoonful of salmon eggs, then pretended to drop dead (as though his recently acquired supernatural power were still strong upon him). Before he went in the house, he had cut his tongue to fill a fish bladder with blood. He had concealed the bladder in his mouth, and, when he pretended to fall dead, bit the bladder so that it burst, and blood streamed from his mouth. The people gathered around him, and felt of his body. It was still cold, after all day in the water. They wrapped him up in mats and took him to his house. The young chief had instructed his mother and four companions; when his body was brought in, they emptied a box of blankets and stuffed him into it, lashed up the box, and took it out to a burial cave. As soon as the crowd of mourners left, the four helpers cut the lashings to let him out. He smashed the box and run into the woods, where he stayed for 4 days. There was a man out fishing, when Wolves began to howl around the burial cave. The fisherman went to see: the burial box was broken up and the body of the young chief was gone. He hastened back to tell the pople that the Wolves had taken the body of the young chief. Then they heard the Wolf whistles, so they knew now that the young chief was giving the Shamans' Festival He appeared between four Wolves, and was rescued and taken to the house. There, he sang the songs and displayed the dances that he had found in his supernatural experiences at mátcłi. He took the name kiʟuc at this time. It comes from kiʟcił, "to break up (something)," referring to the breaking up of the burial box by the Wolves.

When the son of the chief ukwistcik, of the matcłiath was a young man, he continually went out into the woods at night to bathe ceremonially. One dark night, he ducked under a big windfall that lay across the trail. Something struck his head, knocking him unconscious. In the morning he revived. When he looked about him, the first thing he saw was a wolf, knocked out as he had been. He went to the wolf and began to work on him to revive him. The animal came to, and wagged his tail. The youth said to the wolf, "I have brought you back to life. Now you must reward me." The wolf got up and ran off into the woods, returning in a few minutes carrying certain leaves in his mouth. He brought three kinds of leaves (in three trips), and then went once more, returning with a Supernatural Crystal. The young man ran home with the leaf "medicines" (with which he was to rub his body while bathing ritually) and the Supernatural Crystal. This is how he became a great chief, and how he got the name hai'nȧqtsōkwɔ, which means "Supernatural Crystal snatched from (wolf's) mouth."

There was a chief at tcɛcīs long ago named nasatsōis. One day he went to visit his salmon trap, and found it empty. This happened for several days. Finally he hid in the brush near the trap to see who could be robbing it. As he watched, a big canoe came down river with a crew of 10 men, or rather beings, for they were really ya'ai. The chief fainted. When he awoke they had gone by. He stayed there watching. After a time they came back, towing a whale. They beached their canoe across the river from him to make camp. He gave a supernatural cry, and they all turned to foam, and the whale did too. Nothing remained but their whaling harpoon and the canoe. The chief collected bits of the foam, and smashed the canoe, hiding the pieces in the woods along with the harpoon. Now the chief decided to go whaling, and moved down to hūmīs with his people. He took the name of mȧʟiskō'a at this time (from mȧʟīs, referring to dragging or towing, from the vision in which he had seen the ya'ai towing the whale). They stayed at hūmīs a long time. Every time mȧʟiskō'a went out he killed one or two whales.

DEALINGS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

A major portion of Nootkan religion, like that of most American Indian groups, consisted of a series of techniques for manipulating supernatural power to one's own ends. It was essentially practical and direct. There were many practices that had to do with economic activities, and they were considered by the natives to be integral parts of those pursuits. The rituals to ensure success at whaling were, as Waterman (1920) pointed out, as essential a part of making ready for the hunt as the stretching and spinning of the sinews to make the harpoon lanyard, or making the sealskin floats. Performing the rites properly was as important as laying up a good sound harpoon line, and had as much to do with bringing success. It is difficult to appraise on the basis of even first-hand, let alone second-hand accounts, but my impression is that the Nootkan attitude in these matters differed considerably from what we usually consider a religious one. A man performed his rites, often arduous and painful, with stolid determination; he approached situations of actual contact with spirits not with awe or ecstasy but with physical fear that he grimly overcame, bolstered by the knowledge that if he performed his ritual acts properly he would receive no harm, but rather sure success. One is reminded of the frame of mind of the combat soldier, conscious of his peril but relying on his own performance to get him through safely. Some few individuals, particularly shamans, seem from the accounts to have found an emotional satisfaction in their supernatural contacts, but in all probability this became greater in retrospect than during the spirit quest and at the moment of their encounter. Consistent with this pragmatic attitude was the concept regarding all spirits: the beings were both powerful and malevolent, but could be overcome or coerced by a courageous mortal provided he complied minutely with the forms of his ritual. The spirits were, indeed, dangerous and terror-inspiring, but did not merit the designation of gods, for they were very far from being omnipotent.

There were three principal fields of life in which religious practices served man's ends. One can be referred to broadly as the man's relationship to nature in such respects as economy, health, and general fortune. To overcome the vagaries of animal behavior the efficiency of material implements—hooks, harpoons, and arrows—was augmented by ritual acts. These acts were simply additional tools of the food quest. Similarly, there were procedures to ward off vague unspecified dangers to health, to give children rapid growth and strength. Other closely related practices had as their goal the ensuring of physical prowess and bravery of war chiefs, wealth and good luck, and such specific minor goals as the production of the right type of weather for a voyage or a hunting or fishing expedition. A second application of religion was the social function of shamanism (and wizardry), wherein other persons were cured, restoring them to their roles as useful citizens, or put out of the way. The third sphere of activities in which religion played a part was in connection with the system of rank, for all rights and prerogatives, including the display privileges of masks and dances, were considered to have been awarded to their owners, or to ancestors of the owners by the spirits.

The techniques for dealing with the spirits, and for utilizing the power won from them, can, like their uses, be grouped into a few simple categories. The first of these may be termed compulsive rites. They were magical acts whose correct performance brought about the desired result in a cause-effect reaction. Included here were formulaic prayers; the application of "medicines" (au'yī), often plants, which were eaten, rubbed on one's body, or on one's weapons, as the rite demanded; use of human corpses and bones; the setting up of dummy figures imitating the desired act, as in the shrines; and the procedures of black magic. I shall describe various forms of compulsive rites in more detail in subsequent paragraphs, but the point to be brought out here is the automatic nature of their action. The performance, for instance, of a certain ritual with a corpse invariably caused dead whales to drift ashore. The underlying idea seems to have been that the dead have power to "call" or attract various kinds of animals, but this was not verbalized by any informant. To them, the use of corpses was essentially just another kind of "medicine." I found no one who had a clear concept of how and why these rites worked (some rather obvious procedures of imitative and contagious magic they could explain, of course). That did not affect the efficiency of the rites, however, any more than among us an understanding of the chemistry and physiology involved alters the effect of, let us say, quinine, or sedatives. Informants believe they explain the effect of the rites by saying that the spirit who first instructed someone in the procedure said it would produce the desired end. Anyone who followed the prescribed steps could bring about the result. On this account all these rituals were closely guarded secrets. While the broad outlines of many of them were widely known, their virtue lay in the minute details—the plants used, the formulas spoken or sung, the exact gestures, and order of procedure which were known to no one but the owner and his heir or heirs. These secret details were the parts of the rituals transmitted in accordance with the rules of inheritance from the original discoverer, to whom a spirit had revealed them, to his direct descendants. That the effectiveness of a bathing ritual came from virtues inherent in the ritual itself and in the plants used for scrubbing one's body, rather than from the supernatural being who originally "gave" the procedure, is made clear by the following tradition of the tsaxanáth of Gold River.

There was a man named ʟī'aik who was famous as a trapper. He had two deadfalls named tsa'áq (river) and wɔnīs (throat ?). (These names had been given in a previous supernatural encounter, in which he had found two small Feathered Serpents (hai'ī'Lik), each of which he put in a small wooden box and buried under his deadfalls.) One day, far back in the woods, he heard a voice speaking as one does when praying in ritual bathing. As he listened, he distinguished the phrases, "I shall lift up tsa'áq; I shall lift up wɔnīs" (takapá' łits tsa'áq; takapá' łits wɔnīs). Lī'aik crept close. He found himself near a little pond at the edge of which stood a manlike figure with a very white skin scrubbing himself with leaves. The hidden trapper could not distinguish the person's features. The person scrubbed his body vigorously with the leaves, while chanting the prayer, then dove four times, staying underwater a long while each time. Finally he went to a tree where he seemed to put some object, then walked away. ʟī'aik went down to the little beach. There were no tracks there, nor traces of water (such as would drip from a person's body when he emerged from the pond). ʟī'aik went to the tree, but could find nothing. He returned to the edge of the pond. Searching carefully, he found a piece of a certain leaf (with which the person had been scrubbing himself), which he recovered. Lī'aik realized it had been a Bear who was bathing ritually to escape from his Lī'aik's traps. The trapper thenceforth used the same kind of leaves to scrub his body with, following the Bear's ritual as closely as possible (altering, of course, the sense of the formulaic prayer the Bear had been using). From that time on he caught more game than ever.

A second group of procedures were those associated with ritual cleanliness. The concept underlying them, clearly expressed by the natives, was that the odors of warm sweaty humanity were repugnant to the spirits. By bathing in cold water till the body was chilled, however, and scrubbing away grime and sweat with pleasant-smelling or magically potent plants one could approach spirits without their becoming aware of his presence. The bathing rituals (called ōsɛmitc) were not as barren and simple as this, of course. The scrubbing of the body with bundles of hemlock fronds or herbs was carried by many to the point of mortification of the flesh, for they used rough twigs, bunches of nettles, or even pieces of fir bark to rasp their bodies till the blood came. The immersion in the water itself was a sort of self torture, for men stayed in till they became almost too numbed by the cold to walk.

The bathing rituals overlapped the compulsive rites. Basically they were, of course, a specialized variety, and a cold damp one we may add, of the American Indian spirit quest. However, many of them contained special secret procedures—certain herbs to be used, and similar minutiae—that had been given to an ancestor by a spirit he had encountered. Such bathing rites were for the purpose of obtaining some specific goal: luck at sea otter hunting, for example, or for trapping, or for good luck and wealth in general, or for physical strength and long life. Many men practiced them, some regularly, some at irregular intervals from early manhood till old age without ever encountering a spirit, or even wanting to, but attributed what material success they had in life to their faithful observance of their bathing rituals. Therefore despite the basic conceptual distinction between the magical procedures and the cleansing rites, it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between the two sets of observances in practice.

Another series of performances associated mainly with economic values were those aimed at honoring and pleasing the species of animal caught, so that its reincarnated spirit would again let its body be captured. These customs were based on a belief in the immortality of animal spirits, most explicitly described for the Salmon, whose spirits returned to their home beneath the sea to report how the humans had treated them. Ill treatment was punished by refusal of the fish to run in that river again. In this category were the First Salmon, First Herring, and Bear rites, and the honors paid to the "saddle" of whales.

The techniques involved in shamanism and wizardry contained many elements of the first two types discussed, but in general can be described most clearly in separate sections.

We may proceed to consider some detailed accounts of religious practices. Two deficiencies in the descriptions should be pointed out in advance: one, the fact that the long formulaic prayers, which should have been recorded in text, like those that Sapir and Swadesh (1939) have presented, were slighted in my note taking; the second point is that in many cases the particular secret plant "medicine" that made a ritual efficacious was omitted by informants, who still felt that such knowledge was very private property, not to be bandied about. This latter knowledge would be more important to one who wanted to perform the rituals, however, than for those of us whose major interest is their cultural pattern.

THE RITUAL CLEANSING-SPIRIT QUEST

The bathing rituals, whether part of a spirit quest or part of a compulsive rite, were performed in the same fashion. Most of them, or at least the more important ones, were begun during the waxing of the "Elder Moon." To bathe ritually during the wane of any moon would bring ill fortune. A man went out secretly. He did not want others to know of his rites, and it would bring bad luck should anyone other than his trusted assistant see him. Clad in a bearskin robe or vest with hemlock twigs inserted in a dyed red cedar-bark head band, the ritualist went quietly at night to his special bathing place. This might be in a lake, a stream, or the ocean. Here he rubbed his body with bundles (tītcâm) of branches. The kind used varied, for each man had some special plant as his "medicine." Hemlock, and fir twigs, nettles, and certain gritty seaweeds seem to have been the most popular. The body was rubbed painfully sore, often, indeed, until the blood came. As he mortified the flesh, he sang or repeated his secret prayer, always addressed to the Four Chiefs. Often he faced eastward to pray. Then he entered the water, in which he remained as long as he could stand the cold. Some men would be almost unable to walk by the time they emerged. Commonly some relative would be taken along, to hold the robe, and assist the bather should it be necessary. Men have been found dead at their bathing places. The old interpretation was that such unfortunates had met with a malignant supernatural being, but young moderns believe they died of exposure. A common variant of the swimming or wading in deep pools of lakes or bays was a procedure in which the bather squatted on the beach with just his head and shoulders out of the water, scouring his arms and legs with sand and gravel. He might either sidle along the beach from one end of the village to the other and back, or remain at about the same place, backing up the beach as the tide rose. This type of bathing was called kwixqa.

The bathing, whether in fresh or salt water, around offshore reefs or at the village beach, was repeated nightly, for either 4 or 8 nights, as a rule. The long rites usually involved a certain number of periods of bathing in fresh water, and a number in the sea.

Rarely, a man's wife accompanied him as his assistant. More often, she was required to lie quiet and motionless in her bed, especially when the bathing was for luck at sea hunting, so that the quarry would be calm and unwary. Her behavior during the rites, as well as during the hunt, was an important factor in her husband's success, or lack of it. Only at Kyuquot, so far as I learned, did a few men have rituals in which sexual intercourse with their wives or amours was required as part of the procedure.[35] Most men were required by their rites to observe strict continence during their preparations. By day, the ritualist rested, but slept little. Some men had songs to sing all through the day. Most men ate but sparingly, although strict fasting seems to have been uncommon as a part of the rites. There were some men, however, who did fast. The rites were repeated during the waxing of the set number of moons.

HAIR SEAL HUNTING RITES

A chiefly lineage of one of the Muchalat Arm groups prepared for hair seal hunting by bathing in salt water in the Elder Moon. Each night of the waxing of the second moon one had to swim counterclockwise four times around a fresh-water lake, towing 10 human skulls strung on a rope behind him. Once, long ago, as a chief swam, the skulls began to puff and blow like seals. He became angry and struck them. "You are dead; why should you make noises, pretending to be alive?" He had so much power (from his rites) that he was afraid of nothing.

The hair seal hunting ritual of one renowned hunter at Hesquiat consisted of 4 nights of bathing in the sea, during the waxing of the moon. Instead of conifer twigs, he used a seaweed called hohtsaqmapt for rubbing his body; it has a heavy "slime" which was supposed to be the efficacious element. After rubbing his body with this plant, while praying in a loud voice, he entered the water, swimming about with his head well up out of the water (so the seals would swim the same way, and not dive). He swam as long as he could stand the cold. Then he emerged to rub his body again with the seaweed, and to pray. According to the informant, he spent the most of the night this way, entering the water 10 times. By day, he did not sleep. He might drink fresh water, but instead of food, sucked a little deer tallow. It was said that the tallow prevented him from becoming hoarse from his nightly praying. After the 4 nights of his ritual, he rested for 4 days in the house, no doubt catching up on his sleeping and eating. Then he went out to harpoon seal.

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[35] Such rites seem to have been relatively common among the Southern Kwakiutl. (Cf. Boas, 1921, pp. 637 ff.)

SEA OTTER HUNTING RITES

The sea otter ritual of a Moachat was as follows. At a lake near the beach west of Friendly Cove (the place, though not the rite, is recent; anciently he would have had a place near the winter village of kūptī) he had to prepare bunches of hemlock twigs. He made 200, laying them on a rack of poles. He went to the place twice nightly, soon after dark and again just before daylight. First he sang a sacred chant, then he took four bunches of twigs, and while praying to the Four Chiefs, rubbed his body with one bunch at a time until all the needles had come off. The worn bundles he laid on a rack at his left. Then he entered the water. He waded out about breast deep to make a circuit of the lake (which is not large). From time to time he paused to duck completely under. The procedure was continued nightly in the proper moon phases until all the bundles had been used up.

An Ehetisat chief bathed in salt water for success at sea otter hunting. To a head band of dyed red cedar bark he attached four pieces of human flesh and a Crystal endowed with magical power which an ancestor had obtained. He followed the shore line swimming, floating, and diving "like a sea otter" as long as he could stand the cold.

WHALE HUNTERS' RITES

The ritual of a Moachat whale harpooner consisted of bathing nightly during (the waxing of) eight moons. (He would have had to start before the Elder Moon—about November— to be ready at the beginning of the whaling season in April, despite conventional statements that the Elder Moon was the time for beginning these rites.) For the first four moons he bathed in running fresh water, rubbing his body with bundles made chiefly of nettles, and some secret herbs. Gathering the nettles to make the bundles was part of the mortification of the flesh that made the procedure effective. As he bathed he prayed to the Four Chiefs to aid him, and recited long prayers to the effect that the whales should allow him to come alongside, and give him a fair target for his harpoon. Dressed in his bearskin robe or "vest," with secret marks painted on his face and wearing a head band of dyed red cedar bark, he walked to and from his bathing with a slow ponderous tread, so that the whales he hunted would move slowly in the water and not swim about erratically. For the second four moons he bathed in the sea. He swam about slowly, submerged, and came up making a noise like a whale "blowing" four times, then floated quietly in the water. This was all direct dramatization of the behavior he wished of the whales. He always swam a circular course, in the ritual counterclockwise direction. After each four circuits he emerged on the beach to rub his body with bundles of plant medicines and to pray. He used some kind of seaweed "that felt all slimy" at this time. During the entire period he observed strict continence. Members of his crew were likewise supposed to bathe ritually, and to be continent for some time before going out on the hunt.

Some other chiefs had even more arduous rites for whale hunting. A rather common whale hunter's performance, used also in rituals for sea game other than whales, consisted in swimming out to certain barnacle-covered rocks and reefs and dragging one's naked body back and forth across the small jagged shells. This took the place of scrubbing the body with twigs or herbs, and was about the maximum in the way of self torture that was required.

WAR CHIEFS' RITES

It was said that a rather common feature of war chiefs' bathing rites, for bravery and invulnerability, consisted in embracing a small spruce tree at the stream's edge while naked. The object was, of course, to select a short bushy one so that its many stiff needles would prick and lacerate the bather's arms and body. War chiefs descended from a person who had "found" as their source of power a Giant Squid fighting with a yew tree at the edge of a river, used bundles of yew twigs in their bathing. Others customarily bathed in deeps in the salt water in which Supernatural Sharks were supposed to dwell. From such performances they got great physical strength, courage, and invulnerability.

SHRINES

It was but a step from the more elaborate of these bathing rituals to the use of shrines (tcīyasàm). These were made and used to "bring" a variety of products of economic importance; often the same shrine and its ritual served to bring heavy runs of salmon, herring, and to cause dead whales to drift ashore. Most frequently the chief who owned the territory where these commodities were obtained was expected to see to it that the supply did not fail by carrying out his rituals meticulously. In addition to bathing he set up figures of supernatural beings and animals made of bundles of brush, and with them skeletons and corpses. The human remains are usually said to have represented the chief's ancestors, who had been given the ritual by spirits. I never heard the obvious conceptual base for these usages explicitly stated by any informant—that the dead had power to attract, or to compel the game to come—but the rite of a Moachat chief makes this idea clear.

This chief had a shrine on an island in Jewett's Lake near Friendly Cove.[36] His ritual was to bring herring and to cause dead whales to drift ashore. The shrine contained images of men and supernatural beings, made of brush, and rows of skulls. For 4 nights the ritualist bathed, rubbing his body with branches, and entered the shrine to pray. The next 4 nights he waded around the lake. He took four steps, then spoke a formulaic prayer. An assistant followed him on shore. The duty of the latter, it is said, was to note when the chief became so cold he could not speak properly, and to make him return home. Neither might eat or sleep for these 4 days. The ritualist's place in his house was screened off by mats (this was probably a modification of the wooden "adoratory" described by Moziño). There was a wooden drum set up which his assistant beat all day while the chief sang. His ritual lasted four waxing moons. Whenever someone died shortly before or during his ceremonies, the chief stole the body, or had his assistant steal it. The relatives of the deceased often went to great pains to hide it but were usually unsuccessful, for by spying, bribing members of the burial party, or some other means the ritualist usually learned where the corpse had been placed. He sent two men to get it and hide it elsewhere. These men had to bathe and remain continent for some time to avoid harm. When the time came, the ritualist and his aides transported the corpse to a place on the outside beach. The chief had with him a heavy maul, a sharpened stake of yew, and a tube made by removing the pith from the stem of a certain bush. The body was laid face down over a stone. One of the assistants held the stake at the back of the corpse's neck just below the base of the skull, the other held the maul ready. The chief prayed, then gave the signal to strike. The stake was driven through transfixing the cervical vertabrae and coming out in the corpse's mouth. Failure to drive it through at a single blow brought bad luck. The stake was removed and the tube inserted in the hole. While the assistants held the body erect facing oceanward, the chief, standing behind the corpse, shouted through the tube, asking that whales drift ashore. The three men then had to bathe. According to one informant, the chief was obliged to give the body a decent burial, equipping it with many blankets. According to another (and this seems more probable), he eviscerated and dried the corpse, and put it away in his shrine. The helpers of some chiefs were said to know how to smoke dry a corpse "so that it would last more than a year."

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[36] This was the shrine described by George Hunt (*in* Boas, 1921). Some of the differences between his account and the present one derive from the fact that he relates the origin tradition of the shrine, not its more recent use.

The second chief of the Hesquiat kikinȧth had a shrine near a place called ȧpsūwɔs. It contained many masks, skulls, and corpses. Before he went to the place, the chief bathed in the sea. He entered the water at the ebb and stayed in until the tide was full. After 4 nights of this he went to his shrine to pray, and arrange his apparatus. He stood 10 corpses erect in a row, tying them to stakes. In their hands he fastened a rope of dyed cedar bark to which a wooden image of a whale was tied. From time to time he visited the place; when he found the rope broken he knew a whale had beached somewhere in the vicinity, and sent men out to look for it.

It is related that the last owner of this shrine, qōnin, by ritualizing assiduously brought in a whale one winter. He attended a feast given by a fellow chief with some of the blubber from his whale, and there he heard the people complain, "This blubber of the whale-ritualist is very tough." qōnin became angry. "The next one will be tender," he exclaimed then walked out. He found a slug (symbol of softness) which he fastened to the back of the wooden whale. Every day he inspected his shrine until he found the rope broken again. He gave away the blubber again. When the people cooked the strips of blubber they fell apart (i. e., the blubber was rotten). Then they said it was too tender.

A chief of a'aminqȧs had a shrine in a remote rock shelter. Nightly he bathed, then drummed on a wooden box drum he kept there, singing to bring salmon. His songs were for the four kinds that run in Gold river: sockeye, spring salmon, coho, and dog salmon. This part of his ritual was continued for four waxing moons. He selected eight assistants, who had to remain continent during this time. The chief had (or his assistants secured for him) a desiccated corpse. On the proper night he and his men went by canoe to the lower part of Muchalat Arm. They set the corpse in the stern of the canoe; the chief stood in the prow. All wore head bands of dyed red cedar bark. When they turned back, a long rope of dyed cedar bark was fastened in the hands of the corpse. The crew of 10—9 living and 1 dead—started back to their river, the paddlers stroking to the rhythm of the chief's supernatural songs. The corpse's cedar-bark rope was allowed to trail in the water. The performance was called "towing" (máʟa) and invariably brought heavy runs of salmon. It was not necessary to do this every year.

In connection with this pattern of use of shrines is a fact which is not made clear in previous accounts, and that is that there was not an intimate association between the *harpooning* of whales and the use of corpses. The consensus of informants was that harpoon whalers, that is, those who harpooned whales at sea, relied chiefly on ritual bathing. Each whaler, of course, had his own secret methods of bathing, a special kind of leaves or twigs with which to rub his body, and his own prayers, all of which were important parts of the whaling procedure, and were, as well, family secrets. Some rites involved carrying or bathing with a skull, or a bit of dried human flesh, but informants denied that these men made extensive use of corpses or skulls in their rites. Those who used skulls and corpses were those "whalers," really "whale ritualists," who built shrines to cause dead whales to drift ashore (and to "bring" other things as well). This is a point of some interest for it stresses the differentiation between the two types of "whaling" and suggests, if Lantis (1938) is correct in her premise of common origin of Eskimo and Nootkan whaling, that the float-harpoon complex of the Eskimo and the lance whaling of Southwest Alaska may, along with their associated ritual patterns, represent two quite distinct complexes, rather than two variants developed from one basic pattern. Thus, the lance whaling may not have represented an old harpoon whaling modified by the northeast Asiatic spread of use of aconite poison, but a completely distinct invention resulting from diffusion of the use of the poison to a coastal people.[37]

The intimate linkage between the bathing rituals, the use of shrines, and the spirit quest is revealed in observances at the birth of twins. The parents of twins, since twins came from Salmon's home, were in special rapport with Salmon and Herring. The father particularly, during the long seclusion, was expected to bathe ritually to bring heavy runs of fish. Often, he had a supernatural experience in which the way to construct a shrine and carry out the ritual in it was revealed to him. Some men, however, received other types of spirit power in their encounters, some of them becoming shamans as a result of their long rites, rather than ritualists.

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[37] Cf. Heizer, 1943, pp. 448–450, for a summary of the evidence for the alternative opinions. Heizer's remarks as to the ritual similarity of Aleut-Koniag and Nootkan whale hunting, like Lantis's, are partially influenced by the fact that I had not thoroughly analyzed my field notes that I put at their disposal; the error is mine, not theirs.

A rather recent development, and one whose frequency I do not know but which I suspect is rather low, is the setting up of shrines for the popular lahal game. One such was said to have two rows of stakes on which skulls were set, facing each other like the two "teams" at a game. The skulls of one row, presumably the opponents, had the eye sockets neatly plugged with moss. It is possible that in former times shrines may have been made for other things than for salmon, herring, and stranded whales, although if so they were rare. All those of which informants know were like the first two shrines described. The construction and use of a shrine was a serious matter, not lightly undertaken. The shrine itself was a dangerous place, for it was saturated with supernatural power. A man who happened on one out in the woods avoided it. Even the owner, who knew the necessary procedure, would not enter his shrine without a preliminary period of ritual cleansing. It is said that once at Ahousat a wolf walked into a whaling shrine. Though wolves are animals of great supernatural power themselves, so strong was that in the shrine that the wolf dropped dead.

WEATHER MAGIC

In addition to the singing of the songs from the myth about the calming of the Southeast wind, which seems to have been as much a form of amusement as an attempt to control the weather, there were secret rituals that had as their goal bringing calms, storms, or whatever might be desired. Most of these were bathing rituals in which the medicine for rubbing the body, and the prayers were the efficacious, and secret element. For example, a chief who owned the right to net waterfowl on a certain inlet bathed ritually to bring the stormy weather and pitch-black nights necessary to the technique; a chief who had a shrine and a ritual to bring in dead whales had formulae and prayers for stormy weather as part of his lengthy and complex rites (for it was believed that whales were injured or killed outright during violent winter storms). Sea hunters prayed for clear calm weather for their hunting. There were among the Central tribes more specific magical procedures: one related by a Clayoquot informant involved painting certain marks on the beach at low tide after bathing in the sea, so that storms and rough seas would be caused when the water covered the paintings. I was unable to learn just what all the steps were in this ritual, or precisely what kind of figures were painted. I did not learn of such complex magical performances as those described for the Southern Kwakiutl (Boas, 1921, pp. 620-

636). The Nootkan rites seem to have emphasized the bathing rituals more commonly.

OBSERVANCES IN HONOR OF GAME

The ceremonies in honor of game, to conciliate them for allowing themselves to be taken, were performed for salmon, herring, whales, and bears. So far as I could learn no other species was honored—not even hair seal, nor the esteemed sea otter, nor halibut, porpoise, or deer. The species of salmon so treated, varied: usually dog salmon received the most elaborate treatment, but groups who had sockeye grounds accorded that species the chief honors. The first of all species of salmon were treated with some regard, however, the commonest feature being concern to return all the bones to the water. First Herring were said to be treated much like salmon.

The observances for the first dog salmon at Kyuquot, Ehetisat, and among the Moachat were nearly identical, according to informants' accounts. The first dog salmon were often referred to as hita'uł (a word used to describe "bright" fish that have not been long in fresh water). The entire first catch, as I understood, had a special name also, a'amatsōs. These fish were laid on new mats in the chief's house. The owner of the trap (i. e., the chief), sprinkled them with down, and "talked" to them, saying, "We are glad you have come to visit us; we have been saving these (feathers) for you for a long time. We have been waiting a long time for you, and hope you will return to visit us soon." The fish were cut up immediately afterward, to be cooked and served at a feast of which everyone but menstruating women partook. The head, backbone, and tail were left in one piece and broiled between sticks; the slabs of meat from the sides were boiled. The former parts could not be dried until butterball ducks appeared in front of the village. Until that time, the bones, (most of which, of course, are contained in head, tail, and back) and the guts had to be put back in the water, or the Salmon on reincarnation in their home beneath the sea would be deformed. (The idea was that the bones were washed back to the Salmons' Home for a very literal sort of reincarnation.) According to a Moachat account, the backs, with heads and tails attached, and the guts were piled back of the houses, to be returned to the water all at the same time, when the butterballs appeared. The Salmon would be angered, and would not return to the stream or river where people had been careless and caused many Salmon to become deformed by returning them incomplete skeletons.

All during the dog salmon season there were numerous tabus in force. Certain words might not be used: One had to say sitsūł instead of nūmakȧmił to refer to a menstruant; kwitcyawi'is for the usual hitawi'is, "going out (in a canoe);" and mutchiwɔqact instead of tucqact, "dried codfish." At Kyuquot, some additional words were changed. Dogfish (yá'tea) was called qwɔ'a'łs, crabs (hásamts) were called tsáqmīs, wolf (qwaiyatsk) became pōha. Chewing (spruce) gum, carrying fire along the beach, making loud noises along the beach, and shredding cedar bark near the beach were all things that displeased the dog salmon, and would cause them to stop running. The Moachat informant specified further that cracks in wall boards had to be chinked up, lest light show at night. Tabus on cutting fish with any but mussel-shell knives, carrying them by the tail or in a basket, and eating freshly caught fish at the same meal with "white-man grub," were strictly observed until modern days. To let dogs and cats eat fresh salmon until the butterball ducks had appeared would also cause the run to fail. As described in another section, the restrictions to which menstruants were subject were much more strict than at other times.

Any deformed salmon, crooked-jawed ones for example (called tsi'kwasł), were taken back into the woods and left. They were never eaten.

The Muchalat groups who fished at Gold River celebrated the sockeye run with more formalities than they used for other runs. An account of the observances, since it contains a number of details absent (or not mentioned) in the accounts just summarized, will be given in full.

In the informant MJ's boyhood, there were two Muchalat men who could bring a good run of fish: a'miʟac, of a'aminqás, and kapinʟácōwa, of mátcłi. During their season of ritual bathing, they wore ropelike head bands of shredded red cedar bark. They bathed ritually, praying for fish in the following order (the sequence of the runs): sockeye (and sea trout), spring salmon and coho (which run at the same time in Gold River), and dog salmon. kapinʟácōwa had a shrine out in the woods, with corpses and other things, that he used in his ritual. These men also warned the people of the rules concerning treatment of the fish.

It was necessary to be very careful when the sockeye run began. For example, when sliming the fish, the women had to lay them on a mat, not on the bare ground. Nor might the wooden cutting boards be used for cutting sockeye. Sockeye bones were carefully collected and returned to the water, so that after the run, when the fish assumed human form in their home, they would be short no parts. Mats were put down to collect the bones on. Even the split sticks in which the "backs" were roasted were carefully examined to make sure no small bones adhered to them. Fresh salmon of any kind, and the dried backbones, could never be given to another tribe (away from the fishing station) for the bones had to be returned to the river they came from. Should the Salmon-people note that their kin were hobbling about in Salmon Land without arms, or legs, or other essential members, they would become angry and refuse to return to the river in which they had been mistreated. Salmon heads could not be cut off, but had to be pulled off the backbone after broiling.

The first catch of sockeye at a’aminqás was brought into the chief’s house and laid on new mats, with the heads pointing upstream. kapinʟácōwa, or haha’umɛhic (a name said to refer to “bringing fish”) as he was called at this time, sprinkled the fish with eagle down, thanking them for returning to the river and giving thanks also to the Four Chiefs. Then a roof plank over the fireplace was shoved aside, and he sprinkled down over the fire, so that it was wafted out by the column of warm air and smoke. After these thanks had been given, a woman tied the corner of her blanket over her head so no hair would fall on the fish, and slimed and cut them for broiling. This was done for the first sockeye, and the first catch of spring salmon, but not for dog salmon at Gold River.

When people who dwelt on salt water came to a’aminqás in sockeye time, they were not allowed to proceed immediately to stations up Gold River, but had to stop 4 days at the mouth of the stream, bathing morning and evening with stale urine and fresh water, to remove the odor of salt water. After the 4 days they could go up to set the traps.

The rites of tribes of the Central group are less perfectly recalled, due, perhaps, to the stronger missionary influences (as at Hesquiat and Clayoquot), but the bits collected indicate that they were much the same as those of the Northern Nootkans. I shall not recount the rites for the First Herring in detail, for the descriptions differed but little from those of the salmon observances.

Whales were ritually treated from the beginning of the hunt. In addition to the vigorous bathing of the harpooner and his crew, the whaler’s wife had an important ritual part once the actual hunt began. She represented the whale, for the time being, and had to lie quietly on her bed, covered with new mats. If she moved about, the whale was restless, and difficult or impossible to approach. A slug was often put on top of the mats that covered her, to show by its movements which way the whale turned. A variation of this practice was related by a Moachat informant, who claimed the whaler’s wife lay down only after the whale was struck, when a small canoe brought the harpoon shaft ashore to place it over the bed. Her remaining motionless on the bed caused the wounded cetacean to run but a short ways.

Some of the towing chants used by whalers reflect interesting concepts. The whale was addressed by the title for "chief's wife," or "Queen" (to use the interpreters' usual term), was attracted to the whaler's wife, and was attracted by a drink of fresh water (although the Eskimo whaler's custom of actually offering the beached whale fresh water was denied by informants).

One Ahousat towing song was a simple chant, repeated over and over as the men paddled. It consisted of the phrase: yūtsatcict a : haquma, which may be translated colloquially as, "Take it easy, 'queen.' "

Another Ahousat song went as follows:

tsuhuya, tsuhuya (go on, go on)
wəhaiyī hai'qhtcaiyɛ wəhayis (penetrating [like] Feathered Serpent penetrating)
qo'atstəp, yahiyɛ', yahiya'. (you are a person [the last two words are meaningless]).

In other words, "Go on, go on, going through [the waves] as the Feathered Serpent goes through [the mountains], person."

A Hesquiat towing song is:

hī hī hī (meaningless)
utsapi' ima, hī hī (go straight toward)
hiłōts tcɛha (there wife supernatural treasure)
sūsūs ciʟuks tcɛha (swim to where supernatural treasure).

Informants considered that the whaler meant by this to tell the whale that his (the whaler's) wife was a supernatural treasure, i. e., that the word tcɛha refers to her.

A Moachat towing song is:

ha: haquma (ha: chief's wife ("queen") [i. e., the whale])
tsapi'īma: (go straight toward)
tcamasukwi tca'àk (sweet that water)
wənułsitas ([at] wənułsitas [the name of a place on the beach]).
"Ah, 'queen,' go straight to wənułsitas, where the water is sweet."

Once the whale was brought in, the principal rite was that performed over the "saddle," the strip of blubber over the back in front of and behind the "fin." At Ahousat it was said that the saddle (tcakwəsī) was measured off according to the size of the whale, that is to say, the piece cut bore a definite relationship to the size of the carcass but it was not clear just how this was computed. Elsewhere, it was cut at points four spans forward and abaft the "dorsal fin," and clear down either side to the "wrinkles" or "creases" on the whale's belly. As soon as it was cut off it was carried up to the whaler's house, to be put on a rack there. The whaler's wife led the procession, singing. Before being hung up, the chunk of blubber was adorned with shredded dyed cedar bark to which feathers were attached (apparently the bark was sewn onto the edge at intervals), and when it was on the rack, white down was sprinkled on it. A small canoe was put under it to collect the oil that dripped out. Nightly, for that night and the three succeeding ones, the whaler and his wife and the whaleboat crew assembled to sing special songs in honor of the saddle. During this time both the whaler and his wife drank water from a special spring brought in a special wooden pail (both spring and bucket were marked with feathers so that other persons would not use them). A close relative cooked for them during this time. After 4 days, all the men were invited in "to take down the tcakwɔsī." They came in gala dress, their lower jaws painted red, and wearing shredded dyed cedar-bark head bands with one feather stuck in back of their heads. There were two men designated to tend to the cooking. They wore two feathers in their head bands (referring probably to the ya'ai spirits), and had special tongs, also adorned with feathers, to handle the strips of blubber. The blubber was cut in strips one-finger wide (it would be from 4 to 6 inches thick), in lengths estimated to just reach the ground when one end was held to the mouth of a squatting man (the men squatted as they ate their strips).

There were songs and dances for various stages of the proceedings of cutting off the strips, heating water in a wooden box with hot stones, and cooking pieces of blubber. For these, the hands were held open in front of the body, palms toward the body, thumbs extended upward. The words of one of these songs I recorded as follows:

> anī'is hīnioqwa (I am doing this [referring to killing whales])
> haiyutsai tūiłuks Laqił (ten I have standing)
> taci ya'ai, hiya, hiya. ([at] door ya'ai [spirits]).

In other words, as the song was explained to me, the singer says, "I am killing whales (because of the power of the) 10 ya'ai who stand by my door."

When the blubber was cooked, the guests sang in praise of the whaler, then were given strips of blubber to eat. Each man ate all he could; there were some who could eat four strips. Left-overs could not be taken home; all had to be eaten in the whaler's house. After the feast old women (those who had passed the menopause) could come in to eat up the scraps that were left. The oil from the saddle was put in sea lion bladder (?) containers, specially marked with two feathers, and saved for feasts during the winter. The whaler himself did not eat either blubber or oil from whales he had killed.

A Hesquiat account of the treatment of the saddle follows. It differs slightly from the preceding, and is point for point like the ritual described by a Moachat informant. When they brought the whale in to the beach, the whaler himself cut the saddle. Sometimes he did this, it was related, before the whale was actually on the beach; if they came in at low tide, for example, they might moor the carcass and then bring it well up with the flood tide, but meanwhile the whaler cut off the portion to take up to his house. It was suspended over a rack, and adorned with shredded dyed cedar bark, in which two feathers had been stuck, and sprinkled with down. The next day all the people (men and women) were called in to sing in honor of the saddle. This singing was called teūtcałc. The singers painted their lower jaws red, and wore dyed cedar-bark head bands with two vertical feathers. (The two feathers refer, I think, to the two feathers [or horns or ears, or whatever they were] of the ya'ai spirits.) There were four teūtcałcyik (chants for the tcakwɔsī), each of which was repeated once. After each song, or eight times in all, whale oil was thrown on the fire, while the people said, "nī:!" (an exclamation for ritual occasions). This was done for 4 days. On the fifth, there was a special song for taking the tcakwɔsī down from the rack. It was cut into strips and cooked, then passed out to the guests. Left-overs, if there were any, might not be taken home; the people would have to be called in a second time to eat them up, if they did not finish the pieces up the first time. The whaler himself ate none of his kill, except for the very first he got; at that occasion he swallowed four small bits of raw blubber to insure continued success. The tip of the "fin" was saved and dried, to be kept by the whaler as a memento of his prowess. Great whalers had these tokens of all the whales they had killed in their careers.

It should be added that ritualists who "brought in" dead whales by their rituals at shrines nearly always performed the same rite over the saddle as the harpooners, and like them dried and saved the tips of the "fins" of the whales they brought ashore.

The observances for bears suggest the widespread "Bear Ceremonialism" in a general way, but in specific detail differ from the classic form of the complex. The fact that bears were singled out for special treatment may indicate an ultimate connection, for it is difficult to see why, of minor economic importance as they were, they should have received any attention at all.

A bear trapper visited his set every fourth day. When he saw that he had made a catch, he approached the deadfall with caution, then shouted "nī:" four times. The bear was taken home and tied up in an upright posture in the rear of the house. Four white mats were laid in front of him, and four freshly dried salmon were laid on each mat. Some person, perhaps the chief, sprinkled eagle down on the bear's head and welcomed him by saying, "We have waited for you to visit us for a long time. Here is the eagle down you came to get." Flattering phrases were used as in welcoming an important chief; apparently the greeting was not a stereotyped formula but a speech of welcome. The bear was then dragged across to another part of the house to be skinned and cut up. Meanwhile, the chiefs of the other houses were invited in to partake of the bear feast. They ate the salmon, which was theoretically given to them by the bear (it was "mamutskwīunł," the remnants of food which a chief took home from a feast and shared with his people). Then the bear was eaten—presumably many people were invited for this part of the feast. The trapper himself rarely ate the meat. The bear trapper could give the feast himself, but it was perhaps more decorous for him to give the carcass to his chief, who would then do the necessary honors. The bear's skull was not saved but was thrown away in the woods, away from the water. The animal was not addressed as a kinsman. The Kyuquot informant said the usual mode of speaking to a bear—for example, when women saw one near a berry patch, or thought there might be one near—was to call it haqum, "chief's wife," or "queen." The women would shout at it to go away, using this title.

THE SHAMAN

In times prior to these modern decadent ones in which a commoner can attain an honored place in society by the expedient of inheriting chiefly prerogatives of distant kin, the shaman's career was one of the few means by which a person of humble origin could acquire prestige, and even a measure of wealth and privileges. One clear line of evidence to this conclusion is the fact that almost all of the shamans whose lives and miracles were recounted to me were of low rank: commoners, or younger sons of chiefs. Of the real chiefs, only those of misty epochs of antiquity where history, legend, and myth imperceptibly blend, had time for shamanistic activities. This does not mean that chiefs did not search for spirit power or that they never had supernatural experiences like their lesser kin. What happened was that a chief who encountered a spirit in the woods received songs and dances for a display privilege, or a ritual for increasing the salmon run, or a medicine for hunting whales. Power to cure the sick fell to those persons of less importance who had time for it.

The foregoing might be interpreted to mean that I believe, like Father Brabant, that Nootkan shamans were cold-blooded frauds who deliberately preyed on the gullibility of the ignorant. I am not of that opinion, and believe the good Father's judgment was influenced (apart from a deep-seated suspicion that such people were probably in league with the Devil) by the fact that the shamans as a group were simultaneously an influential and very conservative segment of the population, who fought him because they saw in his missionizing not only a threat to their profession but to Nootkan society and culture. Time has shown that they were correct, just as Father Brabant was correct in judging them to be his principal adversaries.

The problem of who the shamans were and why is difficult to approach because so many of our data are second-hand. Shamanism among the Nootkans is a vanishing art, and I was unable to establish sufficient rapport with any of the few remaining persons who have practiced as shamans to gain any insight into their personalities and motivations.[38] First of all, however, we may dispose of the idea that Nootkan shamans were recruited from the ranks of the psychologically unstable. All of Pettitt's cogent arguments against such an interpretation of North American shamanism as a whole apply to the Nootkans: the number of shamans appears to have been considerably greater than the number of epileptoid and psychotic individuals (there is no evidence that such persons were more frequent among the Nootkans than among any other North American Indian group); the most of the shamans seem to have been mature individuals, and continued their art for many years with no hint of any early mental deterioration that is regarded characteristic of epileptoids; and, finally, the case histories of shamans suggest, from the hesitancy of beginners and the apparent deft control of the curing situation of the experienced elderly shamans, that they learned much as they practiced and that their success depended chiefly on above-average intelligence which enabled them to profit by experience. (Cf. Pettitt, 1946, pages 119 ff.)

The native's conventional attitude toward shamanism is that one was encouraged from childhood on to seek power on the grounds that shamanism offered a means of gaining much wealth, and that a successful practitioner could potlatch with the proceeds of his curing and "make his name great." From the practical point of view a shaman could do no such a thing, and intelligent persons must have realized it. In ancient times a man of lower rank could win praise and esteem by contributing wealth to his chief to be used in potlatching, but no one but a chief of high rank could potlatch for himself. In more recent times, even when reduction of population left a chief's titles and prerogatives to be claimed by distant low-rank kinsmen (so that a commoner or low-rank chief could potlatch when making a claim to such heritages), the fees of a lifetime would hardly amount to the minimum amount of money one needed to be able to give one major potlatch. The usual fees, when informants were young and shamans were many, ran from 4 to 10 dollars, in cash or in kind, though occasionally chiefs paid more liberally for cures. To potlatch one had to have a nucleus of $300 or $400, at the very least, plus all his kin would give him, and as each shaman performed but a few cures a year, so far as one may judge from informants' remarks, it is obvious that no shaman could potlatch often on the proceeds of his profession. The pay for curing was very cheerfully accepted, but it could scarcely have been the major goal of shamanism.

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[38] The missionary campaign to extirpate shamanism by claiming them to be frauds, and exposing them to ridicule, has made the few aged ex-professionalists very chary of discussing the subject with any white persons.

Discussion of shamanism with informants leaves one with a sharp impression of the respect the people had for shamans, and the interest in the curing performances. The entire village usually turned out for the latter, to sit wide-eyed, watching. The shaman himself was the focus of this attention. And a shaman was nearly always treated, it would seem, with the deference due to one who has another world peopled by potent fearsome beings at his very fingertips and who may someday use this power to save any one of the onlookers from death. This deference was, perhaps, occasionally colored by the fear that the shaman's powers might not be for good only. I am convinced that desire for prestige was the major motive for becoming a shaman. It offered one of the very few means by which a person who enjoyed few or no hereditary honors could win widespread public recognition. We may assume then that shamans were probably the better-endowed mentally of the people of lower rank who sought prestige through shamanism because it was one of the few channels of self-expression allowed them. They would have the proper supernatural adventure because of the pressure of their subconscious desire for the recognition they realized it would give them.

Shamanism was a pursuit open to women as well as to men. Indeed, in recent times there seem to have been more female than male shamans. Most informants believe that the most powerful shamans were men, however. A shaman was called either ʟōqwɔnȧ, or ūctȧkiyū, interchangeably. The second term appears to have been a bit more commonly used by Central Nootkans. In theory, power was as likely to be encountered by chance as found after a deliberate quest, but actually it was almost always sought. That the seeker went about his quest, quietly and without fanfare on the grounds that it was strictly his own business was probably what gave rise to the tales of chance encounter. Often, an elder relative who was a shaman would take a child under his (or her) tutelage, telling the youngster how to do the ritual bathing to prepare for meeting the spirits, what to do to overcome the kinds of beings he might meet, and often, indeed would take the child along on trips to the ritual bathing place. The obvious result of such coaching was that not only was the child's interest aroused, but he was conditioned to expect to find certain spirits, and usually did find them. Thus both shamanism and shamanistic spirits, while not hereditary, tended to run in certain families.

It appears from the accounts that some shamans began their quests in childhood. However, children were not expected to stand the rigors of the serious spirit quest, and such statements probably mean those individuals showed interest by practicing mild forms of ritual bathing. Others, similarly counseled perhaps, showed no interest in the profession until maturity or even middle age. Success in the spirit quest did not depend on age. Rather it depended on the vigor with which the preparatory cleansing was done, plus the seeker's knowledge (and presence of mind) by means of which he overcame the supernatural being that he found.

The preparatory ritual bathing was just like that for seeking any power: hunting luck, wealth, or whatever one wanted. One bathed in a lake, or pond, or in salt water, rubbing his body with bundles of branches, during the waxing of the moon. The bathing place, the kind of plant used to mortify the flesh, and the songs and prayers for supernatural aid all depended on the advice of one's elders and on hereditary family secrets. Continence was absolutely mandatory. Fasting was not, but one seriously interested in his quest would eat sparingly, and would wait for his food to cool, hot steaming things being objectionable to the spirits. This procedure might be carried on month after month, year in and year out, before the seeker encountered his spirit. In fact, many men carried out this ritual bathing for a few nights (ordinarily four) each moon, for good luck and well-being in general, without ever finding a supernatural being. Others found spirits soon after beginning the quest.

When the encounter came, early or late, it was dramatic. Some unusual noise would attract the seeker's attention, and turning, he would see the vision he had sought so long. The power of the apparition made itself felt immediately in a sensation of dizziness or weakness that swept over the finder. Some people fainted dead away, coming to hours later, with blood still trickling from mouth, nose, and ears, and even from the temples and the hollows over the collar bones, so potent was the spirit power. Only the ritually best prepared had the strength to withstand the supernatural emanations long enough to give a ritual cry (ɛkcīł, "to call out ' ɛ:!' ") and take the necessary steps to overcome the spirit. Less well endowed individuals performed this ritual after coming out of their faint or trance, often over some token which the spirit had left behind, since the spirits did not wait around while the mortal revived.

The spirits from whom one might receive shamanistic powers were beyond counting. Many were the same as those from whom chiefs' prerogatives—songs, dances, and display privileges or wealth powers—were obtained; others served only for the curing profession. Among the more common of the former we find the ya'ai, strange beings with manlike but hairy bodies, and feathered ears; and the supernatural canoe, wīnatcict, believed by some, but not all informants to have been manned by ya'ai. Some people received curing power from the Wolves. Of the second class—visions specifically and only for shamans—were some peculiar manifestations such as the kuhumåtqa, "rattling," sometimes referred to as ʟūsyułtcås or ʟōłsyułtc'ås (not translated literally), which consisted of a right hand sticking out of the ground grasping a shaman's rattle. If the finder were ritually clean (having bathed frequently, and practiced continence) and gave the proper ritual cry, the hand disappeared leaving a small rattle which served the finder as a token of the experience. (Once in a while someone encountered a left hand with a rattle, and no matter what he did, how ritually clean he was, or how he called out, he died from the malign power of the vision.)

It is interesting to note that in this case there was no specific being involved in the encounter, or at least, nothing that we would regard as one, but the Indians considered it the equivalent of a complete spirit. More like the common North American Indian guardian spirit was a shamanistic vision of a Squirrel that sang and shook a shaman's rattle alongside a rotten log that writhed and groaned. The finder had to give a ritual cry and strike the Squirrel with a stick. The log then lay still, the Squirrel disappeared, and the tiny rattle was left as a token of the encounter. Less frequently a Mink is mentioned as being encountered in this fashion. Apparitions such as these are, of course, of what may be termed the "classic" type, known to laymen from well-known incidents in the folk literature. If a shaman intimated that he had encountered a supernatural rattle in the woods or that his vision had to do with a Squirrel or a Mink it was assumed that he had had one of these specific experiences. Informants are so explicit in describing the spirit encounter of some famous shaman that it was some time before I realized that the real experience might vary considerably from the stereotyped ones. Part of this results from the fact that shamans were chary of relating their adventures in detail. They merely hinted at, or alluded to, their spirit, except on the rare occasions on which they confided in members of their immediate families. The reason seems to have been that a really minute account would contain valuable information that would assist anyone who knew it in finding the same spirit, and therefore, like the secret plant medicines and individual rituals for health, luck, and the like, should be kept to one's self, or at most transmitted to a member of the family. There seems to have been no feeling that to tell these things would endanger the shaman or weaken his own power.

A few individuals claimed visions in which common supernatural manifestations were combined. Thus a noted Kyuquot practitioner, saw the supernatural "Solsticial Tide," which gave prosperity and abundance, over which the wīnatcict came sailing—from the latter he received his power to cure.

Just what occurred in the complete encounter, in which the finder of power triumphantly overcame his spirit, could not be explained by any informant. At the sound of the ritual cry, and whatever accompaniment was required—a particular phrase, a blow with a stick, the spitting of blood from a cut or bitten tongue—the spirit usually "turned to foam," or disappeared, leaving some object behind as a token. Informants often speak of this as "killing" the supernatural being, yet it was not the same as killing any living being, for the spirit shortly appeared again to the finder, and apparently kept on functioning in normal spirit fashion. The process would be better phrased as "capturing" or "dominating" the spirit. But Nootkan philosophy was not yet at the stage in which precision of meaning was required—they "killed" their spirits and kept right on dealing with them.

The Wolves, remarkable beings that they were, were the one outstanding exception to the pattern of killing or overcoming one's shamanistic guardian spirit. It was not uncommon for them to give medicines or tokens of power, then trot off, reappearing in the dreams of the favored mortal to instruct him further. Still more frequently they made their gifts out of sheer gratitude to persons who had the kindness of heart and the courage to remove fishbones stuck in a Wolf's throat, or wedged in his gums. Several tales of former times when men were of sterner stuff than nowadays, tell of men who ran head on into a Wolf while ducking under a fallen log across the trail. The violence of the blow knocked both man and beast unconscious. If the man on coming to had the wit to set about reviving the Wolf, instead of worrying about his own aching head, he was certain to be rewarded by the grateful animal. As remarked, however, such kindly and gracious relationships between men and spirits were limited to encounters of men and Wolves. In all other encounters there was an initial antagonism, and a bitter, if brief, conflict for dominance.

The bit of foam into which the spirit was transformed, or the token—a rattle, a bit of dyed cedar bark, a bundle of medicinal leaves, a painted pebble, or whatever it might be—had to be preserved. In the case of foam, the finder sopped it up in a strip torn from his blanket. Tokens of a more solid kind were wrapped up in a similar strip. All the power of the spirit somehow resided in this fetish—should it be lost, the finder lost his control of the spirit, and consequently his shamanistic power. This concept is brought out in the following case: When the elder sister of ML died, their sorrowing mother burned all the dead woman's belongings, her clothes, her favorite possessions, and with them, the box in which she had kept her shaman's regalia, rattle, and fetishes. ML's shamanistic gear was in the same box—she had the tokens of her supernatural adventures hidden in the handle of her own rattle—so it burned as well. From then on, she could no longer shamanize, she claimed.

No seeker after power dared to forget, if he wished to avoid misfortune, that the encounter with a spirit was tremendously charged with danger. Should he not make his ritual cry, should he remove his gaze from the spirit, or should he not be in the proper state of ritual cleanliness, he and not the spirit would be vanquished. He might drop dead on the spot, or he might last to make his way home, to collapse in front of his house, with rigid limbs and horribly contorted face. Sometimes, if called in time, a powerful shaman could take the malevolent spirit off him (the shamans who treated such cases said they could see the spirit clinging like a leech to his victim's back), but usually the unlucky one died.

When a successful seeker after power returned home, his fetish well hidden in the woods, he had to take certain precautions. Fresh from contact with the supernatural, enough spirit power clung to him to make him dangerous to weaker mortals. Children especially were likely to be made ill, or even die, because of the potency of the aura of power about him. Even adults who came close to him might be made dizzy, nauseated, or faint. For that reason some men did not return home for a day or so; others would stay at one end of the beach, away from the houses. At Kyuquot it was customary to build a hut behind the houses in which a finder of power passed 4 nights. Any edible articles, fruits, fish, or game he might have in his possession at the time of the encounter were sure to be so charged with power that they would be deadly poison for children, and would make adults who ate them violently ill. Consequently such things were thrown away. Even the containers in which they had been carried—baskets, buckets, and the like—were not brought home, but these ordinarily were cached in the woods along with the tokens of the encounter.

If the finder of power had fallen in a faint, or a trancelike state at the time of the encounter, the newly found spirit appeared to him to tell of the power he would receive, or sang songs which the finder would eventually learn and use in his curing. Individuals who withstood the shock of the encounter might hear such songs before the proper moment came to give their ritual cry. In either case, the spirit continued to visit the future shaman night after night, to instruct him in his profession. All the art of curing was taught in these nightly visitations. The songs he would use, the kind of face paint and cedar-bark ornaments, all the procedure of diagnosing and curing disease—all were learned by the shaman in dreams. Thus, informants stoutly maintain, there were no general shamans' styles of face painting, of ornaments, of hair dress—each shaman had his own way of doing, according to what his spirit had told him.

It sometimes happened that a person who fainted away at the time of his encounter was found by friends or relatives unconscious. Naturally, he would be carried home, and examined by a shaman. If the shaman diagnosed the case correctly, he usually announced to the family that so-and-so had encountered a supernatural power, and offered to do what interpreters call "set his power right (i. e., properly)," which means something like "shaman fixing." This same rite was held over those who returned from a supernatural encounter under their own power although not necessarily within such a short time after the adventure. The practitioner sang over the novice, sprinkled eagle down over him, and made scraping motions over his body, "gathering the power together" in the region of the solar plexus. Normally this required four nightly sessions. At Kyuquot, where a novice was kept in a separate hut 4 days and nights, this "fixing" was usually done during the seclusion.

The successful conclusion of the "shaman fixing" was indicated by the novice making the ritual cry of the shaman—a gutteral, barking cry of "hai! hai! hai! hai!" Making this cry, which was called nátcnátca, meant that the novice was definitely on the road to becoming a shaman. There was a certain amount of variation in the time for this rite, however. Some people, on returning from a spirit encounter, told no one about it, but went on about their business until, perhaps, they had enough confidence in themselves as a result of continued dreaming of the spirit, or until the spirit specifically told them to take the step. For practically speaking, it was the first public indication of one's intention of following the shamanistic profession. (Of course, the word soon got about in the case of people carried home unconscious, bleeding at mouth and nose, but those who enjoyed a less spectacular homecoming might escape notice till they underwent this "fixing" rite.)

All informants felt that the occasion of "fixing" the power was potentially dangerous for the novice. An unscrupulous or jealous practitioner could take advantage of the novice's debility and inexperience by stealing his power from him. Just how this was done, no one could explain (nor obviously, would a practitioner admit knowing). There was a method of removing an evil or unwanted spirit from patients, which involved wiping the four sides of his body (front, left, back, and right) four times each from head to foot with a bundle of shredded cedar bark, but to steal a spirit thus would be manifestly impossible in the presence of friends and relatives. There must have been some less obvious means of taking the spirit, or the spirit power, from a novice.

The informant ML of the na'yitsauptakȧmłȧth, of Moachat, was the only person who had been a practicing shaman with whom the topic was discussed. Certain features of her account are of particular interest for the side light they cast on the individual's reactions to supernatural experience. It will be noted, however, that in general her experiences conform to the standard pattern as related by non-shamans—in other words, she revealed no trade secrets.

Shamanism appears to have run in the family, on both sides, for ML's mother's mother, her great grandmother, and her paternal grandfather were noted shamans, as was also ML's elder sister. However, my impression is that this tendency for shamanism to run in a family, reported by other informants as well, derived from early training rather than from some hereditary psychologic strain. When ML was a child, her grandmother (the one who was a shaman) persuaded the child to accompany her when she went to do her ritual bathing. The old woman rubbed the child's body gently with bundles of a certain plant (the particular plant used was a family secret). She used to tell her granddaughter how to cure, how to find and take out the disease objects, as well as what to do when she encountered a shamanistic power. ML continued this ritual bathing but in more strenuous fashion, every "new" moon, until late in life.

ML reached adulthood before she had a supernatural encounter. One day on the way to a spring she heard a strange noise in the woods. She left her bucket by the trail while she went to investigate. Back in the bush she saw a dead log that seemed to be trembling, or moving, while a Squirrel ran from one side to the other, "doctoring" it. From time to time, the log groaned. As soon as ML saw this, she fainted. While unconscious, she "saw" (or dreamed) the way the Squirrel shamanized and heard his songs. When ML came to, the Squirrel was still there. ML felt strangely weak. She picked up a stick and struck at the Squirrel, giving a ritual cry. The Squirrel disappeared and the log ceased moving. Where the Squirrel had been there was nothing to be seen but a few bits of shredded cedar bark, which she picked up and saved. ML went home, leaving her bucket hidden. That night she began to cry out like a shaman in her sleep, and sing the songs she heard in her dreams. She did this for a long time. Some time after this, she was out on the beach at Bajo Point, one day, gathering small driftwood. All at once she saw two Wolves sitting close by looking at her. She fainted instantly. When she awoke, there was nothing to be seen of the Wolves, not even tracks. She searched, then saw a small bright red object: a round pebble covered with fresh blood. She hid it, and her wood basket too. When she returned to the house, her husband saw her. "Don't come in the house," he said. "Your face is pale; something has happened to you." So she sat on the beach in front of the house. A neighbor came along the beach (behind her) and spoke to her suddenly. She fainted. Her mother found her lying there, and sprinkled water on her face to revive her. When ML revived, her mother said, "Don't stay here. Go back in the woods, and find a place to bathe as your grandmother used to tell you to do. You want to become a shaman—go about it properly." So ML went back into the woods. She bathed, using the magical herbs, all that afternoon and night, singing all the while. Nothing appeared to her. In the morning she came back to the house. That night, she began to sing spirit songs. Her father's father came and sang over her, to "fix her power." This process, called ʟōqwɔnīyapa (translated by some interpreters as "setting the doctor power in place") could be performed by any established shaman. He sang over the novice, and worked over her with his hands, "gathering the power into one place," in the neighborhood of the solar plexus. ML's grandfather also gave her some medicinal leaves to eat; they were very bitter and unpleasant. The process was repeated "three or four times," "and then he tells you you're all right to start doctoring." The informant specified that one should always get some shaman who was a relative to do this "fixing," for two very practical reasons, to wit: A kinsman won't steal your power, and second, he won't charge so much. Then she danced and sang the songs she had learned in her dreams.

The informant stressed that one didn't begin to sing spirit songs in this way of his own volition. He did so because (his) supernatural beings came to him and told him to sing. "They come close to you while you sing, and tell you how to sing, and to dance, and how to use your hands when you cure. All this they tell you while you sing." Similarly the gear that shamans used: their supernatural beings prescribed the type of rattle, whether or not the token of the supernatural encounter (such as the shredded cedar bark left by the Squirrel, and the bloody pebble left by the Wolves) should be wrapped up in the handle of the rattle, the kind of red cedar bark ornaments to wear, and the like. Apparently with the singing, the spirits are drawn close, and become visible to the shaman, and converse with him, or her. But that they ever "possessed" the shaman, in the classic sense, was denied by the former practitioner just as roundly as by lay informants.

Once his power had been fixed, the novice shaman began a period of training. The behavior of each novice differed, since each did as his spirit told him to, and no one can expect consistent behavior patterns of spirits. The general outlines of the procedure were common to most novices, however. Some night, after the official fixing, the novice would be told by his spirit, in a dream, to sing, so he had to begin one of the spirit's songs. Often he was made to dance. (This singing, or singing and dancing, was designated by the same term as the making of the shamans' ritual cry, nàtcnàtca.) For certain types of songs it was required that the novice's housemates drum for him on boards, and sing with him. As he sang and danced his spirit came closer and closer, until it was plainly visible to him. It showed him how to dance, and sang new songs, whose refrain he picked up. As the novice continued to sing, and his supernatural power became stronger, he was conscious only of the spirit before him, urging him on. The housemates chanting and drumming the beat of his frenzied dance faded into the shadows of the background, until the only real presence before him in the firelight was his supernatural mentor. At the spirit's whim, he continued to dance, or ceased, or danced out of the house and through the other houses of the village. Or he might be made to go singing through the eerie dark woods to be taught greater mysteries at the lonely ritual bathing pool. No one was permitted to follow him. No one but the supernatural being knew where he would go, or when he would return.

Occasionally individuals were cynical enough to make use of the pattern of the novice shaman's erratic comings and goings for secular purposes. There is a yarn told at Kyuquot about a young married woman who began to dance the novice dance at night. She would dance round and round the house, then out into the woods to commune with her spirit power. Actually she was meeting her lover, and spending the night in the woods with him, while her husband sat at home, very content in thinking that she was well on the way to becoming a shaman. Finally someone surprised the adulterous pair, the word got around, and her husband sent her home.

The frequency with which a novice (a real one) danced, varied with the whim of his spirit. He might dance many nights in succession, then leave off dancing for a moon or two. He might have to bathe ritually every night of the moon's waxing, or only occasionally. Meanwhile, of course, he was being instructed by the spirit in diagnosing and curing procedures, and learning the medicinal value of various plants. When the spirit finally told him he was ready to commence his practice, he announced himself ready, but not till then. Among the Central Nootkan tribes the culminating performances of the novice dance included rather spectacular sleight-of-hand stunts.

Northern Nootkan shamans did not do this. Some shamans danced as novices for a few months; the novitiate of others lasted from 2 to 4 years.

Of course, by the time the new shaman was ready to practice, everyone knew about him. His novice dances always lasted long enough for that. People even knew in a general way, what his power was, for his songs alluded, for example, to the ya'ai, if his spirit were a ya'ai, or to the supernatural canoe, wīnatcict, if that was what he had found. Likewise, they usually knew what his shaman-name would be, for that too was mentioned in his songs. The proper method of hanging out one's shingle was to give, or ask one's chief to give a feast, at which it would be announced that the novice was now a full-fledged shaman, and could be called on to cure the sick. A chief could be counted on to give such a feast, because he was a kinsman. The shaman-name (ʟūqwitkyūkh) was announced at this time also. As might be expected, the name was given by the spirit. These names usually referred to the spirit, or to features of shamanism. Thus, the names "ya'aitsūis," and "yatsūsis" refer to "ya'ai (above the ocean)"; "maiyaɫwinuɫ" contains the word "maiyaɫ (disease object)," as does the name of a great Muchalat shaman, "maiyaɫa'ȧk." With this, the new professionalist was ready to begin his practice. During his long training and novitiate, he had learned the magic of curing. He had sung his spirit songs, and danced to them, in his own house and in neighboring ones—by now they were known to his housemates and kin, so he could always recruit a chorus of singers to help him. By means of the same novice dances, his new calling had been advertised far and wide, and the formal announcement of it at the chief's feast had made the news official. He was ready to sit back and let the world wear down the path to his door.

Henceforth he was a person of consequence, one regarded by his fellows with a certain awe, not to mention their admiration at his popularly over-rated earning capacity.

Shamans, during the novitiate period, wore ornaments (head-, arm-, and leg-bands) of loosely twisted rolls of shredded red cedar bark. (This type of decoration, it will be noted, is the same as that used at so many points in the Shamans' Festival, and in the various dance series of the Kwakiutl.) Once his novitiate was concluded, the shaman wore no distinctive insignia when not actually engaged in curing. The only formal observance was that no one should pass close behind him as he ate. Carvings representing the shaman's familiar spirit (cf. the Coast Salish "tamanawus sticks") were not made. The only carvings representing supernatural beings were those of "display privileges" shown at potlatches.

The Northern Nootkan shaman's rattle (kuhmīn) was usually made of mountain sheep horn, obtained from the mainland through trade with the Kwakiutl, bent double after steaming and shaped around a short wooden handle. It had pebbles for sounders. Holes were drilled along the joined edges so that long strands of shredded red cedar bark could be rove through. I neglected to find out if the rattles were made locally of the imported materials, or bought already made. Some token of the supernatural encounter was usually concealed under the wrappings of the handle. Central Nootkan informants reported similarly shaped shaman's rattles of baleen. Perhaps the horn rattles are relatively recent innovations.

It should not be thought that a shaman, once established in his career, rested on his laurels. Like our own men of medicine he sought to improve his professional qualifications. This he did by continuing to seek supernatural encounters, since it was from the spirits that he learned his arts of healing. It would seem that the first spirit, like the first olive out of the bottle, was the most difficult to get, for most shamans had a long succession of spirit encounters after the one that originally gave them power. The routine was the same, save that the novice dances were not repeated. The same term, nȧtcnȧtca, was used, however, for the singing that shamans did occasionally at night time (at the behest of their spirits, of course). This was not a strenuous performance, however: the shaman sat or stood in the darkness and sang. The ones who paid the piper were his housemates who lost sleep on account of the singing. One old shaman of whom informants spoke was too comfort-loving to bother to get up when his spirit compelled him to sing. He used to lie in his bed singing at the top of his voice.

A shaman pursued his calling by sitting waiting to be called on. This did not prevent his engaging in routine affairs, such as fishing, or attending festivities, or going on a war party. As a matter of fact, the distinction between wealth tokens and subsistence wealth (the latter consisting in ownership of fishing and gathering rights) meant that one could not earn a livelihood in our sense by shamanizing even had the fees been larger and calls more frequent. There were a few shamans of whom it is related that they never worked—never fished or hunted, but "lived on what they made by curing"—but these statements prove to be exaggerations. Such noted personages may have potlatched for themselves and been able to assemble a group of poorer relatives to fish and gather for them, with inheritance of names and territories due to the dwindling away of chiefly lines in recent times. But by so doing, they were assuming the role of a chief, and were stepping clear out of their status as shamans.

A number of accounts of spirit quests and encounters are given in the following pages. All but the first are conventional accounts and for that reason give little information on the process by which one mastered the shaman's art, attributing it to teaching by one's spirit or spirits; the unconventional account is that of a man who did not succeed in his quest, so it does not give us much insight into this particular problem either. Nonetheless, each case history offers interesting hints on shamanism: the seeker after power who had his entire outfit, cedar-bark head band, rattle, and all, ready when his supernatural visitation came; another shaman who is said to have "practiced" his curing procedure on a corpse; the man who was perplexed because his supernatural adventure varied in detail from the conventional ones that he had expected. If the preceding generalized description of the way one became a shaman differs in some respects from the standard procedure that informants give, it is because such hints as these have colored my opinions.

The spirit quest of the informant MJ contains a good deal of interesting information. MJ, a man in his late forties or early fifties when these data were collected, had carried on a quest intermittently since his teens without success. His interest, in the beginning, was owing to repeated urging by his mother and her sister, both of whom were practicing shamans, that he should become one. His persistence seems to stem from an emotional basis of the association of shamanism with those two persons. Just why he had not been successful is difficult to judge. At one time he was quite bitter, for he believed that his mother had intentionally lied or withheld some important information from him on how to obtain power, but was finally convinced that her instructions were correct. It may be, that being a practical, somewhat methodical individual, he required a more sharply defined and convincing vision or dream experience on which to base a claim of spirit power than did other seekers. MJ tried very hard to acquire power, for he wanted it very badly. I hope that by now his desire has been satisfied.

He began the tale of his quest by saying that his mother time and time again used to tell him and his sister that they should become shamans, so they would become rich. His sister was not interested, but he was. One night (he estimated when he was about 12 years old) he asked her, "Mother, how did you become a shaman?" She had told many times of bathing rituals and supernatural experiences in generalized terms, but seems never to have related her own supernatural encounter in detail before. She had been a young girl when she had her first adventure with a supernatural being. At a lake in the woods she saw a young man bathing, and fainted (because it was really a ya'ai spirit that she saw). Her companions found her unconscious. They threw water on her face to revive her; she sat up making a gutteral cry like that shamans use. She told them not to come too near her, and to precede her down the trail home, for she had had a supernatural encounter. She also made them promise to tell no one. That night she dreamed of a young man, who told her, "Too bad you didn't get me when you first saw me (i. e., she should have given a ritual cry on seeing him). You would have been a great shaman. You should have known what to do." Next morning, on awaking, she realized she had no token of her encounter. With another girl, she returned to the lake, but found nothing where the spirit had been but a few scraps of rotten wood. Her companion found some strange tracks that led off through a swamp.

Following them they came to a fallen cedar, in a crack of which was a fir knot all worn down smooth. This obviously was the spirit's object for rubbing his body. There were also many fragments of maidenhair fern stems about. Her companion pointed out that she should rub her body with the knot, and eat some of the fern, each time she bathed. Some time later she returned to the lake, ate bits of the fern, and rubbed her body with the knot, but nothing happened. The next time she bathed there "her power came over her all of a sudden. She began to tremble all over." After this she began to dream (of the ya'ai spirit), and learned to be a shaman. (Apparently no further vision experience was connected with her becoming a shaman, or the informant neglected to relate it; according to his account he interrupted her at this point in her story to ask how many times she bathed in all, and was told only twice, after finding the knot. On a later occasion she encountered a ya'ai spirit, however, from whom she received increased shamanistic powers, and a name, ya'ai'åksū'; and also two masks to display in potlatches. This was said to have been a chance encounter, not preceded by a deliberate quest.) The informant's interest in the story was in the detailed procedure of bathing that his mother had followed. The following year when the family moved up Gold River for the sockeye run, he persuaded his mother to show him the lake. She took him to it, and even showed him the trail back into the swamp. MJ did not go back for some years, until after he was married. Finally he decided to try. He went to the little lake, and there searched for a long time until he found a hard fir knot like that his mother had described. He ate some fronds of maidenhair fern, and began to bathe, rubbing his body with the knot. He bathed all day for many days (while the moon was waxing). He tried to wear the knot down smooth as his mother had said that of the ya'ai was. But it was too hard; his body was all scratched and sore and the knot was as rough and unworn in appearance as when he had found it. At night he wished to dream, but all he dreamed of was cards. He seemed to see two Jacks and two nines constantly in his dreams. Finally he gave up for a time. It was then that he accused his mother of lying and concealing information from him, but she insisted she had told him every important feature of the quest. It was about that same time that he quizzed his "aunt" about how she had found her power. He recalled that he was lying with his head in her lap, and she stroked his head as she said, "I'll tell you, my son." Then she told him that his mother had told him the truth, but that it was harder to have a supernatural experience than it used to be (because more white man's goods and customs were in use). She herself had had a chance encounter, she claimed, without a prior quest. She had found a fallen log trembling while a rattle sounded, and when she gave a ritual cry, a small rattle fell from the log, which she recovered and hid. At his insistence she promised to show him the rattle, "but she never did, so maybe she was lying too." In any case, she so animated him that he continued his ritual bathing each waxing of the moon for 2 or 3 years.

During this time he continued to dream of the cards. Finally he gave up the ritual bathing. He began to play cards frequently, thinking that his dream would give him luck at gambling. He thought that Jacks and nines should be lucky for him, and bet heavily on them. But he invariably lost on them; they were bad, not good luck, for him. Sometimes he could tell when a Jack or a nine was coming up; he had a sensation of uneasiness, and sure enough, it turned up and lost for him.

From time to time he resumed his quest. One year he began the practice of bathing while living at Friendly Cove, going from one end of the beach to the other. He continued until finally he came down with some illness from the prolonged exposure, and was cured only after repeated treatments by several noted shamans. He gave up again for a time. His interest continued, for he used to ask all the shamans he knew how they had got their power, and what it was; most of them would tell him only the barest outlines. He also assisted frequently at shamanistic séances. After his wife died, in 1931 or 1932, in a dream he heard a voice telling him to use certain plants, scrubbing his arms only, not his entire body. He had a place in the woods back of the cannery where he went to bathe during the waxing of the moon, and was still hoping his ritual would eventually bring him shamanistic power.

tūkwit, or "Doctor Billy," as he was known to the whites, was a famous Moachat shaman of recent times. He began his power quest while still a young man (his first child, now a middle-aged woman, was still an infant when he became a shaman). He used to bathe ritually regularly, and constantly chewed leaves of some plant (presumably a secret family medicine for the power quest). One night, at Friendly Cove, many people had assembled to gamble, when a man came into the house saying someone "was lying dead down on the beach." They all ran out, to find tūkwit sprawled unconscious on the sand. Suspecting what had happened, they did not carry him into the house, but sent a canoe to tcϵcīs to fetch a shamaness, hwina'ł. She shamanized over him, then announced that he would recover: he had encountered a "lucky" supernatural being, and had obtained power. tūkwit came to then. He told the people that he had started for the house where the game was to be held when he met a man (or he took him for a man in the darkness) who said, "Go by on this (left) side of me." tūkwit did so, and fell unconscious. This was all he ever told about his supernatural benefactor. No one, except perhaps his immediate family, learned just what his spirit was. After relating his adventure, he fainted. The shamaness said he could be taken into the house. They put a curtain (of blankets or mats) around his bed. He lay there unconscious for "several" days, probably four. When they laid him on his bunk his aged grandmother, who was to take care of him, sprinkled him with down. The people in the house had to be quiet while he was there. Suddenly one night tūkwit sat up in his bed, crying out, "hai'! hai'!" He emerged from his cubicle naked, and ran to the doorway. The informant's father said, "Why don't you go with him? (i. e., to make ready to become a shaman)." The informant answered, "I can't. He's going too far." The informant despite his ardent quest, had not had the fortune to encounter a supernatural being. tūkwit did not return until the following night, and then, when he entered the house, he came in singing and dancing in the style of novice shamans, nâtcnâtca. People assembled to sing for him. He didn't tire, despite his long fast, but danced in the strenuous fashion of the novice shaman—leaping about in a squatting posture—"as light as a feather." He danced 4 nights. His family began to worry over his fasting. His wife asked why he didn't eat; he replied that he was keeping up his strength by eating his (plant) medicine. The morning after the fourth night of nâtcnâtca, tūkwit arose and put on a shirt and blanket. He took a turbanlike head band of shredded red cedar bark and a shaman's rattle of mountain sheep horn, with streamers of shredded cedar bark from a box. (He had had this gear ready for some time.) He stalked out of the house, wearing his head band, and shaking the rattle softly. He was gone for 2 days. After his return he became a famous shaman.

wītapī, younger brother of an Ehetisat chief, was a noted shaman. His first supernatural encounter was with a ya'ai. The account makes it appear that this was a chance encounter, not a deliberate quest, but, of course, he may have been preparing himself in secret. He had set out one fall to hunt ducks. He heard a supernatural sound; and fainted. When he came to, he splashed water on his face to revive himself fully, just as the sound was repeated. Four times this occurred. Then he heard the song of the ya'ai, and four of them appeared "all black," each with a white feather slanting back on either side of his head. wītapī gave his ritual cry, and "got" the first of the four ya'ai; that is, the first turned into foam and the other three disappeared. (It was stated that to "get" the last ya'ai of a group "is bad luck"; however, this may have been so for this family only, as other accounts tell of getting the last one without ill effects.) wītapī stayed up the river for 4 days, fasting and ritually bathing, then returned home empty-handed. He said he'd seen no ducks. He received curing power from the ya'ai, and when doctoring wore a red cedar bark head band with a feather slanting back on each side.

Some time later he encountered another shamanistic power: he heard the sound of a rattle out in the woods, and then saw a Squirrel shaking the rattle and singing a shamanistic song over a rotten log. wītapī gave a ritual cry, and the Squirrel disappeared, leaving the rattle lying on the ground.

He had two other powers as well, but the informant did not know what they were.

yatsūsis, of Ehetisat, had sought supernatural power for a long time, bathing ritually, etc. He went out for wood one day, and did not return. The informant's father sent four men to look for him to call him to a feast the chief was giving to the men of his house. They found him lying in his canoe, unconscious and covered with blood, but still breathing. The men stripped him hastily to look for a wound, but found none, so they knew that he had encountered a supernatural being. They brought him home in their canoe. yatsūsis came to, looked about, and said "Where are we going?" (This may be a reference to his supernatural experience—he "found" a supernatural canoe.) He began to bleed from the mouth and ears, and lay down again. It was late when they brought him into the house. Three shamans were called to work on him. None of the three shamans could determine what had happened to him. There was a woman shaman there who had not been called in professionally, but had come in to watch, like a layman. The people called for her to try. She sat by yatsūsis, putting her hands on his body, and began to sing. In a short while she announced that yatsūsis had seen a "good" supernatural being, one that gave shamanistic power. Then she said, "I'm going to fix him so he gives his shaman's cry." She sang again, and then he made the gutteral, barking, cry of the shaman, "hai'! hai'! hai'! hai'!" She told the people not to bother him, but to cover him and leave him there. She sprinkled eagle down over him. yatsūsis lay there for 4 days. Then he gave his shaman's call and got up.

From time to time, during the ensuing 4 years, yatsūsis danced. He might dance for a number of consecutive nights, then not for some time—all according to the instructions he received in his dreams. A spirit in the supernatural canoe had "given" him the songs, the kind of dance, the type of red cedar bark head band, and the rattle that he used. He danced in a fashion called táktákmił, in a squatting posture, "bouncing along on his toes," and extending his arms first to one side then to the other. A group of women formed a chorus standing around him, holding feathers in their hands, and singing and dancing. All the people assembled to watch.

After 4 years of this novitiate dancing his kinsman the chief invited the people to a feast, to announce to them that yatsūsis was now a shaman and they could send for him when they were ill.

yatsūsis had further supernatural experiences, but he did not have to dance over them. Sometimes he would sing in the night (i. e., if instructed to in a dream). The second spirit he encountered was ʟōłsyuł tc'às, "right hand sticking out of the ground." Sometime later he found a kuhmata'a'tū, "rattle coming down [from the sky]." Still later, as he and his wife were out gathering "siwash rhubarb," he saw a tītcsai'yàtc, "always follow," a being like a small silvery lizard, with no tail. He wrapped the tītcsai'yàtc in his blanket, and cut blanket and all in four pieces, which he hid. (If one doesn't do this, the being will follow him wherever he goes, hence the name.) He kept only the tongue, which he wrapped in red cedar bark and used for sucking through when curing. After sucking through it, he would squeeze it out; it was invariably full of blood.

A small lake on Union island in Kyuquot Sound was regarded as a favorable place for parents of twins to seek power. The father of a twin still living (an old man in 1936) used to swim out to an islet in the lake. One night, while he was on the islet, the waters of the lake began to seethe as though boiling; then a tremendous number of killer-whales and porpoises appeared on the surface. They swam around the islet four times. He stayed there the rest of the night and the next day; the following night the same thing occurred. He was disappointed because the creatures paid no attention to him, nor did he hear any of the songs that he had supposed would accompany a miraculous apparition. Disheartened, he swam ashore in the early morning. As he walked up on the beach, a killer whale surfaced and as the seeker turned, spat some "foam" at the man's feet. The latter sopped up the foam in his blanket, and hid it outside the hut in which he and his wife were camping. He related his experience to her. Neither of them knew what the vision meant (i. e., it was a new form of vision). He went to sleep, and in a dream a being told him, "Don't throw away what we gave you. When you die give it to your eldest son, when he dies let him give it to your grandchildren. It's good for your gun, your sealing harpoon, your sea otter arrows (i. e., it was a hunting medicine)."

One day, later on, as his wife was digging clams on the beach, she saw 10 ya'ai. At her ritual cry, they turned to foam (somehow, she "got" the last one, i. e., it was the last who gave her her power). She went back to the camp to tell her husband. Soon she began to sing and cry out like a shaman at night. She was becoming a shaman.

Next, the husband had a misadventure. While out in the woods, he saw a "man" (really, a spirit in human form) throwing pebbles through a tree trunk. He picked up one of the pebbles to look at it, and it disappeared (apparently it entered his body). He picked up another and the same thing happened. Then he realized what he had done. He sat down, thinking to himself, "I made a mistake this time. Now I can't help it." So he picked up two more. (He should not have touched the pebble until he had given his ritual cry. Had he done so, he would have become a curing shaman only. As it was, he had power both for extracting disease objects and for sending them into people, i. e., he was a "poisoner" as well.) He felt badly about it, but he decided to tell people what he had done. Later on, he came to be a powerful shaman. Sometimes he felt a compulsion to send disease objects. He had to do it, or the spirit (?) would have killed him. He would go out in the woods, "shoot" four pebbles through the trunk of a tree, bathe, and come home. He never killed people with his power. (This defensive feature of the account must stem from the protagonist's being closely connected to the informant's family. I doubt that nonrelatives would have put such a charitable ending to a tale of a wizard's powers.)

Near the end of the fourth year of the couple's seclusion, they awoke one night to see a spirit in the form of an old woman, with a cane, come in and seat herself back to the fire. The husband leaped to his feet, gave a ritual cry, hitting the being with a stick as he cried out. She disappeared, leaving no trace but an old tattered black blanket she had been wearing. This the couple kept. In dreams they learned that bits of the blanket had the power of removing pain, when rubbed on an afflicted part. They dreamed also that the old woman told them, "I'm your great-great-grandmother."

The surviving son of this couple kept their magical objects and was in his day a renowned hunter. He could also cure minor ills, by singing with his father's rattle (and using the black blanket?). He could not extract disease objects; he would have had to find his own power for that. Because he was a twin, he could bring rain by ritual bathing (i. e., had weather power). None of his children lived to adulthood, however, and he used to tell the informant that he believed it was because his parents had had so many supernatural experiences.

Once, in very ancient times, there was a man named nūkwismī living at mâtcłi. He went deer hunting with two young men up mâtcłi river. Just before they left the village, an old man named mana'ō died. The young men killed a deer, and they cooked it at their camp. As they ate, the young men would gnaw the bones clean, then toss them to one side saying, "Here, mana'ō, this is for you." nūkwismī remonstrated with them but they kept it up. Suddenly the voice of the dead man was heard in reply. The two young men were unable to speak. Next day the three started home, and, shortly after arriving, the young men died. nūkwismī was ill for a long time—so weak he could not walk without a cane.

One day nūkwismī hobbled out to a little stream called t'a'ka'nō. He sat watching the water at a little waterfall. All at once he heard a groan, and the sound of a rattle. He went toward the sound; it was repeated three times (four altogether). There was a log lying on the ground that groaned and moved each time the rattle sounded. nūkwismī gave his ritual cry, and a small shaman's rattle fell from the log. He took the rattle and set out for home, going slowly so as to arrive late after all the people were alseep. He hid his rattle, and went to bed without eating. As he slept, he dreamed of what he had found. The name of his vision was ʟa'ʟa'tcī'tin (from ʟa'tcitūł, "to shamanize over a person"). In his dreams he was told he would become a great shaman. He began to learn songs, and he sang them in his sleep. He had never had shaman songs before. In his dreams he was told to take the name ʟa'tcitsūis (referring to shamanizing plus the element "sūis," "of the ocean"). He wanted to be a great shaman, so he began to bathe ritually (to increase his power). Once, "to practice," he took the body of a man who had been dead for 2 days, laid it out, and began to shamanize over it. After he had sung his songs for a while, the body began to groan and move about. ʟa'tcitsūis slapped it, saying, "You are dead. Don't speak or move." The person answered, "I'm not a spirit, and I'm not dead. You have brought me back to life." Then ʟa'tcitsūis knew he was a great shaman, and was ready to begin curing people.

SHAMANISTIC CURING

When a person fell ill, his family called in a shaman if he appeared to have a serious ailment. For minor ills—cuts, bruises, and minor aches and pains—there were of course home remedies: herb infusions, massages, and songs, most of which were hereditary family secrets. As among ourselves, these household cures were often tried first. The decision as to what shaman to call, when professional help was necessary, depended on the wealth and quality of the person concerned. Obviously, only a chief could afford to hire the services of some famous practitioner from a distant tribe. And for a chief, the best was none too good. On the other hand, the days lost in sending for a shaman of coast-wide renown might be more than the sick man could stand. Thus, each family had to thresh out a solution to their problem. Poor people were more likely to call on the shaman in the same house, or from next door, though, of course, in case of an obviously serious sickness, the chief's assistance in sending for a famous shaman for his relative could be depended on. The fact that several varieties of diseases were recognized, and that certain shamans had special powers for curing one or another of them, was of no help to the distraught family, for the outward effects of these illnesses did not differ enough for the layman to tell them apart. In fact even the men of medicine erred at times in their diagnoses.

Often when a party came to call a shaman from another tribe to attend a patient, the shaman knew, via the rapid transmissions of gossip channels, who the sick person was. It got him off to a good start to refer casually to the sufferer by name along with a comment about the seriousness of the ailment. Such remarks were invariably interpreted as revealing powers of clairvoyance; some shamans acquired reputations for something approaching omniscience in this way. The grapevine telegraph never got the credit it deserved. At any rate, the request for the shaman's services would be made, and he would agree to take the case. No mention of payment was made at this time, although occasionally a blanket was given as a token, or a preliminary fee. Informants refer to the request as though it were almost an order; a shaman was under a very definite obligation to accede to the party's wishes. The next step was for the shaman to assemble his assistants, male and female relatives nearly always, who carried his gear and knew his songs well. Most shamans kept their outfit—rattle, cedar-bark ornaments, paint, and similar instruments of their trade—in a small wooden box, so it could be carried about; some, especially female shamans, used a basket for this purpose. The calling party provided transportation, if a canoe journey was involved. The shaman, like a great chief, was not expected to paddle.

As a rule shamanizing was done at night, although occasionally a preliminary diagnosis was made as soon as the practitioner arrived. No specific reason is given for this; probably the dark background and bright firelight heightened the effect of the performances. There is no question but that these curing séances had a high entertainment value. They were invariably played to a packed house. One wonders if shamans were not called on now and then for very minor ailments, mainly to thrill the populace with their spectacular cures.

The patient was placed on a pallet of mats close enough to the fire to provide good light for the shaman, who sat or squatted by the patient's right side. Across the fire sat the shaman's "helpers," with a plank to drum on with plain wooden drumsticks. All around, outside the circle of the firelight, sat the sick person's kin and tribesmen, awed at the mysteries about to be revealed. Some of them could be counted on to fetch and carry and to assist as needed. It appears that as in most Indian spectacles it took a long time to get the proceedings under way. Ordinarily, the shaman arrived for the séance wearing his red cedar-bark ornaments and face paint, but sometimes he put the finishing touches on his makeup while sitting beside the patient. He might feel the aching part of the patient's body, partly massaging, partly locating the seat of the pain. Commonly, an experienced practitioner would shake his head sadly, and say that the case was very grave, probably beyond all hope of saving. "You should have called me sooner." But anyway, he would try to cure the unfortunate. By this neat if stereotyped bit of hedging, the shaman at once absolved himself of blame if the patient died, and enhanced his own reputation in case of a cure, for had not the sick man been right at Death's door when the treatment began? At length he felt himself ready. He gave a few tentative shakes of his rattle and began to hum a spirit song, deep in his throat. It took a while to get in good voice. His humming became bolder, the clicking of his rattle sharper. By this means he called his spirit to his aid.

Now the time had arrived for the immediate relative of the sick person to stand up and call his offer of payment: blankets, furs, canoes, or, recently, money. According to conventional belief, the shaman himself had nothing to do with accepting or refusing the offer. His spirit attended to that. The payment was made to satisfy the spirit, not the man. Should it be insufficient, the supernatural being would draw away, removing his aura of power. The shaman's throat weakened, his song died away to a low hum again. The patient's relative then had to increase his offer. When at length it satisfied the spirit he drew near once more, and the shaman's song welled forth. The shaman was only a bystander in these negotiations, perhaps fortunately for him. In theory no one should be so unjust as to accuse him of avarice—any avarice involved reflected on his supernatural protector, not him. However, inconsistent as folk beliefs are at times, some shamans were accused of prolonging cures unduly, or even of working wizardries, to get more fees.

The amounts of the payments varied considerably. There was no fixed scale of fees. Further payments might be made during the course of the treatment, depending on how difficult the cure was. A sample list of payments made to shamans follows:

A Kyuquot shaman, maiyałswinuł, was paid $4 and a pair of blankets for sucking "bad blood" from an injury (gave two treatments for the one payment).

A Kyuquot female shaman was paid $2.50 and a "store skirt" for removal of a disease object to cure an earache.

A female shaman from Queen's Cove was given a pair of blankets when called, then paid four pieces of whale blubber, a canoe, and a fur-trimmed yellow cedar bark robe for treating an Ehetisat chief. She removed several disease objects, in the course of three treatments; she did not complete the cure, for they suspected her of prolonging the patient's illness by magical means, but she was paid anyhow.

The shaman wītapī, of Ehetisat, was paid two pairs of blankets and a canoe for removing three disease objects from a chief's child during four treatments.

yatsūsis, of Ehetisat, was paid a canoe for extracting a disease object. He found it necessary also to recover the soul of his patient, for which he was given four pairs of blankets, four sacks of potatoes, and one sack of flour.

Three female shamans at Friendly Cove were paid $10 each for a series of treatments in which they extracted two disease objects.

A shaman at Kyuquot was paid $7 for an unsuccessful attempt to cure.

There were variations, of course, in the manner in which the payment was offered. Some accounts refer to a series of offers being made at intervals during the cure—e. g., when he began to sing, when he had diagnosed the case, when he was about to remove the disease—to spur the shaman (or his spirit) on to greater endeavors at critical moments, as it were. MJ gave a generalized account of his mother's curing procedures, according to which her fee was usually announced *after* she had extracted the disease object or objects. In all likelihood, considerable variety of practice was tolerated—the one important thing was that there *had* to be a payment made. It was asserted that this was the reason a shaman could not cure a member of his own immediate family—a parent, child, sibling, or spouse; he could only undertake a cure for which a fee would be paid him. Nor did it matter whether the cure was successful or not, that is, whether the patient recovered or died. The shaman was paid just the same. Only in the relatively rare instances in which shamans professed themselves unable to diagnose the case were they unpaid, and even then they were ordinarily given a gift for their efforts.

As the shaman continued to sing, his power increased, and he came in closer contact with the spirit world. The space about him came to be peopled with spirits, who sang with him, and told him what to do. As the ex-shaman expressed it: "It's unpleasant, it's not a nice job, 'doctoring.' You have to do whatever the spirits tell you to do. [The allusion here is to such shamanistic practices as washing the mouth and hands with urine before extracting a disease object.] When a shaman sings, he doesn't see the people sitting there in the house. He sees supernatural beings all around him, hears them talking to him, and singing all at once. You feel strange all over your body—you feel light, as though you could fly. You feel like you want to cry, at the same time. Afterward [after the performance], you don't remember it well—it all goes away from you, what you did."

Other informants confirmed, from the layman's viewpoint, the emotional tensity of the shaman during the séance, seeking to express it by such phrases as, "the shaman gets wild as he sings," and "his singing sounds like he was half crying." However, this was very definitely not "possessional shamanism" of the classic variety. All informants concurred in stating that the shaman's spirits "came close to him," but did not actually enter his body. They controlled his actions by telling him what to do, and by demonstrating before him.

Along with the power to see his supernatural helpers, the shaman could see other things invisible to common eyes as his power became stronger. Some would feel and press the patient's body with their hands as they sang, to locate the place in which the sickness was concentrated, but the more powerful "doctors" did not have to, for they could "see" into the body of the sick person. As the renowned maiyała'ȧk, of Kyuquot, told one of his younger kinsmen, "When I sing, it's just like the skin of the sick man opens up—I can see all his insides; I can see what's wrong with him." In this way he was able to diagnose the particular disease from which the patient suffered.

There were several kinds of sicknesses that beset mortal flesh, in addition to ordinary everyday cuts and bruises. The most common was illness caused by the disease objects, maiyałī. These were small, perhaps half an inch long, and black in color. They were alive, for it was held to be their sucking or gnawing on the flesh that caused the sensation of pain. They led an existence of their own "they just went around by themselves," and were not "sent" by either human beings or by spirits or deities, nor did they come from any particular place in the world. (However, one account, from Ehetisat, describes a case in which the objects were "sent" by the Dog Salmon as punishment for breach of tabu.) Once they entered a person's body they ate a cyst or cavity in the flesh, which filled with blood. Usually, especially if the patient had been sick for some time, a good deal of dark, or "black" blood came out with them. In more serious illnesses there might be several of these disease objects present. A second type of ailment, or perhaps a minor variant of the first, was the occurrence of a cyst of "old dark blood" which had formed as the result of some bruise. There was no object of any kind present. Such cases were considered relatively minor ailments. A third disease was caused by man-made objects, often sharpened splinters of bone, in pairs, tied together with a hair, which had been "thrown" or "sent" into the patient's body by an evil shaman or wizard. These objects were called ōcyiłatcák, or ōcyiàʟ. They were much more difficult to remove than maiyałī; only few shamans had sufficient power to extract them. A fourth sickness might be termed "spirit poisoning," or possession. It was the result of a spirit encounter, either one in which an evil supernatural being had been found, or one in which a "good" spirit, one from which shamanistic, or wealth, or hunting, etc., powers might have been obtained, was not treated in the proper ritual manner. It appears that the spirit clung to its victim's back, in hobgoblin style. If possession really occurred, that is, if the spirit entered the person's body, as sometimes happened, no cure was possible; the person died or became hopelessly mad. The fifth and last common disease was soul loss. In some ways its cure was the most spectacular of all, for the shaman journeyed to the place to which the soul had been taken to recover it. Most commonly, soul loss was caused by beings of the sea; quite commonly, Salmon, who stole the souls of those who had mistreated them during the run. It appears that, particularly among the Central tribes, there were also a few shamans who had the power to steal souls, but beings of the sea were most often guilty of this deed.

An additional source of sickness and death was contagious magic, but so far as I could learn, this could not be cured by any shaman. The only hope of a cure lay in getting the charm undone, or in working a more virulent charm against the layer of the spell, both of which were made unfeasible by certain practical difficulties.

Logically enough, the diagnosis of disease and its treatment were considered separate and distinct steps in the curing procedure. As has been indicated, separate payments were often made for them, one being offered while the shaman was "getting into his power" to diagnose, and another when he was preparing to extract the disease objects, or after he had taken them out. Sometimes the shaman would make his diagnosis at one time, for example in the daytime, and his treatment later, most often after nightfall. Some accounts of specific cases, however, describe a continuous performance with no time interval between the two steps. It is most probable that the condition of the patient and the humor of the shaman were the controlling factors; if it seemed best to proceed with the treatment with no interruption the practitioner could do so. One way was no better than the other.

To cure the sickness, whatever it might be, the shaman had to resume his singing to maintain his contact with the supernatural. If the case called for the extraction of disease objects, certain songs were used which would draw the objects as close to the surface as possible, and at the same time quiet them so they could not escape the curer's grasp. For some reason, it was believed that the more deeply situated objects, and this held true for both maiyałī and for objects sent by wizards, were more easily removed with the hands; the more superficially located ones, by sucking. When properly imbued with his power, the shaman made his preparations for the extraction. A wooden "chamber pot" was brought him, and with the urine he washed his hands and rinsed out his mouth. If he did not already have it on, he put on a wide belt, usually of twisted cedar bark, although it might be of hide (one Kyuquot shaman, who was a war chief as well, wore his elkskin armor in curing). One or two strong young men were called out to stand behind him, to hold him securely by the wide belt, and to catch him if he fell over backward. When he seized a disease object in his hands or sucked it up into his mouth, it was as though he received a violent electric shock—he lost consciousness, his body became absolutely rigid, and he either fell forward over the patient (or would have if the men did not have a firm grasp on his belt), or was flung bodily backward. After a few moments his body began to tremble, with such force that the strong young men were hard put to it to hold him. MJ said that on one occasion when he and another man were "helping" the wife of Tuta it was all the two of them could do to hold her, whereas normally he would be able to "pick her up with one hand." Gradually consciousness came back to the shaman. He spat the object into his hands, if he had sucked it out. Once he had it in his hands, his arms remained extended rigidly, trembling visibly. At this point again there was some variation, which may have depended on the individual spirit's instructions to the shaman. According to some accounts, the shaman crushed the disease object between his teeth, or in some way "mashed" it in his hands; some informants stated it was immersed in the wooden box of urine. Sometimes it was simply taken out of the house and "sent away."

One gets the impression that the patient took quite a mauling in the course of the treatment. No matter how gentle the shaman may have been when he felt with his hands to locate the disease, partly massaging the aching area as he worked, he must have been pretty rough when he "reached in" to take out the object. Extraction by sucking was apparently not very pleasant either. Informants say that the shamans pressed their clenched teeth very hard against the spot over the disease, "almost like they were biting." They sucked so hard they made a round dark-red mark on the skin that lasted for 2 or 3 days. Most informants reported a cessation of pain at the time the disease object was extracted, but several said, "After a little while it begins to hurt again." The abdomen, the back between the shoulder blades, the back of the neck and the temples, were the usual places from which disease objects were taken.

If there were several disease objects lodged in the patient's body, not more than one or two were taken out at a time, and the treatments were repeated for several nights. This all counted as one cure, and ordinarily was paid for by the one payment offered for extracting the disease, although most people, and the chiefs without fail, would augment the fee if the shaman had to give a number of treatments. A shaman kinsman of one informant was most agreeably surprised, when taking out four disease objects from a Salish patient on four successive nights during a trip to the hop fields, to discover that those people had the custom of paying what he himself regarded as a full and complete fee on the conclusion of each treatment. No doubt shamans would have preferred a much wider distribution of that culture trait.

The extraction of "bad blood," and of objects sent by wizards, differed but little from that of ordinary disease objects in general routine. In the case of the blood, the shaman did not collapse unconscious, of course, and my notes indicate that he did not in the case of the magically sent objects either. The blood was spat out into the wooden box of urine, and sucking was continued until the blood came clear bright red, which sometimes necessitated a series of treatments. Only a few shamans had the right kind of power, or sufficient power, to extract the objects sent by wizards. There was a sort of undercurrent of thought, seldom clearly expressed but present in the minds of most people as they watched such a performance, that a shaman who had the power to extract these objects probably had the power to "send" them as well. Unlike the disease objects, the bits of bone or whatever they were, were displayed before being destroyed or sent away. Often enough, there was someone among the spectators who suggested working contagious magic on the objects to kill or at least injure the unknown sender, but I never heard of an instance in which this was done. The idea in itself was apparently appealing, but no one cared to admit publicly that he had the knowledge necessary for carrying it out.

The decontamination of a patient who had encountered an evil spirit, or had maltreated a potentially beneficial one, depended on the fact that the spirit attached itself to its victim's back, and surrounded him with its malevolent aura. Some few shamans were so powerful that they could glimpse the spirit even before they began to sing, and they would say of the patient, "It's like there were two of him standing there," meaning that the spirit showed itself in something approaching human form as it clung to the unfortunate. Not all spirits would do this, of course. There were some that were so deadly potent that the finder dropped dead, or, if he lasted to stagger home, died before any medical aid could be called. But some less deadly spirits could be removed, if treatment was begun promptly. In addition to the various "good" spirits, hunters and canoe makers were not infrequently afflicted by the Souls of Trees in this way. The ex-shaman Moachat informant once removed one of these from a patient. The following case from Kyuquot is complete enough in its details to serve as an example of how spirit contamination occurred, and the procedure for curing it:

One winter when the Kyuquot tribes were at aqtīs, an uncle (father's brother) of the informant went to tī'uł to bathe. He saw a bird "colored like a rainbow" sitting on a whale skeleton on the beach. It was a haiyūsȧtkcił ("10 times change," i. e. a being that changed into 10 different kinds of birds). The finder turned to pick up a stone to throw at it; when he turned back the bird was gone. This was where he made a mistake: He should not have taken his eyes off the bird, but should have stood watching while it changed its form 10 times, and then given a ritual cry. Then he would have become a great shaman. He began to feel unwell so he returned to his house. Someone saw him, and called his brother from breakfast. The latter went out to find him lying on the ground, unable to move. He was conscious, but could not move or speak. They brought him in by the fire. A shaman was sent for immediately. Although the practitioner could not diagnose the ailment, they paid him $7. That evening they sent for a female shaman named ya'aitsūis ("ya'ai above the ocean"). As soon as she came in the door, she nodded sagely. "I thought men shamans were supposed to be stronger than women yet I can see what happened to the sick one already." She sat by the patient and sang four or five songs. Then she said to the sick man, "You made a bad mistake. You saw something good this morning. It was good for shaman [i. e., a source of shaman power], but you made a mistake. Probably no one can cure you now, but

I'm going to try to take it from you." (The idea behind her statement was that she would do what she could, but did not by any means guarantee a cure). ya'aitsūis sang, then began to dance. Between songs, she told the patient's wife to tear a sheet into strips. Two persons helped the sick man to sit up, supporting him while the shaman wiped off his body with strips of the cloth wiping from the top of the head to the bottoms of his feet each time, first the front, then down the left side, down the back, and down the right side. Each "side" was wiped down four times in all. (The material thus used in ancient times was, of course, shredded cedar bark.) The strips of cloth were collected and placed outside. After this treatment the sick man was noticeably improved. He could sit up and use his hands a bit, and even say a few words. ya'aitsūis told his family to build a board hut behind the house, in which the sick man would stay 4 nights. She hoped the power would reappear to him—the account does not make clear whether she expected him to obtain shamanistic power after all, whether she hoped to get it for herself, or whether she believed he might be cured thereby. ya'aitsūis stayed in the hut with her patient. She said later she could hear singing "all around" but no supernatural beings came near. The sick man improved a bit, lingering on for some months, then died.

Sometimes an ill-timed encounter with a supernatural being caused a condition resembling a facial paralysis, in which the patient's mouth "twisted over to one side." There was a remedy for this (applied after a shaman had removed the noxious influence of the being) which consisted in rigging a small wooden "hook" with a string by which a human skull was suspended. The hook was put in the sufferer's mouth so that the skull dangled from the uncontracted side for one night, or for four, and invariably so it was said, a cure was effected.

Soul loss was never a prevalent disease among the Northern Nootkan tribes; the available remnants of shamanistic memories among the Central groups suggest it may have occurred more commonly there, and that there may have been more shamans with the necessary specialized power to cure it. Among the groups from Nootka Sound north, the end of the dog salmon run, when the Dog Salmon spirits were returning to their home beneath the sea, was held to be an especially dangerous season. Often shamans would have to sit up all night singing to ward off the Dog Salmon spirits who wanted to take people's souls away with them. A child who violated even the most minor tabu was likely to be punished by the Dog Salmon in this way. Other sea beings might steal souls as well. The cure consisted in the most direct possible approach to the problem: The shaman went out and recovered the soul. This was no dramatization of a journey like that described for some Coast Salish. The Nootkan shaman, in the full strength of his supernatural power, "actually went down under the sea," returning dripping wet and sometimes streaming blood at nose and temples, carrying the stolen soul in a little bunch of eagle down in his hands. Descriptions of two typical cases contain the significant details of such cures.

naswinis, chief of the qanōpitakȧmłȧth at Kyuquot, was harpooning shark and dogfish for oil to sell to the white traders, when he became sick. Many shamans were called to cure him but none could help: he kept getting weaker. By Dog Salmon time he was so weak he could not walk. maiyała'aq, a shaman of the chief's house said, "I'm going to try once more." All the tribe came in to help him sing. maiyała'ȧq sang 10 songs. After he sang, he said, "The Shark has got the chief's soul." He began to dance around the house. He had on his elkskin cuirass (he was a war chief). He sang five more songs. This took most of the night. Then they made a very long line fast to him, over his armor. He went out, singing, as they slacked off the line. Then they began to heave in the line: When it came in the end had parted—maiyała'ȧq had broken free. They went out to look for him. Finally they heard him singing on an outside beach, and sent a canoe to bring him back. He came back still singing, holding the chief's soul in his hands. They put new mats on the floor, and covered them with eagle down. The shaman released the soul on the down. Everyone could see it: It looked like a tiny whirlwind, spinning the eagle down round and round. Then maiyała'ȧq picked it up again. The whole tribe was singing for him. He put the soul on the chief's head, then blew through his cupped hands (until it went into the chief once more). The chief slept well for the first time in many weeks. He began to recover.

The Ehetisat shaman, yatsūsis, also had the power to recover a lost soul. M saw him do this on one occasion. An Ehetisat woman was deathly ill; she had been lying in a comatose condition "for days." Other shamans had been called, but had not been able to help her. M's mother went to help sing. yatsūsis sang over the woman until he "saw" what was the matter. He took out a disease object, but said that was only a minor ill. He said, "It's only her body here; her soul is gone." So the woman's father offered a canoe (he had already paid for extracting the disease object). yatsūsis sang again, then said it was the Dog Salmon who had her soul. She must have been in the water near Dog Salmon. (That fall during Dog Salmon time the woman had upset her canoe and nearly drowned, remarked the informant, "but of course yatsūsis couldn't have known about that.")

The shaman began to sing a Dog Salmon song. He had a wide belt of red cedar bark; they rove a line through that and over each shoulder and across his chest. yatsūsis sprinkled the patient with eagle down, then went out of the house. He held a handful of eagle down. Some men paid out the line attached to his belt and around his shoulders—they had to bend on two more lengths. He was gone a long time to Dog Salmon's home under the sea. He reappeared suddenly, dripping wet, with blood running from his temples and over the collar bones "where the skin is thin." All the people began to sing. He held out his hand with the eagle down still in it—surprisingly enough the down was still dry. It was spinning around, so they all knew the woman's soul was there in his hand. He put his hand on the patient's head, and sang and sang. Finally he raised his hand: down and all had disappeared. Next morning the woman awoke refreshed, able to sit up, and with an appetite for the first time in weeks. She soon recovered.

BLACK MAGIC

The subject of black magic or witchcraft, as one may wish to call it, requires a separate place in a discussion of methods of utilizing supernatural forces to personal ends. There were several kinds of black magic known, but all were shrouded in a cloak of secrecy. Possessors of the power, or the knowledge, were loathe to admit their talents ordinarily, although rarely a witch aflame with venomous hatred and excited by apparent success when some misfortune befell his "victim" would boast of his deed. More often others made accusations, roundly denied by the suspect or suspects. In any case the techniques were seldom told in explicit detail. Witches were secretive; other people, even though they might have some knowledge hesitated to reveal too much lest they themselves be accused of the black art. To a certain extent that is true today, for belief in certain forms of witchcraft persists. Some informants still do not like to discuss the subject in anything but the most general terms.

One type of black magic was that possessed by shamans. It came from a supernatural encounter, just like curing power. A man who had it could "throw" or "send" small objects into the bodies of his victims, a process called ūcyiłcił. The objects "sent" might be small pebbles, but were more often tiny gorgets of bone, or claws of ducks, and the like, often in pairs, tied together with a hair. When a curing shaman removed one of these missiles from a patient, or when on the patient's death his kinsmen conducted an autopsy and found them, there was a great to-do. Accusations were flung back and forth. Even the curing shaman who removed such missiles was not necessarily exonerated. He might have "sent" the objects in hope of getting a fee for curing. If the objects were not his own, how had he extracted them so easily where other shamans had failed?

Actually, barring confession, there was no sure way to learn the identity of an evil shaman. Any curing shaman *might* have encountered one of the specific types of spirits giving power to "send" the missiles, or some person who had no curing power and who had never revealed having had a supernatural experience might have done so. There were a number of visions known to give this power: a Raven, shaking a rattle and singing, a Squirrel or Mink with two heads, or a spirit in human form who tossed four bright shiny pebbles to the power seeker. There were probably others, known only to shamans. There was a definite belief that one who had such power was under a definite compulsion, somehow, to exercise it. Kinsmen of one Kyuquot shaman who "found" the four pebbles, say that when he "had to" send the pebbles he went out into the woods and "threw" them into the trunk of a standing tree, and thus never used them on human victims. Another man, a Moachat, used to kill dogs when he had to utilize his deadly gift, according to a tradition of his family. One may doubt that people outside these men's families would have been so easy to convince that none but such unimportant targets were used, had they been aware of the two shamans' powers.

Two of the three usual motives imputed to evil shamans are consistent with the generalizations that informants make about the secretiveness with which evil shamans concealed their abilities to do harm. It is said that most of their fell deeds were committed either for personal revenge or spite, or in order to be paid for curing the victim. The third motive, which is either imaginary or else means that shamans themselves contributed to the belief in their evil powers by claiming to have them, is that shamans at times sent the lethal missiles for hire.

There seems to have been a belief among the Central tribes of another sort of shamanistic homicide, performed by theft of the victim's soul. Some people of the Northern divisions knew of this, but were sure none of their own shamans had that power, but only those southeast of Esteban Point. I was unable to find anyone who had a very clear idea as to how thefts were perpetrated, or what spirit or spirits gave ability to do it. Father Brabant extirpated shamanism pretty thoroughly from Hesquiat Harbor to Clayoquot Sound.

The second major type of witchcraft, and that in which belief has persisted even longer than that in the shamanistic variety consisted of secret procedures usually involving contagious magic. These seem to have been hereditary rituals more or less like those for winning good fortune, making children grow sturdy, and brave, and all the rest, except that they usually involved, along with bathing and formulaic prayers, some act like putting a bit of clothing of the intended victim in a grave box. Performing such an act was called haphtcåkcił. Many people are said to have known such procedures (though, of course, it is always someone else, not the person one happens to be speaking to at the time). The effect of these spells was slower than the bulletlike effect of evil shamans' missiles. The victims lingered and suffered longer, but their death was even surer, for no shaman could cure them. Undoing the spell, removing the bit of clothing, hair, or excrement from the grave box in which it had been put, was the only way of curing it, but there was no way to find the contaminated article unless the witch chose to reveal it, something that never happened. Ulcerous sores that never healed were the most common symptom of this variety of witchcraft.

As remarked elsewhere, it seems to have been standard procedure when a shaman's missile was removed in time to save the victim's life, or sometimes, after the unfortunate's demise, for someone among the shocked and infuriated spectators to suggest that contagious magic be worked over the object to kill the sender. The idea was pondered seriously, but always shelved, say informants, "because no one wanted to admit he knew how to do such things."

The motives most often attributed to witches were personal spite, and jealousy. This latter is said to have figured as motive in a number of cases in fairly recent times in which two or more families, all more or less equally and distantly related to some important chief who had no heirs, tried to insure getting the rank and rights. That is, members of certain families in that situation have been accused of killing the potential heirs of the rival family by witchcraft. Performance of the black art for hire is also spoken of, and, like similar statements about shamanistic murder, is inconsistent with the usual remarks as to the extreme reluctance of witches to admit their knowledge. Informants reconcile the two notions by suggesting that witches came to be known when some loose-lipped close relative confided the secret of their abilities to some friend. Thus the word spread, and people knew to whom to go when they wanted to hire a witch. A very few witches are said to have boasted of their skill, but they were exceptions to the general rule.

A variation of the contagious-magic kind of witchcraft which may have been a specialization of the Northern groups—I am not certain as to its distribution south of Nootka Sound—was the use of "poison," administered to the victim in his food. This form of murder was considered by the natives as minor deviation only from the contagious magic just described, since knowledge of the poisons, usually believed to have been plants, and the way to prepare them, and presumably accompanying rites and prayers, were hereditary family secrets. A tradition speaks of a woman attempting to poison her stepsons by giving them raven meat to eat, but most poisons were believed to have been herbs. The victim, it is said, invariably bloated horribly, his skin turned a purplish black, and his swollen tongue protruded from his mouth as he died.

I have said that the identity of an evil shaman or witch could not be learned, which seems to have been true in a practical sense. The statement should be qualified, however, for it was believed that in his dying moments the victim often (some informants said always) "saw" his slayer, and with his last breath might name him. Actually, of course, since final gasps of a sick man tortured by delirium are not necessarily clear concise statements, these deathbed accusations required considerable interpretation, and as often confused the mourning relatives as not. To judge by cases of witchcraft recounted to me, motive was the real key to identifying the guilty person, either as instigator or actual perpetrator of the crime. Whoever had recently quarreled with the victim or the victim's parents (in the case of a child), or who otherwise had most reason to desire the person's death was the foremost candidate for accusations by indignant mourners.

THE TSAIYEQ RITUAL

There was another group ritual besides the ʟōqwɔnȧ or Shamans' Dance (p. 386) among the Central Nootkans. It differed not only in content, but in being essentially a shamanistic affair. Little is recalled about it by modern informants, for it never came to rival the Shaman's Dance in popularity. It seems to have been a sort of minor shamanistic society, most like the guardian spirit singing or so-called "tamanawus" performances of the Coast Salish. Boas has pointed out the interesting fact that the name of this ritual, tsaiyεq, seems to derive from the Kwakiutl ts'aeqa, "shaman."[39] It may be that the tsaiyεq performance was transmitted to the Nootkans by Salishan groups who were endeavoring to imitate Kwakiutl rituals, meanwhile modifying them to conform to their own guardian spirit singing pattern. Of the Vancouver Island Nootkans, the Alberni Canal groups, the hōpȧtcisȧth and the tsicaȧth, both of whom were in closer contact with Salish neighbors than were any other island Nootkans, seem to have had the most elaborate, and most firmly rooted version of this ceremonial. (Cf. Sapir and Swadesh, 1939, pp. 107 ff.) That it was not a very recently adopted pattern, however, is indicated by the fact that the Makah also had the ritual. One of the fullest accounts of it, in fact, is that by Swan (1865, p. 63).

The groups from the Clayoquot to those of Hesquiat Harbor all formerly performed the rite; the Northern tribes knew of it but say they never had it. It is discussed here because of its very apparent connection with shamanism, and the fact that it seems to have been far more a religious than a social rite—just the opposite, as it were, of the Shaman's Dance. The somewhat fragmentary data collected from Central Nootkan informants are given in the following paragraphs.

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[39] Boas, 1895, p. 642. The Kwakiutl term also seems to mean "supernatural being or power (cf. Nootkan tcεha)."

Hesquiat informants maintain that the tsaiyεq ritual has not been performed by their people for a long time, and that to the best of their knowledge it was never of much importance. They were certain it could not be used during the Shamans' Dance, nor was it used in connection with feasts and potlatches. They believed it to be a minor ritual put on now and then for general amusement. Of the seven individuals that they knew of who belonged (some of whom were still alive during the childhood of elderly informants) but two were practicing shamans. The method of recruiting members was not clear either. It was believed that a person might have a dream or a supernatural encounter in which he received a song of tsaiyεq type, whereupon he joined, of his own volition. The whole affair is a rather vague memory. In the rite, it was said, the members wore head bands of undyed shredded yellow cedar bark with long streamers down their backs, and wristlets and anklets of the same material. It was said they used no rattles or other instruments. The members sang, wept, and performed what seemed to have been sleight-of-hand tricks. One person told me he had seen this rite performed by a Gulf of Georgia Salishan group, but that there the members danced through the houses, which was not done by Hesquiat tsaiyεqa. Since so little is recalled of the complex, the few data recorded about the persons remembered as having been members will be briefed here:

ha'mōtuł was a man who "dreamed" how to handle hot stones (without being burned). He dreamed a "medicine" to put on the stones. He joined the tsaiyεq group because of this (presumably, to be able to display his trick).

ʟahwīákinic was a female shaman who is said to have found or dreamed an Otter-Spirit from which she got her shamanistic power. She "joined" when she dreamed a tsaiyεq song, it was said (she did not dream a special power, or trick).

yūha was the other shaman member. She also had dreamed tsaiyεq songs.

wītamis was a war chief. It was said that he simply learned a song, to be able to join.

ʟūxū'ma was a man who, though not a shaman, dreamed a song, and the power to stick a feather in the ground "and make it 'walk' about the house."

tcutcma'ił was a woman who dreamed of a spirit encounter in which she was given a tsaiyɛq song. "She was proud of her song, so she joined."

tītska was a canoe maker, in fact, reputed to be one of the best of his generation. One day, while in the woods looking for timber, a tree (i. e., a Tree-Spirit) spoke to him, and that night he was given a tsaiyɛq song in a dream. When he danced, he enacted a search for a tree suitable for making a canoe.

Few Ahousat professed to know of the tsaiyɛq, beyond the fact that it was some kind of a ceremonial which had not been used by them for a great many years. One very old lady (Mrs. Benson) was pointed out to me as the person most likely to know about the rite; she said however, that she herself had never seen it, but had only been told of it by people of her parent's generation. She understood that one of the dancers "began to sing and then to weep, and the rest joined in"; afterward, the chief gave them a feast. She had also heard vaguely about members of the tsaiyɛq putting red-hot stones in their mouths. Her notion was that it was some sort of an initiation, like the Shamans' Dance, but with a restricted, rather than all-inclusive membership.

Among the Clayoquot, the tsaiyɛq ritual is said to have had an interesting history. Anciently, so the informants insisted, it is supposed to have been much like the rituals elsewhere among the Central tribes, but in the early historic period it was modified through the intercession of one of the famous Clayoquot chiefs. According to the traditions of the tribe, long ago a man began to bathe ritually to bring his sick son back to health. One night he dreamed the tasiyɛq songs and the regalia and all the ritual. The name tsaiyɛq came, so it is said, from the songs in which that word was repeated over and over (it has no meaning in Nootkan, except, of course, in reference to the ritual). He prepared the regalia, a yellow cedar bark head band with four bundles around its circumference from which depended long streamers, and a belt of the same material, then sang the songs over his son. The latter recovered, and then began to use the regalia and songs also. Other people as well began to dream the songs, and joined the group when they assembled to sing. Sometimes they sang over sick people—not those suffering from a disease object, nor soul loss, or contagion from having met a supernatural being, but just those who had some lingering minor ailment. When they recovered, these people were supposed to join. If a child were cured thus, they waited until he grew up before letting him join. After each performance, the tsaiyɛq members danced off in the woods, where they hung their yellow cedar bark headdresses on a tall tree. They sang the songs while returning to the houses, and sang before eating for 4 days. They also bathed daily during this period.

The Clayoquot informant who was best informed about the tsaiyɛq performance was not certain as to displays of sleight-of-hand being integral part of the rites. He mentioned a similar practice, however, which later came to be an important feature—he believed that anciently the members had danced about "throwing" into each other objects "like the Supernatural Quartz Crystals, but not the same as the ones the chiefs used for inviting to potlatches." Some of the members would be stricken down, and then revived by their fellows.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, Chief haiyū'ɛh decided that "it would be a good thing to make the tsaiyɛq like the Shamans' Dance." Instead of waiting for someone to become ill, or to dream a tsaiyɛq song, he had the tsaiyɛq people assemble and select a number of novices, with the consent of the latter's parents. There is no intimation that he "dreamed" this or gave it any supernatural sanction; he simply decided it in his own mind. Then all the people were called in, and the chief himself danced and "threw" an object into the novices, who fell unconscious (just like the ȧtsa novices in the Shamans' Dance). The society sang over them and revived them, then they arose and sang their songs and danced. The initiation was extended to a period of 4 days, after which the entire tsaiyɛq society, with the new members, staged a performance in which all sang and danced together. Afterward the parents of the novices gave presents to the chief and the older members. It became customary for all shamans to become members. This performance was regarded by the Clayoquot as far more orderly and much more satisfactory in all respects than the ancient hit-or-miss mode of recruiting. So far as I am aware, they were the only Nootkan group to make this innovation.

SOCIAL LIFE

There are several possible lines of approach to a description of Nootkan social life. Of these, I have chosen one beginning with an account of the large formal groupings into which the people divided themselves, the house groups or lineages, the tribes, and confederacies, then proceeding to an analysis of the basic concepts on which these groups were constructed, to arrive finally at the reactions of the individual to the social environment created by him and his fellows.

The political groupings varied in complexity, as indicated, through a series from lineages to tribal confederacies. The more complex units, the tribes and confederacies, seem to have been older and more firmly established among the Northern Nootkans, although early in the historic period, if not before, they made their appearance among some of the Central tribes. In any case, where the larger divisions existed it is clear that the lineage-local group was the basic unit of which the more elaborate ones were compounded. From the data one cannot but be impressed by the importance of two concepts that seem to have been interwoven into a core or nucleus about which the lineage groups were organized, and that gave these sociopolitical units their form and function. These integrative concepts were, first, that of hereditary rank; and second, the importance of kinship, no matter how distant, as the basis for amicable social relationship. I do not feel that I have overstated the case in interpreting the social structure as an expression of these two principles. The natives themselves reckoned them fundamental, and almost every case history bears them out. It cannot be denied that there were other factors and concepts that helped to give Nootkan society its particular flavor, but they were secondary to these two: rank, and the attitude toward kinship. Finally one comes to the examination of the individual in the society—the basic element creating society and dominated by his own social rules. If the description of the individual's reactions seems to stress conflicts it is because I believe that major social principles are most clearly isolated and defined at points at which they are at cross purposes or inconsistent, either basically, or, due to peculiar circumstances, momentarily. For this reason I collected as many cases as I could of individuals who managed to get themselves into difficulties with their friends and neighbors. As the accounts accumulated, however, it became clear that the social scene was not essentially one of stress and conflict. The basic tenets on which society was constructed did not invariably clash. For each person who found himself writhing on a dilemma's horns, there were many individuals of whom informants said, "Oh, there's no 'story' about him. He was a nice man; everybody [i. e., his tribesmen] liked him. He never had a big trouble as long as he lived." To emphasize this point here will, it is hoped, prevent misinterpretation of conflict situations as being typical of social relationships. Nootkan social life, if we exclude the situations of full-scale intertribal war, was relatively free of tensions and clashes of personalities, and tended to play down such instances of them as occurred.

POLITY

Both tribes, consisting of united local groups (lineages), and confederacies of formally linked tribes occurred among the Nootkans. Complex political organization was not rare in the northern portion of the Northwest Coast. Formally organized tribes composed of several smaller units were known, and sometimes the tribes were merged to form larger entities.[40] Various bonds cemented the unions of such consolidations. The fundamental Nootkan political unit was a local group centering in a family of chiefs who owned territorial rights, houses, and various other privileges.[41] Such a group bore a name, usually that of their "place" (a site at their fishing ground where they "belonged"), or sometimes that of a chief; and had a tradition, firmly believed, of descent from a common ancestor. I sometimes refer to these local groups as lineages, for the Indians themselves considered them to be based on kinship, although the precise relationships of their members is sometimes difficult or next to impossible to unravel. Among most Northern Nootkans these local groups were not autonomous. Each was formally united with several others by possession of a common winter village, fixed ranking for their assembled chiefs, and often a name. To such a formal union the term "tribe" is applied in the present paper. It was at the tribal winter quarters that the great houses, with their carved and named posts, were erected, and there that the important ceremonials were given.

Several such tribes might be bound together into a confederacy. The confederacy was cemented by ties of the same nature as those uniting a number of local groups into a tribe: a common village site—in this case a summer one—to which all, or most, of the people repaired for sea fishing and hunting; seriation of their chiefs, expressed in the order of seating on ceremonial occasions; and a name. These largest groups corresponded fairly well to major geographical divisions. The Kyuquot confederacy included all the tribes residing in Kyuquot Sound; the Nootka one, all those of Nootka Sound (except the Muchalat Arm groups). For a name, one of the local group (place) names was applied to the larger entity. There was a very real feeling of solidarity within these confederations. They were units for war as well as ceremonials. Intraconfederacy wars were very rare, almost unknown, in fact, except for one or two remote traditions.

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[40] Such groupings were common to the Kwakiutl, for example. The groups Boas (1897, pp. 311–737) calls "clans" he makes clear were local groups; the "tribes" were composed of a number of these units. In some cases, as among the Kwakiutl proper, the largest division was composed of several "septs" (apparently tribes), each consisting of several "clans."

[41] The term "privilege" is applied to all real and nonmaterial property: territories, ceremonial offices, dances, songs, names, etc., capable of being owned in Nootkan culture.

Although most of the Northern groups were organized into confederacies, made up of tribes, themselves composed of lineages, the natives themselves do not distinguish terminologically between the three kinds of political orders. Lest it seem a bit of useless pedantry to make so much of the difference between them, it may be pointed out that outside of the Northern province simpler polities were more common. In the Northern province, the Chickliset were a single tribe; only the Kyuquot, Ehetisat, Nuchatlet, and Moachat were organized into confederations. Elsewhere smaller units were quite independent. Among the Muchalat, and in Hesquiat Harbor, just south of Nootka Sound, there was no tribal organization whatsoever in prehistoric times. There were simply five or six local groups, each independent of the others. The Clayoquot, the strongest and most important unit of the Central Nootkans, were properly but a single local group from Kennedy Lake.[42] There is a possibility that the Otsosat may have had a tribal organization—if so, they had the only such grouping in the Central province.

Each local group was normally represented by at least one permanent house in the tribal and confederacy villages. Each house had four chiefs, more often than not brothers or close paternal kin, one of whom lived in each corner. The chief of highest rank always resided in the rear right-hand corner (right was reckoned facing the door), the next highest in the rear left, the third in the front left, and fourth to the right of the door. Although the first chief was the real owner of the house the others hereditarily owned the right to their respective places. Other places were not owned: lower-rank people and commoners affiliated with the group lived where they pleased between the corner places. Such people were termed collectively "maiyustsa," perhaps best translated by the word "tenants." A numerous local group might have two or even more houses at the winter and summer quarters, each with its chiefs and tenants, as above. Ordinarily the whole local group acted in concert on ceremonial occasions, though sometimes a single house, when there were more than one from the same place, gave a feast or potlatch alone.

In the following paragraphs, the details of composition of Nootkan political units from the northern limits of their territory to Clayoquot Sound is given. Suggested outlines of the history of their development, drawn from internal evidence and from the historical traditions (which merit some credibility in trend if not in detail) are given as a background.

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[42] There are some subgroups among the Clayoquot: two or three remnants of local groups who joined the Kennedy Lake people for protection and remained small subservient parts of the group, never attaining the status of equals; and some families of the original local group who were given houses and names of their own—the latter in imitation of the northern tribes. The unity of the Clayoquot is made clear in their traditions.

CHICKLISET

The Chickliset were a single tribe with but one winter village, ai'qō'ås. The summer site of the tribe was at åpsūwīs, which is the modern permanent village. They had an "outside" site for halibut fishing and sealing at ʟitsʟihwåkt. There were five fishing stations on as many rivers: hisnit, a stream that flowed from a lake in which sockeye spawned, and maqtsūp, ō'ō'kinåc, ō'was, and ma'uxpī, in which coho and dog salmon ran. Near ai'qō'ås was a refuge site called tsatsinł to which the tribe moved when an attack was expected. It was said to be difficult of access unless one knew the channel well. They—their chiefs, that is—owned all the territory from the Kyuquot boundary on the beach opposite Whiteface Island, out to the tip of Cape Cook. There were no villages along the cape except for a small station called naspat, which they used occasionally, and a'aiʟ, near the cape, where some Chickliset families went to fish for halibut.

KYUQUOT

(See map 2)

The Kyuquot confederacy united all the local groups of Kyuquot Sound. There were four tribes composed of 14 local groups (each named after the salmon stream it owned), with winter quarters at hōpsitas (*4*),[43] maxqet (*1*), ca'wispa (*2*), and qwixqɔ (*3*).

The tacīsåth (of site *5*), a'ʟicåth (site *6*), ya'qōåth (*7*), and qa'ōqåth (*8*) were known collectively as the qanōpittakåmłåth [44] and assembled in the winter at maxqet; the qa'ōpincåth (9), qaqciʟåth (*10*), qa'yōkwåth (*11*), and ca'wisåth (*12*) took for a tribal name that of their winter site of ca'wispa; the amai'åth (*15*), tiłåth (*16*), and na'mintåth (*17*) wintered at qwixqɔ; and the ʟa'a'åth, made up of the yå'qåtsåth (*13*), kūtsū'åth (*14*), and qwɔwinasåth, assembled in winter at hōpsitas. Just as the local groups were united into tribes by possession of common winter villages, so the four tribes were united through sharing a summer village site on aqtīs (Village Island, *18* on the map), a system of feast and potlatch seats which ranked all the chiefs of the local groups into a single graded series, and a name for the entire group: qa'yōkwåth.

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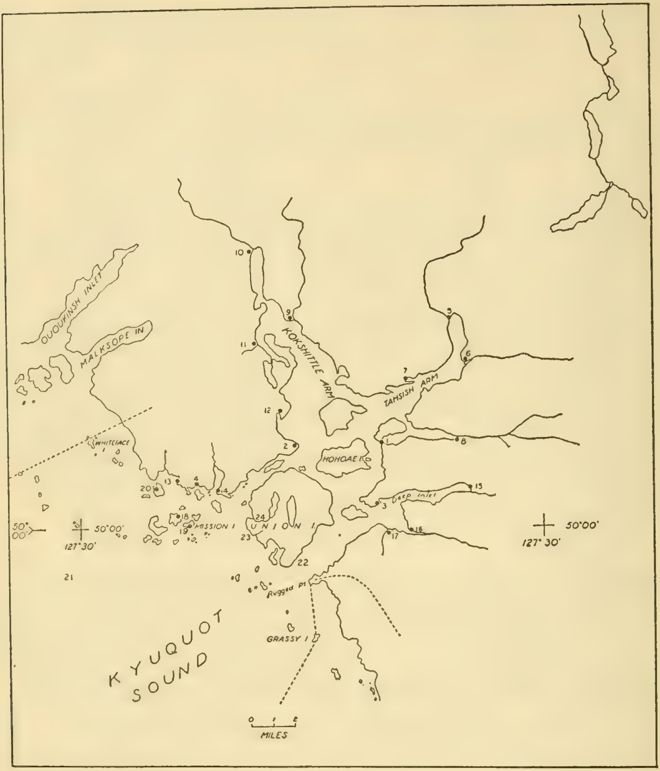
[43] Numbers refer to locations on map 2.

[44] . . .'åth means "person, or persons of . . .," e. g., tacīsåth, "tacīs man, (or) people." For a woman a feminine form, —åksūp, is used: tacīsåksūp, "tacīs woman." When a chief's name is used for the group, the suffix is usually —takamłåth (takamł, bundle, or "bunch"; åth, person(s); as ūmīqtakåmłåth, "ūmīq's people."

There were 27 houses on aqtīs remembered by informants. Each of the houses of the winter villages was supposed to have been erected at the summer village, duplicating even the carvings of posts and beams. The houses at aqtīs were said to have been arranged in a single row along the beach, with but two in a second row behind the first. From right to left, they were as follows:

	House	*Local group*	*Tribe*
1.	måtsūwai	qa'yōkw	cawispåth.
2.	cilsyap (refers to ciʟa roots)	qa'opīnc	cawispåth.
3.	hūpkinstīnim (between two houses)	qa'ōq	qanōpittakåmł.
4.	tūpksåth ("dark people") or sūtcpiɔł (refers to a tree left growing to serve as a post).	qa'ōpinc	cawispåth.
5.	hōɔåtsisʟåth ("floated back people")	tacīs	qanōpittakåmł.
6.	hictsōqtanł ("abalone-shell inlay" in the beams).	qa'ōq	qanōpittakåmł.
7.	cawisåth	cawis	cwasipåth.
8.	nūɔūł ("continually singing" for festivals)	amai	qwixqɔ'åth.
9.	naniqs ("ancestor")	tacīs	qanōpittakåmł.
10.	a'ʟicåth	a'ʟic	qanōpittakåmł.
11.	tiłåth (kɛmiłuktakåmłåth)	tił	qwixqɔ'åth.
12.	qaqcīłåth	qaqcīł	cawispåth.
13.	qwinaikinctakåmł (from chief's name)	tił	qwixqɔ'åth.
14.	qīmiłuqtakåmł ("long-haired [women] people").	qa'yōkw	cawispåth.
15.	qwɔwinas	yå'qats	ʟa'a'åth.
16.	Låtɔwɔstakåmł ("taking down house boards" so people may see the dances).	yå'qats	ʟa'a'åth.
17.	tcītcītqinił ("teeth --" [?])	tacīs	qanōpittakåmł.
18.	(Name forgotten.)		
19.	nåtcasåth ("always watching [for canoes] people").	tacīs	qanōpittakåmł.
20.	qats tsåksk ("three lengths" of roof boards, on either side).	yå'qats	ʟa'a'åth.
21.	(Name forgotten.)		
22.	yåɔqōɔaɔåth ("yaɔqō" a [river] people")	tacīs	qanōpittakåmł.
23.	amaiåth	amai	qwixqɔ'åth.
24.	kūtsū'takåmł ("kūtsū' [river] group")	kūtsūɔ	ʟa'a'åth.
25.	kūtsū'takåmł (kūtsū' [river] group")	kūtsū'	ʟa'a'åth.
26.	hiłinatōåth ("always on the outer beaches people").	yå'qats	ʟa'a'åth.
27.	hiłinatōåth (same as No. 26)	yå'qats	ʟa'a'åth.

The origin of the Kyuquot confederacy traditionally dates back to shortly after the Transformation of the World. According to legendary history, the qwɔwinasåth were created on aqtīs in the spot where Two Hundred Mouths (ʟaʟūktinł), the elder of the two beings who set the world in order, first "came down." The qwɔwinasåth were, therefore, owners of all the territories of lower Kyuquot Sound, and all the ocean frontage including the dentalia fishing grounds at cahqōs.


QUOUKINSH INLET
MALKSOPE IN
KOKSHITTLE ARM
TAHSISH ARM
HOHOAE I
WHITEFACE
MISSION I
UNION I
Deep Inlet
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GRASSY I
KYUQUOT SOUND
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Map 2.—Kyuquot sites. Tribal (winter) villages: 1, maxqet; 2, ca'wispa; 3, qwixqɔ; 4, hōpsitas. Local group sites: 5, tacīs; 6, a'ʟic; 7, yâ'qō; 8, qa'ōq; 9, qa'ōpinc; 10, qaqciʟ; 11, qa'yōkw; 12, ca'wis; 13, yâ'qâts; 14, kūtsū'; 15, amai; 16, tił; 17, na'mint. Confederacy (summer) site: 18, aqtīs.

The other groups were created at their respective rivers.[45] Along with their properties the qwɔwinasâth were given the highest rank of the Kyuquot. This rank, manifested in the right to receive first at potlatches, and most of their territorial rights, they transferred to the chief of the tacīsâth as part of a marriage dowry. Later, a successor of the latter gave this highest rank, also as part of a dowry, to the yà'qatsàth chief of the qats tsàksk house, whose descendants have retained it to the present. Even after giving away their high rank and territories, the qwɔwinasàth held an important place in the confederacy, for one of their chiefs was reputed to have had the first supernatural encounter with the Supernatural Wolves, from whom he received the Shamans' Dance, which he and his successors gave, bit by bit, to chiefs of other groups. The traditions tell of no further major changes in ranking within the confederacy, nor of additions to it. One group, the tcūmàpsàth, who lived up a'ʟic river are said to have been exterminated long ago by their neighbors (and kinsmen) the a'ʟicàth, who wanted to own all the fishing rights on the river. No other changes were recounted to me. Some people claim that at one time there were houses on Mission Island (tcaxhwɔtaqł, said to refer to going after drinking water by canoe), but no one is quite sure who occupied them; it is possible that there is an old site there.

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[45] The Kyuquot maintain, incidentally, that their ancestors were created in human form, whereas their neighbors were animals transformed into people—the Moachat from deer (mōâtc), the Muchalat from wolves, and so on. This they prove by a somewhat obscure etymology of the name of the confederated group, qa'yōkwâth, from a form of the stem qō'âs meaning "real human beings."

It is not necessary to take the legendary accounts too literally, of course, but in comparing them with those of other confederacies in which a long sequence of changes in rank and additions to the group are related, it seems as though the Kyuquot confederacy was probably the oldest and the most stable of those organizations. One may suspect that there have been more changes in rank than are remembered; the fact that the name of the confederacy is the same as that of one of the local groups (the etymology mentioned in a preceding footnote is rather dubious) may mean that that group was for a time the dominant one. Nonetheless, the confederacy has been stable for a considerable time.

Two or three generations ago, probably reflecting the increasing importance of the dogfish- and shark-oil trade and fur sealing, the Kyuquot began to winter on aqtīs. There were two yà'qats house groups, who, although members of the confederacy since time immemorial, had no houses on the island. As they had to be invited to the winter festivals, and sometimes had trouble crossing the stretch of open water in winter storms, the tacīs chief gave them sites for two houses (houses 26 and 27 of the list).

EHETISAT

(See map 3)

The Ehetisat confederacy included three tribes in recent times; formerly there were but two. The tribal name comes from a place ehεtis (*9*).[46] The original tribe seems to have consisted of three local groups, the people of ehεtis (*9*), the icsaàth (*10*), and the àtcinàth (*11*). The ʟitcyaàth (*3*) crossed the narrow isthmus between Espinosa

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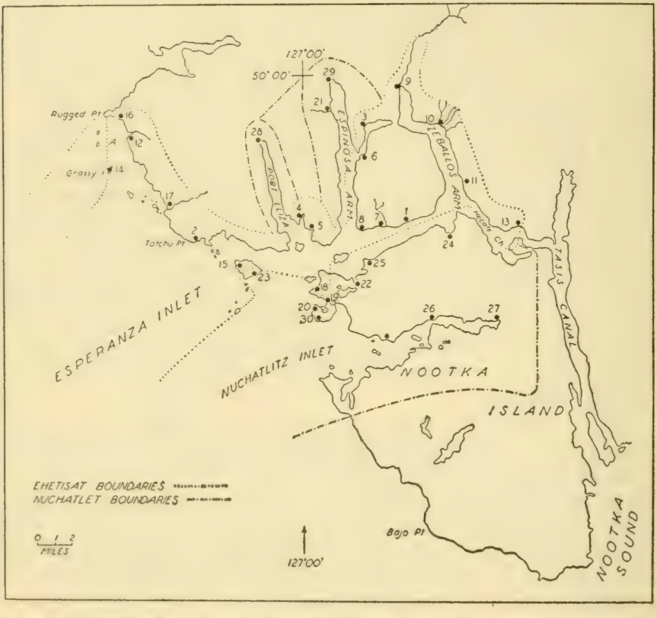
[46] Numbers refer to locations on map 3.

Inlet and Zeballos Arm, affiliating themselves with the original ehϵtisàth rather than with the other Espinosa Inlet groups. Traditionally, their chief obtained first place among the Ehetisat by marrying the daughter of the ehϵtis chief. These four local groups, with the addition of the haqumtstisàth (*13*), and hūphōłàth (*7*), had winter quarters at hōhk (*1*). Long afterward, the ha'wϵhtakàmlàth (people of tatcū (*2*), and wɔxnϵ'à' (*15*)) came in seeking a place to stay. Wintering on the open coast was too much of a hardship, they said. So the Ehetisat chief gave them a place to stay at hōhk. Before that,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10
Rugged Pt
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Grassy I
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ESPINOSA ARM
ZEBALLOS ARM
PORT ELIZA
11
17
4
5
8
7
1
13
Hecate Ch.
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Tatchu Pt
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ISLAND
EHETISAT BOUNDARIES
NUCHATLET BOUNDARIES
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MILES
Bajo Pt
127°00'
NOOTKA SOUND

Map 3.—Ehetisat and Nuchatlet sites. Ehetisat tribal (winter) villages: 1, hōhk (also modern confederacy site); 2, tatcū (also local group, later confederacy summer village). Local group sites: 3, ʟītcya; 7, hūphōł; 9, ehϵtis; 10, icsa; 11, àtcin; 13, haqumts; 15, wɔxnϵ'à'. Camp site: 18, ō'pnit. Queen's Cove villages: 4, tcīnϵxnit (also winter village); 5, maxteas. Nuchatlet tribal (winter) villages: 19, apàqtū; 21, tcatcatcinik; 28, dhkac. Local group sites: 22, ō'astea; 23, tcisyō'qwis; 24, aqī; 25, tca'ła; 26 yūtckhtōk; 27, cō'ōma; 29, ōʟàktcī. Nuchatlet confederacy (summer) site: 30, ʟūpàtcsis. Modern site: 20, nūtcàʟ.

Area A, cahqos, dentalia fishing grounds; 12, 14, 16, camp sites for dentalia fishery.

the Ehetisat had had no "outside" place of their own for summer fishing except a camping site at ō'pnit (*18*). After this amalgamation, the Ehetisat could go to Tachu Point for halibut fishing and whaling (which latter was an art of the tatcūàth). The tatcū chiefs are said to have attained highest rank in the confederacy through a marriage to the eldest daughter of a ʟitcyaàth chief. The Queen's Cove group or tribe, the tcinɛxnitàth (*4*), remained apart for a long time although always friendly with the Ehetisat. It was only 50 or 60 years ago, apparently after decimated by disease and wars, that they moved in to hōhk to live. They still have no seats of their own in Ehetisat potlatches.

The houses of the confederacy at hōhk were not in a single row, but were crowded, some behind others, in a reduced space between a stream and a high bluff. The names were as follows, beginning at the west end of the site:

House	*Local group*
1. xɛniquctakàmłàth (younger house)	ehɛtisàth
2. haqumstisàth	haqumstisàth
3. hūphōłàth	hūphōłàth
4. icsaàth	icsaàth
5. àtcinàth	àtcinàth
6. màʟasàth	ehɛtisàth
7. xɛniquctakàmłàth (elder house)	ehɛtisàth
8. mamai'itcàth	tatcūàth
9. tsasumłatakàmłàth ("gray-haired people")	ehɛtisàth
10. wɔhīnuxtakàmłàth	ʟitcyaàth
11. hawɛhtakàmłàth ("[all] chiefs people")	tatcūàth
12. tcīnɛxīntàth [47]	icsaàth
13. Lakwɔ'actakàmłàth	tatcūàth [48]
14. wɔxnɛ'àth	wɔxnɛ'àth

NUCHATLET

(See map 3)

The present village of nūtcätł is of little antiquity, having been founded only two or three generations ago. The old winter village was at apàqtū, where the local groups residing on Centre Island and Nuchatlitz Inlet assembled. The groups at the heads of Port Eliza and Espinosa Arm formerly wintered in their respective places, joining the others at the summer village of ʟūpàtcsis (*30*), for sea hunting and fishing. The following is a list of villages of the Nuchatlet local groups (a few may be supplementary sites, not homes of local groups): aqī (*24*), tca'ła (*25*), ō'astsa (*22*), tcisy'qwis (*23*), yūtckhtōk (*26*)

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[47] tcinɛxīntàth was the name of the independent Queen's Cove group, but this was not their house. This was a junior division of the icsaàth, who were given the name as a sort of nickname after a number of marriages to Queen's Cove women.

[48] The Lakwɔ'actakamałàth were a separate division or local group of the tatcū tribe, but I did not record the location of their original place.

(the people were called ʟa'īsàth, from the name of the long beach there, ʟa'īs), cō'ōma (*27*), and ōʟàktcī (*29*). The first chief's group were called tacīsàth, because they formerly owned the place at the head of Tasis Canal (Nootka Sound).[49] Tradition relates that the chief there lost his only child. He gave his place at tacīs away to a na'itsapàth (Nootka) man who came to console him, moving out to Nuchatlitz Inlet with all his people. Another group were known as the ϵ'asàth, from ϵ'as in Moachat territory. They, it is said, were ill-treated by their Moachat kinsmen and moved away (or were driven out). They passed ʟūpàtcsis, their canoes laden with boards and possessions, house posts in tow behind them, bewailing their sad lot. The tacīsàth chief sent some of his men out to invite them ashore. At a feast, he gave them places to set their houses, and fishing rights, so they stayed.

The discontinuity of Nuchatlet territory (with the Port Eliza and Espinosa Arm people cut off by the Ehetisats) and the above traditions, which have a ring of truth about them, indicate that the Nuchatlet confederacy was formed of the left-overs of the Moachat and Ehetisat unions. Groups who were displaced, and others whose safety may have been threatened, perhaps joined forces for common defense.

MOACHAT

(See map 4)

The history of the Moachat confederacy is complex, and my notes are not as full as they should be in some details. Nonetheless, the general outlines are clear. Originally there were a considerable number of independent local groups on the seaward and eastern shores of Nootka Island and the Tlupana Arm area. According to tradition, in the heroic past groups who lived at ϵ'as (*3*),[50] and tsaxsis (*4*), on the outer coast, invented the art of whaling, discovered the Shamans' Dance (that is, were the first of the Moachat to receive it from the Wolves while camped at katskwàtcū), and performed other notable feats. They lived the year around on the outer beaches, for they had no territories on the sheltered waters of the Sound. The ϵ'as people were either formed of two local groups, or split into two, one of which became the yałūactakàmlàth, who drove out the other division that eventually joined the Nuchatlet. The tsaxsis people became the nayitsa'àptakàmłàth and the saiyatcapàth. Although legendary history assigns a dominant role to these coastal groups

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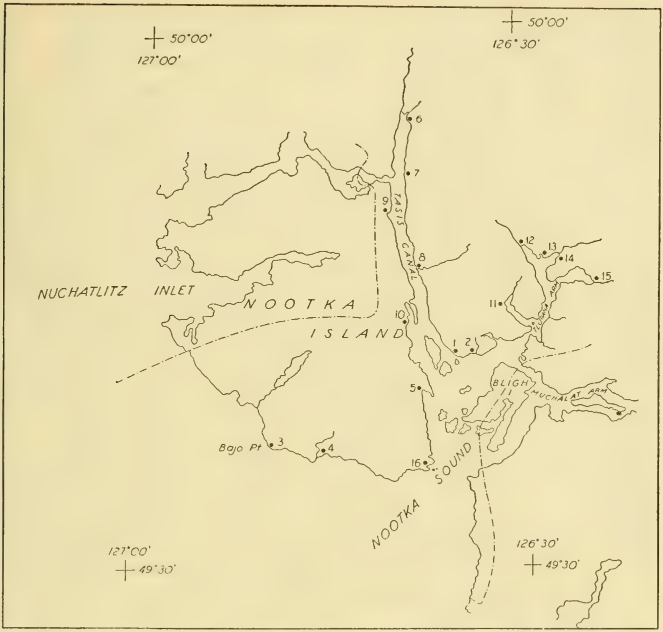
[49] "tacis" comes from the word "tacī," "doorway," and refers to the fact that one of the two overland trails to Kwakiutl territory began there. The other began at the place tacis in Kyuquot Sound.

[50] Numbers refer to location on map 4.


50°00'
127°00'
50°00'
126°30'
NUCHATLITZ INLET
NOOTKA ISLAND
TASIS CANAL
TLUPANA ARM
BLIGH I
MUCHALAT ARM
Bajo Pt
NOOTKA SOUND
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
127°00'
49°30'
126°30'
49°30'

Map 4.—Moachat sites. Tribal (winter) villages: 1, kūptī, 2, ō'wīs. Local group sites: 3, ɛ'as; 4, tsaxsis; 5, mawun; 6, tacīs; 7, amitsa; 8, tsawun; 9, hatɔq; 10, Lūis; 11, hisnit; 12, tsaxhō'; 13, ta'atis; 14, mōwatcȧ; 15, nisȧq. Confederacy (summer) site: 16, yūkwɔt.

since ancient times it is probable that others, such as the extinct amitsa group, once played an important part in developing the confederacy. It is said to have been through alliances with the chiefs of amitsa (*7*), that the nayitsa'ȧptakȧmłȧth chiefs obtained their first holdings on the upper part of the Sound. Later, it was one of their chiefs who was given the most extensive rights by the legendary Nuchatlet tacīsȧth chief who moved down to Esperanza Inlet. Additional rights at tacīs (*6*), were given to the ancestral chiefs of various "inside" groups, those of the tūkwittakȧmłȧth, who owned hatɔq (*9*), and the entrance to Tasis Narrows (later split into two areas when the old group was divided into the two recent houses), the tsawunȧth (of site *8*), the mawun group (*5*), and the puqanumctakȧmłȧth (also called the cȧxmactakȧmłȧth), the original owners of kūptī (*1*). This last-named group gave the right to a house site at kūptī to a yałūactakámłáth chief as part of a dowry, and later to chiefs of other groups, so that the site eventually became a tribal winter village. The yałūactakámłáth chief gave house sites for summer dwellings at yūkwɔt (*16*), (the "Friendly Cove" of the charts), to his fellow chiefs. There would seem to have been a period of tribal consolidation, in which rights, territorial and ritual, were exchanged from one group to another, and some groups prospered while others declined. The amitsaáth became extinct (perhaps were exterminated by their neighbors), the yałūactakámłáth increased and divided into two groups as did the tūkwittakámłáth. Eventually the relative rank of the chiefs of these groups came to be fixed permanently in the order in which they were seated and given gifts at potlatches, with the head of the yałūactakámłáth in first place. The stability of the tribal organization is indicated by the fact that only one change in this tribal ranking of chiefs is known of: in early historic times the first chief with the approval of all his fellow chiefs but the demoted one, gave a potlatch to announce that the tsisaáth chief would hereafter be seated in second place and receive the second gift after himself, and the saiyatca'pát chief, formerly second in rank, was to receive third. This was to avenge a personal feud of long standing. The affronted saiyatca'pát chief potlatched, announcing that his place was rightfully second, and that it could not be changed, that the order of precedence was immutable. But the other chiefs stood firm, and the saiyatca'pát finally had to accept the third place.

A tribal organization was also developed among the groups of Tlupana Arm. The people who came to call themselves the haiyanūwɔctakámłáth, who owned a fishing station at mōwatcá (*14*), and also lands at ō'wis (*2*), gave rights to build winter houses at the latter place to their neighbors of hisnit (*11*), tsaxhō' (*12*), ta'atis (*13*), misáq (*15*), and to a group west of Tasis Canal, the people of ʟūis (*10*). This tribe had no single summer village, but eventually obtained rights to places along the east shore of lower Nootka Sound, and moved in summers to a series of camps strung along the beach as far south as hōmīs (map 16, site 8). A fixed order of rank was established for their chiefs, with the haiyanūwɔctámłáth chief in first place, the ta'atisáth chief in second, and so on.

After a time, the Tlupana Arm groups were given places for summer houses at yūkwɔt, thus forming the basis of the confederation of tribes. Traditions account for these rights as having been given in connection with marriages. The tribes retained their autonomy to a greater extent than did those of neighboring confederacies, however, for the two series of chiefs were not integrated for a long time. In fact, it may not have been until about the middle of the last century, when yūkwɔt came to be used more and more extensively as a wintering place, and the two tribes were invited together as a single group to potlatches, that it became necessary to work out a seriation of chiefs' precedence. For a long time, it was related, the first chief of the kūptī tribe was given a gift, then the first chief of the Tlupana Arm groups, next the two second chiefs, and so on. Finally the chiefs of kūptī, at the instigation of the tsisaȧth chief, met and agreed that their Tlupana Arm running mates should be placed after themselves. They potlatched giving gifts in this order, and eventually established it as the official precedence.

The most recent event in the history of consolidation has been the addition of the Muchalat Arm groups to the Moachat community. For some time after the close of the wars, or rather, the Moachat attacks, the Muchalat survivors kept to themselves. Finally during the 1890's the second ranking chief of the Moachat married the daughter of a chief of the Gold River groups, and some of the bride's relatives moved down to yūkwɔt. Several years later when the first chief of the Moachat died, his nearest kinsman proved to be a young Muchalat of the mō'ya group. When the heir assumed the Moachat chieftainship, nearly all the remaining Muchalat moved to Friendly Cove with him. They were not incorporated into the group to the extent of being given potlatch seats, however, but have retained their own series as a separate tribe.

Why the confederacy should bear the name of the Tlupana Arm local group, mōwatcȧth is not clear, at least not from my notes based on yałuactakamłath and saiyatca'patakamłath traditions. A chief named "Tlu-pana-nutl" (ʟupananōł) is mentioned in one early source as one of the most important, next to "Maquinna" (Moziño, 1913, p. 26). This was probably the haiyanūwɔctakȧmłȧth chief, but it is clear he did not take precedence over the mōqwinȧ of his day. There may have been a tradition, now forgotten, that the place mōwatcȧ was the original home of all the tribes.

The confederacy headquarters at Friendly Cove, since it has come to be a winter village, has had 13 houses as far back as informants can recall. There are few big houses standing now, but they were, from south to north, as follows:

1. saiyatca'ȧth
2. caxmactakȧmłȧth
3. tsawunȧth
4. tūkwit takȧmłȧth
5. na'itsȧptakȧmłȧth
6. yałūactakȧmłȧth
7. haiyanūwɔctakȧmłȧth
8. nisȧqȧth
9. ʟasmasȧth
10. tsisaȧth
11. tūkwit takȧmłȧth (younger house)
12. ūmīqtakȧmłȧth
13. maltsasȧth

MUCHALAT

(See map 5)

The inlet known as Muchalat Arm and the valley of Gold River which empties into it were formerly the range of a number of independent local groups who eventually became consolidated into a single tribe, the Muchalat. On the shores of the inlet were situated tcɛcīs (*1*),[51] måtcłī (*2*), mō'ya (*5*), łīptī (*6*), and at the mouth of Gold River, a'aminqås (*3*), each of which was the winter home of an independent group. There were other sites which were occupied at one time or another, such as apuc, a'ōs, and ō'īs (a different site from that where the Tlupana tribe wintered), but the available data do not make clear whether they too were winter villages or whether they were simply temporary fishing sites. It is possible that the groups once had affiliations with tribes of the outer coast for a måtcłī tradition refers to whaling rights at hōmīs, toward Esteban Point, a place considered Hesquiat in recent times. The villages of tsaxana (*4*) and hilūwɛ'ta (*10*), were far upstream on Gold River. (Their location on the map is uncertain.) The history of these several tribes during the first half dozen decades of the nineteenth century was that of incessant war of attrition which reduced them to a bare handful of survivors who banded together for a last stand against their more powerful neighbors. The reason for the attacks, so informants maintain, was that other tribes coveted their rich fishing grounds, particularly måtcłī River and Gold River (the latter being one of the few rivers in the region in which sockeye run). It must be owned, however, that some of their troubles the groups brought on themselves, for some of the raids made against them were in retaliation for offenses they had committed.

Although there was formerly no unity, social or political, among the Muchalat tribes, they seem to have been regarded by their neighbors as a distinct division, no doubt because of their isolated location. It was these neighbors, their common enemies, who forced them into confederation. Previously, they had fought among themselves. Tradition relates that a'ōs once was the winter village of a local group that was exterminated by their neighbors the måtcłīath. The tribes who lived along the salt water claimed cultural superiority over the dwellers of the hinterland, the "wild woods people" of Gold River. The backwoodsmen, so they claimed, came so seldom to salt water that they got seasick when they ventured in a canoe on Muchalat Arm, and they believed halibut to be supernatural monsters (because of the two eyes on the same side of the head). The river dwellers commented derisively on the salt-water people's helplessness in the

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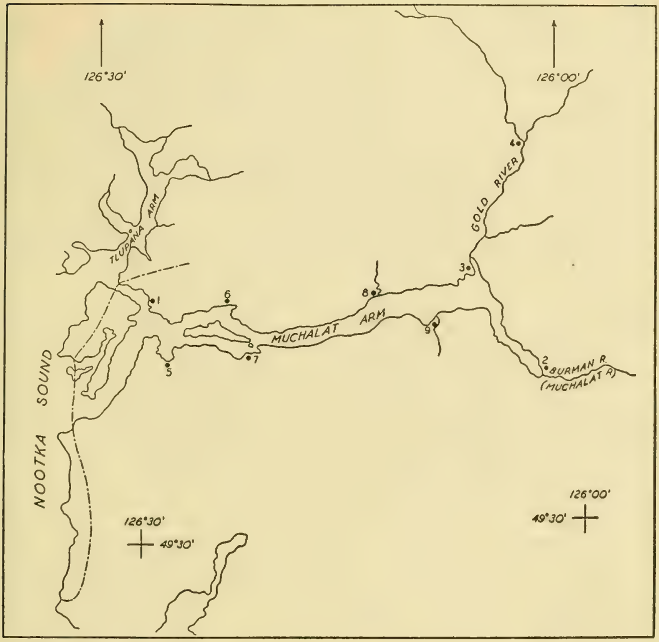
[51] Numbers refer to locations on map 5.



Map 5.—Muchalat village sites. 1, tcɛcīs; 2, mȧtcłī; 3, a'aminqȧs; 4, tsaxana; 5, mō'ya; 6, łīptī; 7, a'ōs; 8, mōktas (camp site); 9, tcɛxła (camp site); 10, hilūwɛ'ta (location uncertain).

woods, and boasted of their own good fat venison and elk meat, which they deemed more tasty than their neighbors' winter diet of "dead shiners that wash up on the beach." In short, even in so small a region, sectionalism inhibited union—the people noted the differences among themselves in diet and custom, rather than their common interests, until consciousness of the last-named was forced on them with the blade of the whale-bone war club.

For all their isolation from the open sea, the Muchalat tribes were favorably situated. As remarked before, their salmon streams were so rich as to excite the envy of neighboring tribes, sea mammals followed the fish to river mouths, and land game was plentiful for anyone who cared to exploit it. The most serious handicap of their isolation in historic times was the difficulty of obtaining trade goods: their enemies always had more guns and ammunition than did the Muchalat.

The Moachat were their bitterest foe, and since they held adjoining lands, were, of course, those who could most readily exploit the various Muchalat territories once the rightful owners had been liquidated. They raided the Muchalat villages now and again before and during the beginning of the historic period, but it was a chief named cīwuc, a grandson of the "Maquinna" of Captain Cook, who increased the scale of the attacks from occasional raids to a war of extermination. During this same period, raids by the Nimkish, the hōpatcisāth of Sproat Lake (who came to avenge the massacre of a visiting party of their tribesmen) and a devastating triple-pronged blow by the Ahousat, brought Muchalat fortunes to low ebb. cīwuc, their archenemy, found himself in the embarrassing position of having to go to Ahousat to ransom a "nephew" of his and bring the child back to łīptī, for the child's parents did not dare make the passage down Nootka Sound, and he did not care to have any relatives of his in slavery lest the bad name reflect on him. Despite this act of kindness, he still plotted for conquest. His last scheme, a treacherous one in which he intended to murder the leading chiefs of a'aminqȧs in the midst of a friendly visit, went astray, however, and he himself was mauled to death by the gigantic war chief anapinuł. At the time of his death the Muchalat tribes could muster among them all some 30 or 40 able-bodied men. They built a "fort" at a'aminqȧs, a double palisade of cedar timbers around the one house they all lived in, and then sent word to the Moachat to come and fight, "for we are ready to die." Since cīwuc was dead, there was no one to urge the Moachat on to complete their war of conquest so nearly won. So the Muchalat were left alone. Finally after some years they built a real house at a'aminqȧs, and then dared to invite the Moachat and the Ahousat to a potlatch. This was in the 1870's, and by that time, the law of the white man was making itself felt along the coast. Peace continued. The Muchalat, confederated into a single tribe, began to venture forth. They moved after a few years to the site at tcɛcīs, where they built a winter village of several houses. Later, a number of marriages were contracted between leading families among them and the Moachat, leading to better relations of the two groups, and finally, when cīwuc's successor found himself without an heir, as has happened to so many chiefs with the decline of population in recent years, the closest relative that could be found was a young man from a family of mō'ya, who was formally designated first chief of the Moachat and who now bears the famous name of mōqwinȧ. The remaining Muchalat moved down to the present Moachat center of Friendly Cove, as recounted in the discussion of Moachat polity.

The enforced consolidation of the Muchalat produced some violent clashes over questions of relative ranking. They had no precedents to follow. It is significant that there were more instances of quarrels over potlatch seats among the handful of Muchalat chiefs who survived the wars than among all the other more numerous tribes and confederacies from whom I got information. These conflicts were never formalized competitive potlatches such as those described for the Kwakiutl nor as dignified as the conclave of Moachat chiefs that decided to demote the second in rank, and that chief's angry but formal protest. Among the Muchalat, these quarrels began as acrimonious verbal squabbles, and sometimes ended with the claimants for the honor rolling about on the floor with their hands locked in each other's hair.

Once ʟϵhaumȧłnī, of mō'ya, and yȧtsimhaus of łīptī, fell to quarreling over to whom the higher rank seat belonged After splintering a few verbal lances, they began to tussle, and were soon rolling about on the floor. The spectators were shocked and offended, and soon separated them. The mō'ya man seems to have got a bit the worst of it, for he let his rival take the higher place thereafter. They did not speak for a time, "but they finally got over it." On another occasion a woman of high rank disputed a place with a mȧtcłī chief, kwaiyatsiqcił. They quarreled, as usual, in the midst of a potlatch (something that would have been very offensive to other Nootkans). He committed the tactical error of saying that it was beneath his dignity to squabble with a woman, whereupon she persisted triumphantly, "until he let his place go," as informants put it, letting her take precedence to shut her up. It took a generation for the relative rank of the chiefs to become established. Feast seats were never integrated: the chiefs of each local group sat by themselves, as though they were still independent units.

HESQUIAT

(See map 6)

The present-day group living at Hesquiat Harbor represents a merging within historic times of four or five formerly independent local groups, each of whom had their own separate winter villages and seasonal camps and stations. The dominant group was the kiqinȧth, whose winter place was at kīqinȧ (*1*).[52] There were four houses at this place. In summer the group moved to hiłwina (*2*) for spring salmon, codfish, and halibut fishing. In the fall they went to kūkūwah (*3*), and tϵ'amut, (*4*), for coho. They had no dog salmon fishing places. The real owners of the inner harbor, where the modern village is, were the haimai'isȧth, who had two houses there. They

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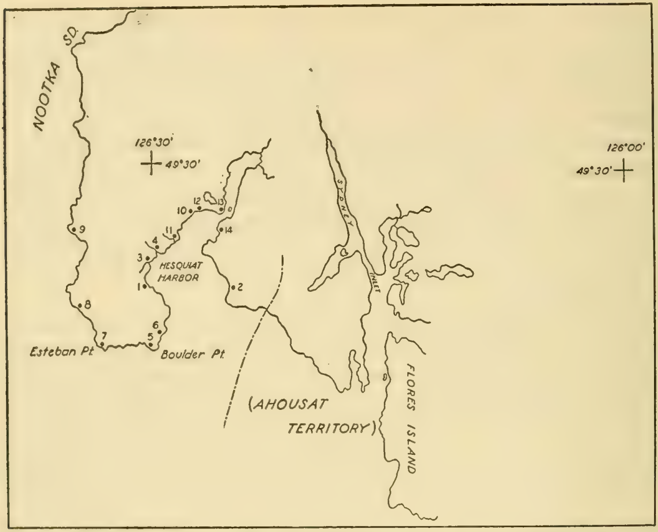
[52] Numbers refer to locations on map 6.



Map 6.—Hesquiat sites. 1, kīqinȧ (winter village); 2, hiłwinȧ (summer village of kīqinȧth); 3, kūkūwah (a coho stream and station); 4, tɛ'amuł (a coho stream and station); 5, tca'a (camp site for cod fishing); 6, hɛckwī (winter village); 7, tałȧta (summer place of hɛckwīȧth); 8, hōmīs (winter village); 9, hɔhqi (summer site of hōmīsȧth); 10, ma'apī (winter village); 11–14, salmon fishing stations of ma'apīȧth (11, pa'astcił; 12, yaqhsis; 13, tsaiya; 14, ai'īsȧqh).

did not move about much, but fished in the harbor, and in the lake, depending on the season. They had no river in which dog salmon ran either. About the middle of the last century the kiqinȧth chief tawinisam, who had long envied the relatively sheltered winter location of the haimaiisath (and the shelter is only relative), sent his war chief to kill ʟaqicqi'is, the chief of the decimated haimai'isȧth. He knew the haimai'isȧth were too few in number to dare attempt to avenge the slaying by open warfare. Afterward, he moved his tribe in to hɛckwī (*6*). He did not actually enslave the haimai'isȧth, but allowed them to remain in a sort of hanger-on status. Later, one of his sons married a daughter of a haimai'isȧth chief, and on the strength of that bond he allowed the haimai'isȧth to have two potlatch seats (the last 2 of the 10). The ma'apīȧth moved in to hɛckwī of their own accord. They had four houses at their winter village of ma'apī (*10*). They were the only tribe to have dog salmon rivers, formerly. They owned ma'apī, pa'astcił (*11*), tsaiya (*13*), ai'īsȧqh (*14*), and yaqhsis (*12*). The family owning yaqhsis may have been an independent tribelet, for it was said that they wintered at their fishing site instead of coming in to ma’apī. In the summer the ma’apīȧth went to hiłwinȧ, but whether this came about during the process of confederation or dated back to some ancient tenure could not be learned. At any rate, the ma’apīȧth were numerous and prospering (informants reckoned they counted 160 to 200 souls) until their neighbors, the Ahousat, set out against them on a campaign of extermination. A large raiding party closed in one night while the ma’apīȧth were at a station called makstī. The party was discovered by a young man who gave the alarm, but the Ahousat attacked anyhow, and killed and captured a great number of people. Some time later the Ahousat came visiting, and with protestations of friendship and peaceful intent beguiled some of the remaining ma’apī war chiefs into returning to Ahousat with them. Whether these war chiefs were really deluded, or whether they felt they had to go to show their courage is difficult to say. At any rate, they went, and were killed the moment they stepped ashore on the Ahousat beach. After this, the remnant of the ma’apīȧth moved in to hɛckwi, where the kiqina chief gave them places to build houses, and assigned them potlatch seats.

I did not learn the circumstances surrounding the federation of the hōmisȧth. Anciently they had five winter houses at hōmīs (*8*) on the western shore of Esteban Point, and never came around inside Hesquiat Harbor (never, that is, as a tribe, to set up a station to exploit economic rights). Apparently they had little to do with the other Hesquiat groups, for there was no trail across the peninsula, and only in fine weather could canoes safely round Esteban Point. It may be that they were originally connected with the Muchalat Arm groups, or those of Tlupana Arm, rather than with the real Hesquiat. matclī traditions refer to rights held at hōmīs, and somewhat later, Tlupana Arm people owned territory to the edge of the hōmīs lands. The same tawinisum who had the haimai’isȧth chief slain to get his lands wanted the hōmisȧth fishing places, but never got them.

The ranking of the potlatch seats of the Hesquiat confederacy reflects this history of the domination of one local group, for of the 10 ranked seats, the kiqinȧth hold the first 4. The ma’apīȧth, the hōmīsȧth, and the haimai’isȧth follow with two seats each, in the order given.

As far as resources go, the several Hesquiat groups were situated in perhaps the poorest section of Nootkan territory. One tribe only, the ma’apīȧth, owned streams in which dog salmon ran, and apparently even those runs were small. Other groups chaffed the Hesquiat saying they lived on mussels and on dead codfish that washed up on the beach, and the reply that the more fortunate groups lived on aiłtcact, "dried dog," (supposedly a pun on "akwact," one form of dried dog salmon) must have been poor consolation for the lack of that food source. Yet they never turned to land hunting the way the upper Muchalat groups did, but remained a coastal people. They hunted hair seal and porpoise more than other groups, and were renowned whalers, thereby making up, to some extent, for the lack of dog salmon. The hōmīsȧth were famous as well for their hunting of sea otter. It was to this quest that their nickname, aiᵋhtakȧmłȧth, "continually pursuing [i. e., sea otter]," referred.

OTSOSAT

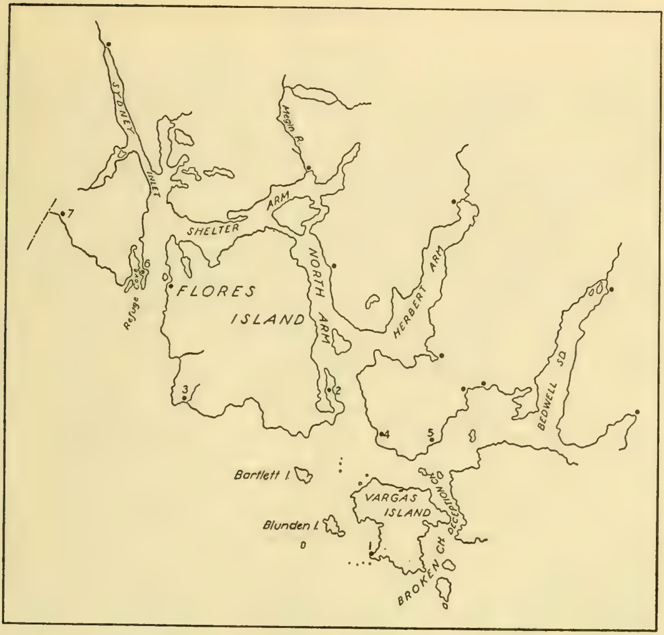
(See map 7)

It still might be possible to get sufficient information about the organization of the nearly extinct Otsosat from their Ahousat conquerors; I failed to do so, however. For several reasons it seems likely that they may have been a tribe made up of several local groups who assembled in the winter at maktūsis, the site of the modern Ahousat village. The Manoisat (manōhisȧth) of Sidney Inlet may have been a separate division, and since their sites were more remote from the Ahousat, the few scattered individuals who can today trace their descent from Otsosat are of Manoisat lineage (and for this reason, informants from Northern Nootkan tribes, who do not know the details so well, refer to the entire tribe exterminated by the Ahousat as "Manoisat" instead of Otsosat). Also there is some evidence in the account of the Ahousat conquest that after some major disasters, the tribe split up into its component parts, each local group taking refuge in its own territories, up Herbert Arm, Shelter Arm, Megin River and Lake, and in Sidney Inlet, with the net result, of course, that the Ahousat no longer had to face superiority of numbers.

AHOUSAT

(See map 7)

Informants assured me that the Ahousat have always been a single local group, an enlarged family, in fact, and that their chiefs are and always have been close kin. The division known today as the Kelsomat is claimed to be a junior branch of the family, but not a separate group. "The Indian Agent was the one who made a separate tribe of the Kelsomat, not the Indians," they say, insisting on their former unity. Nonetheless, sources dating back to the 60's of the last century list the Kelsomat as a separate entity. Perhaps a tradition of ancient common origin led to a recent unification. There is little doubt about the Ahousat themselves. They were a small


SYDNEY
INLET
Megin R.
ARM
SHELTER
NORTH
ARM
HERBERT
ARM
FLORES
ISLAND
Refuge Cove
BEDWELL
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Bartlett I.
Blunden I.
VARGAS
ISLAND
DECEPTION CH
BROKEN CH
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2
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7

Map 7.—Ahousat sites. Present list is incomplete; sites shown but unnumbered are modern Reserves, and all probably former village sites and stations. 1, ahaus; 2, maktūsis; 3, autsōs; 4, tsatikwīs; 5, tcitapī; 6, manō'is; 7, hisnit.

local group, pinched in an unfavorable locality, with a main village at tsatikwīs (*4*),[53] and subsidiary sites at ahaus (*1*), and tcītapī (*5*). In early historic times, so they maintain, relying on their sole advantage of kinship with the Moachat, from whom they could obtain guns and powder, they elected to wage war on their more numerous ōtsōsàth neighbors, and finally won out, when only a handful of slaves and even fewer refugees among Barkley Sound kinsmen remained of their once populous foe. Later they extended their holdings at the expense of the ma'apīàth, and even conducted a brief but bloody campaign against the Muchalat (whose territory they could not have exploited without leaving their own). By the time the wars came to an end, the Ahousat had become, along with the Clayoquot and Moachat, one of the dominant tribes of the coast.

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[53] Numbers refer to locations on map 7.

CLAYOQUOT

(See map 8)

The data on the history of the present Clayoquot are not complete but contain sufficient detail to show the process by which the group was formed. It appears that up to shortly before the time of first European contacts there were a number of independent local groups with holdings scattered about Clayoquot Sound and Kennedy Lake. The Kennedy Lake tribes apparently came but seldom to the outer coasts. Several of the tribes of the Sound shared rights at i'tcatcict (*8*) on the outer coast (numbers in parentheses refer to locations on map 8), and it was from there that they won their fame as whalers.[54] The dominant tribe appears to have been the hisau'istȧth, who owned three sockeye streams and ōpitis, the site of the modern village. The original ʟa'ō'kwȧth, who took their name from a site on Upper Kennedy Lake (*1*), undertook a war against the hisau'istȧth. One tradition relates that it began when the hisau'istȧth killed a chief's son in a wrangle over salvage rights to a killer whale that drifted ashore near the joint boundary. Be that as it may, the basic cause was more likely to be found in the ʟa'ō'kwȧth chiefs' desires for greater holdings, and bad feeling of long standing between the two groups. The ʟa'ō'kwȧth chief sent off a series of well-timed raiding parties at intervals of about a year. Each time the hisau'istȧth were caught unprepared, and the final operation saw them all either slain or enslaved. The ʟa'ō'kwȧth chief moved his tribe down to ōpitis, and established them there. He took to himself all the hisau'istȧth lands, names and privileges, later parceling them out to his sons, and to a few chiefs and war chiefs on whose loyalty he could rely. It was in this way that he rewarded the kwɔkʟásȧth, the apwanȧsȧth, and the ciwɔȧth, small Kennedy Lake groups who assisted in his war of conquest, and the aqōwitisȧth, a small group who dwelt on the Sound, at aqōwitis (this name is said to refer to the fact that the place drifted down from aqtis, at Kyuquot, during the Flood. (These people are held by some to have been the original occupants of Clayoquot Sound—perhaps they were being hard pressed by the hisau'isȧth, and aided the ʟa'ō'kwȧth in revenge.) The conquering chief was ya'aistōhsmȧłnī. He later took the name wikenanic, and seems to have been the famous "Wikannanish" of the early explorers. His younger brother, enraged, so tradition relates, over some familial slight, assembled a war party for the purpose of attacking a tribe called the tsiqtakisȧth. The tale states that his elder brother would not let him accompany the party sent to catch the first of the salmon run, so, with the aid of five guns borrowed from

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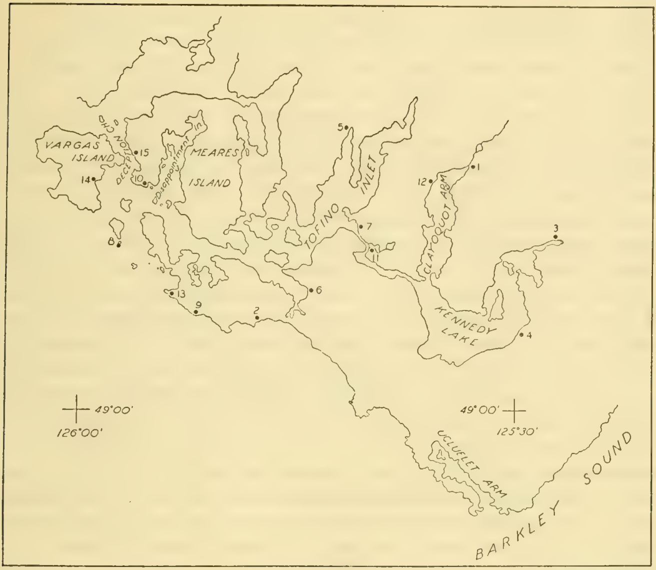
[54] One account states that the Kennedy Lake groups as well went to itcatcict for whaling before the wars; there may have been a loose federation of all the groups, centering around the joint use of this place.


VARGAS ISLAND
DECEPTION CHO
Disappointment In.
MEARES ISLAND
TOFINO INLET
CLAYOQUOT ARM
KENNEDY LAKE
UCLUELET ARM
BARKLEY SOUND
49°00'
126°00'
49°00'
125°30'
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Map 8.—Clayoquot sites. 1, La'ōkw (traditional home of Clayoquot chiefs); 2, histau'is; 3, łiłmátsūwīula; 4, hiłpītcis (former local group site); 5, hiłsīyákłis (histau'isath fishing station); 6, kōtwis (taken in war from a Ucluelet group); 7, ōqmin (la'ōkwáth fishing site); 8, i'tcatcict (hōpitcáth summer village); 9, hōpitcɛ (traditional home of hōphitcáth); 10, tsahtás (renamed hōphitc after traditional site. The name is said to have been transferred in marriage, as part of a dowry); 11, kwəkłis (former independent local group site); 12, amapīs (or aqōwitīs) (former independent local group site); 12, amapīs (or aqōwitīs) (former independent local group); 13, tī'náma (traditional home of a local group); 14–15 Clayoquot sites, names unrecorded.

some white men, he set his war party on the unsuspecting tsiqtakisáth, slew or captured every last one of them, and brought their catch of salmon home to show his scornful brother that "he was a good fisherman too." The war is probably a certain fact, but that it was carried to a successful conclusion by a single raid, and for so romantic a motive as that of salving a hero's manly pride, are features probably to be ascribed to the lily-gilding tendency of popular history.

The ʟa'ō'kwáth grew stronger, and continued their wars. Informants mentioned two other small tribes that were completely wiped out, the timikasáth and the hashiłtakáml. The latter were killed at the order of nūqmīs, ya'aistōhsmáłnī's eldest son, in revenge for killing his father (at least he accused them of the deed). He instructed his warriors to kill them all, so that no one would be left to take revenge upon him. Another campaign saw the extinction of a small Ucluelet lineage that had infiltrated into the Sound, establishing themselves at tcū'is. This put an end to the Clayoquot Sound wars; all the weaker groups were wiped out or had alined themselves with the ʟa'ō'kwâth for safety. Either ya'aistōhsmâlnī or his son nūqmīs (who later took the name haiyūєh, "ten whales") distributed the tribal and chief names of the victimized tribes among ya'aistōhsmâlnī's grandsons. To his own direct line of eldest sons, the giver of names and privileges, with amazing cynicism, gave the name łūtchaōktakâmłâth, "(privileges)-obtained-in-marriage people." A more flagrant slap at propriety has seldom been achieved, since the most of their property rights were plunder of war, and therefore less estimable than privileges obtained through marriages. To other members of the family he gave the names qatcqī'sâth, kitsistakâmł, katckisâth, and masє'âth (or masactakâmł, after an Ahousat site from which the lineage head's mother came). House names, display privileges, and other rights were parceled out as well, although the eldest lineage kept the most of them. From that time on, the history of the Clayoquot is one of complete and planned domination by the łūtchaōktakâmł. Potlatch seats were distributed among the newly placed chiefs. nūqmīs' eldest son, who also took the name haiyū'єh, married the eldest daughter of his youngest brother who by his fame as a war chief had acquired a large following. Informants maintain this was a marriage of state, designed to prevent the younger chief from establishing a separate lineage. A scandal in the succeeding generation which members of the family do not like to recall probably had the same motive: The lineage heads plotted and carried out the murder of a younger "brother" (cousin), avowedly because he killed more whales than they, and they suspected him of working spells on their canoes to decrease their success. Presumably his fame as a whaler drew more people to his house. They seized him as he was bathing ritually, and after a bitter struggle slew him. Then they dragged his body down to the beach near one of their canoes, shot an arrow into it, and claimed they had fired on a person prowling about the canoe. The one who had held their victim's arms while the fatal blow was struck, met a Wolf whose face was that of his murdered kinsman, and soon died. The others high-handedly eliminated the potlatch seat of their victim when his wife and daughter fled to Ahousat, and only in recent times has it been restored to the rightful heirs. The chief of the łūtchaōktakâmł at this time was wɔʟasâpał. He was a renowned whaler, and gave a Shamans' Dance every year without fail. When he died, he was succeeded by his eldest son, cīwuc, who likewise gained renown by his potlatching. cīwuc was succeeded by his only daughter, and when she and her child died, the place reverted to a brother of cīwuc, much younger than the latter. This chief was the incumbent at the time these data were collected (and incidentally was the man responsible for re-establishing the heirs of the murdered "brother" in their rightful place).

This history of conquest and ruthless domination is unique among the Nootkan tribes, for few other chiefs managed to be so completely successful in their wars, and none were autocratic in handling the affairs of their own tribe or confederacy. Not only did they arrange the potlatch seats to suit their own interests, but they enriched their potlatches with display privileges which they invented or borrowed (informants say they "dreamed" them, which conforms but illy to the accepted pattern of inheriting these rights, or winning them in a supernatural encounter). Some one of them (it seems to have been nūqmīs, the son of the original conqueror) revised the procedure of the tsaiyɛqa ceremony, because its casual ill-organized mode of recruiting members (it was a borrowed form of Salishan Guardian-Spirit Dance) distressed him by its variance from the orderly procedure of the ʟōqwɔnȧ.[55] Not the least interesting part of this history is that one hears no intimation anywhere along the coast that their prestige had suffered from their innumerable violations of the mores.

RANK

Even on the Northwest Coast where the concept of hereditary class distinctions characteristically bulked so large in social consciousness, the Nootkans were noteworthy for the emphasis they placed on rank. Early sources and contemporary accounts alike show that Nootkan chiefs constituted a true nobility, with authority and prestige equaled by few other native Americans, even when we make due allowance for the tongue-in-cheek nature of the early navigators' avowed esteem for the gullible "Maquinna." A cursory viewing of the social structure indicates that there were two main figures in the social scene, the chief (ha'wił) and the commoner (mȧstcum).[56] Which part a man played depended solely on his birth. The accident of being born of aristocratic or common parents outlined the normal course of one's life: it restricted his choice of occupations and mates, defined the role he would take in ceremonies, and limited the honors he might gain among his fellows.

Not only on formal occasions, but in the commonplaces of everyday life, the Nootkans were ever conscious of distinctions of rank. A résumé of the attributes of chieftainship will make clear the significance of noble birth. First of all, the very usage of the term "ha'wił" indicated the formality of the chief's status. It was a real title, used in address in just the fashion of European titles of nobility. There were special titles for members of a chief's family as well: the wife of a chief was called "haqum" ("queen," as English-speaking natives translate it); and a chief's child, "na'eyaqεq."[57]

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[55] He made them designate novices who disappeared and then were brought back in time to display the songs and dances which the spirits had given them. (See p. 387.)

[56] ha'wił, so far as I could determine, is a real title; it does *not* mean rich man. A third social class, that of the slave (kot), occupied a special position, and was not so important in the social scheme. The part played by slaves will be treated separately.

As visible symbols of his position, which fell his due as a result of his material wealth rather than as true noble prerogatives, the chief and his family wore more ornate dress. It was they who had ornaments of abalone shell and dentalia, sea otter fur trimmings on their robes, and elaborately decorated rain hats. Still more noteworthy as indicative of his social role is the oft-repeated statement that "a chief did not work." He would not often deign to perform the menial tasks of fetching wood and water, nor, on many occasions, even paddle his own canoe. To be sure, he took a leading part in certain more spectacular activities such as whaling and sea otter hunting. His real duties were of an executive nature, however. The activities of his people were in his charge: he decided on the time of the seasonal movements, directed group enterprises, such as construction of large traps and weirs, planned and managed ceremonials, and had the final voice in matters of group policy.

Society was given a castelike tinge by the effect of the class system on the arrangement of marriages. Chiefs were expected to marry women of corresponding rank, for the honor of a noble line would be tarnished by a union with someone low in the social scale. As informants put it, "Even though the children inherit all their father's (chiefly) property, they will still have a bad name; they will be half-commoner. Their children and grandchildren will be just the same." For a chief to marry a slave was unthinkable. Once in a long while a commoner made such a misalliance, and by so doing gave his children the sorriest of heritages, "the name of slave."

The grandfather of one of the important present chiefs married a low-rank woman. One informant is distantly related to both the grandparents. Through her relationship to the chiefly line she calls the present chief "nephew"; through her kinship to the low-rank woman she could address him as "brother." To use the latter term would refer to his partial commoner ancestry, however, so to save his feelings she never uses it. His paternal line traditionally goes back with not a break to the ordering of the world at the Creation; it is right royal, if ever a family was. But "it brought them down a little" when the grandfather married the low-rank woman; "it spoiled their good name."

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[57] The central Nootkans used the word ásma for a chief's child. There were no differences in usage between the two titles.

Detailed examination of the composition of the classes makes it necessary to qualify the foregoing picture of a caste structure. It is patent that there could be only a limited number of head chiefs; all the sons of a chief could not have the same rank and authority to wield and pass on to their several descendants. As mentioned previously, chiefs were graded from high to low. Primogeniture was the basis for the ranking. The eldest son of an eldest son was highest of all; his was the "eldest family." His brothers, while sharing in great part in his prestige, were slightly lower than he, his paternal cousins still lower, and so on. It was to these first-born scions of "eldest families" that the remarks concerning chiefly authority apply unqualified.

The descendants of younger sons formed a sort of middle class. They were usually addressed as "chief," and owned various of lesser prerogatives, including the offices of speaker and war-chief.[58] In real life, there was no sharp break separating the two strata, noble and common. Not only were the relatives of the royal lines graduated in rank in proportion to their distance from the eldest families, but certain families of commoners might be raised slightly above the common level by grants of minor rights. It is this group of "low-rank chiefs" that gives informants their greatest difficulty in assigning individuals in accounts to their proper station. They do not have to hesitate a moment in saying, "Oh, he was a real chief," or "He was just a commoner." But of the middle class they usually say, "He was chief, but not very high," and "He wasn't quite a chief, but better than ordinary commoners." When one considers this unbroken gradation from high to low, the castelike appearance of the society dims perceptibly. Within the middle class shifts in rank constantly occurred. A man could not change his own rank, but he could better—or lower—that of his descendants by his marriage. Members of the higher middle class could marry into the eldest families or slightly beneath their own level without arousing disapproval. This held true for persons of any station. It was only marriages of persons widely separated in rank which carried stigma.

As the members of each family were ranked according to their nearness to the direct line of descent from the family ancestor, so the chiefs of each extended lineage or local group were ranked from high to low. Where the local groups were autonomous, and functioned as units on ceremonial occasions (i. e., were invited as guests or acted as hosts), as among the Muchalat Arm groups before their enforced confederation, and among the Hesquiat and most other Central Nootkan divisions, this simple ranking sufficed, but as soon as tribes and confederacies grew up the question of relative rank had to be met. Most of the Northern Nootkans worked out intricate seriations from highest to lowest.[59]

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[58] These offices were properly privileges; their holders did not constitute special *classes* because of them.

It is not clear in every case on just what basis this ranking was done. According to traditions of the Kyuquot confederacy, the local group called the qwɔwinasâth is supposed to have been given highest rank at the time the world was put in order, along with most of the important property rights. Yet in the order of precedence of the latter half of the last century, their chief ranked 20th in the list of 25 (or 27) lineage chiefs. Informants account for this by referring to traditions in which the qwɔwinas chiefs gave away various of their important rights, and even their potlatch "seats," to sons-in-law—they themselves must have consistently made poor matches, if this is the correct explanation. It is probable that other factors entered the picture. Personal prestige, numerical strength of the local group, conquests in war, and the like must all have had their effect. There could never have been any doubt as to what chiefs would hold the ranking places among the Clayoquot—whether it would be the chiefs of the dominant warlike ʟa'ō'kwâth (the lūtchaōktakâmł), or the chiefs of minor timid little groups who "joined" them after their sweeping victories. The latter, as a matter of fact, got no potlatch seats at all, nor other recognition of rank. Among the Muchalat, whom we have seen in the process of consolidation, the mâtcłī chiefs were never challenged in their right to the first and second places, because there were more of those people among the survivors; the a'aminqâs chiefs, bolstered by their wild upriver kin, were next in importance. The remaining places, distributed among the small remnants of other groups, were the ones that were squabbled over. It seems reasonable that like factors guided the establishing of precedence in the older confederations.

It is noteworthy that with this emphasis on relative rank there were no specific titles that differentiated the highest ranking from the lowest ranking of the lineage heads, or for that matter from their lesser kinsmen. All were chiefs, "ha'wił." While interpreters use the qualifying terms "first", "second", and so on, in English, saying, "kaptca' is the second chief of the Moachat, "or "wīâq was the fourth chief of the house saiyatcaptakâmł," there were no corresponding designators used in Nootkan. The nearest approach were descriptive phrases to the effect that "so-and-so comes after so-and-so," or "is junior to him." The real expression of this relative ranking came in feasts and potlatches, especially in the latter. The guest chiefs were conducted to their places along the rear of the potlatch house in order of rank beginning with the highest. The places themselves were in an established order; among the Northern tribes the place of highest rank was in the center of the row, the second highest to his left, the third to his right, and so on; among Central tribes the chief of highest rank sat on the right end of the row. The final recognition of rank came in the order of receiving gifts. The chief of highest rank was given the first gift, the chief next to him second, the third in rank third, and so on. (Along with this went a differentiation in amount of gifts. Although there was no standard formula, the first chief, or the first two, or four, usually received larger gifts, the next four or eight, somewhat smaller ones, and the rest still less—as will be brought out in the description of potlatching, the amounts of previous gifts or potlatch records of recipients had nothing to do with determining the amounts given them.) To the natives, in brief, the relative rank of their chiefs was linked with and expressed in the potlatch "seats" (tϵkōwił). Therefore these potlatch seats were of great importance. They provided one of the important motives for potlatching. "The chief gave a potlatch to announce his child would have his [the chief's] potlatch seat when he grew up," and "He potlatched to put his son in his potlatch seat [i. e., to announce the son would henceforth occupy the place]," are statements heard time and again. It is evident that the potlatch and its protocol were intimately linked with the minutely and precisely graded systems of rank, and with Nootkan political organization as well.

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[59] The Nootkan solution, it may be noted in passing, differed from that of the Southern Kwakiutl. Among the latter people the local group rankings were retained, and each group, as a whole, was ranked in the tribal series, and the tribes were ranked in the confederacies. (See Boas, 1897, pp. 330, 339.)

PRIVILEGES

The real fountainhead of chiefly power is clear. Whatever authority a chief had derived in final analysis from the various rights he had inherited. The head chiefs, the "real chiefs," were those who held the most, the lower chiefs, those who owned less, and commoners were simply people who possessed none at all. The Nootkans carried the concept of ownership to an incredible extreme. Not only rivers and fishing places close at hand, but the waters of the sea for miles offshore, the land, houses, carvings on a house post, the right to marry in a certain way or the right to omit part of an ordinary marriage ceremony, names, songs, dances, medicines, and rituals, all were privately owned property.

A broad classification of these privileges may be made dividing them into two categories, the economic and the ceremonial. By "economic privileges" is meant those associated with shelter, food, and wealth, the ownership of habitations, domains for fishing and hunting, salvage rights, and all the special expressions of such rights. "Ceremonial privileges" included the right to give certain rituals or to perform a certain act in them, the ownership of dances and songs, and the ritual names that went with each privilege of any sort.

Not only were houses themselves owned, but the entire village sites as well were the property of the chief of the local group or tribe residing there. If others built houses at the place, it was with the owner's express permission. Similarly, the sites of the tribal and confederacy villages were private property, as were the fishing places in the rivers and the sea, and hunting and gathering locales. In fact all the territory, except for remote inland areas, was regarded as the property of certain chiefs.

With the decline of population during historic times many of the property rights have been merged, so that it becomes difficult to trace the various holdings of former days. Some data on territories of the Moachat chiefs, though not complete, may exemplify the extent to which real property was held.

Map 4 shows Moachat territory, without that of the Tlupana Arm groups, on whom I obtained little information. The broad area shown inside the boundary lines belonged to Moachat chiefs. The yałūactakȧmłȧth chief (first in rank) owned the waters along the outer coast (except where cut by the smaller claims), the southeast tip of Nootka Island and adjacent waters, and inland to the watershed of Nuchatlitz Inlet. This inland boundary, charted by a zigzag line, was rather vaguely defined, but those along the beaches were precise, located by natural landmarks (artificial markers were not used). One of his most important properties was the site of tacīs and the rich salmon stream there (*A* on the map). According to tradition, this place was obtained in marriage from the chiefs of the nayitsa'ȧptakȧmłȧth chiefs who had been given it by the Nuchatlet chief.

Areas *B*, *D–E*, and *M* were formerly property of the first chief's line, which were transferred to a junior lineage, the tūkwittakȧmłȧth, when the latter branched off. *B* and *D–E* were part of the territory supposed to have come, like tacīs itself, from the Nuchatlet chief via the tsaxsis group. The northern and southern limits of these claims were marked by natural landmarks; their fronts were the midchannel line. It is difficult to say how precisely this "midchannel" was judged formerly; modern informants believe it to have been estimated quite accurately.[60] Area *M* was part of the original yałūactakȧmłȧth territory. It was marked between two beach points, ō'is and the mouth of a small stream called tcītīts, and extended from the high-tide line to the line of kelp growth, about a mile offshore. Area *D–E* was subsequently divided again when the tūkwittakàmł group split into two "houses," but they continued to share area *M*. If a dead whale drifted up on area *M* each of these houses got half of it, and did not have to share it with anyone else (i. e., they had exclusive rights there).

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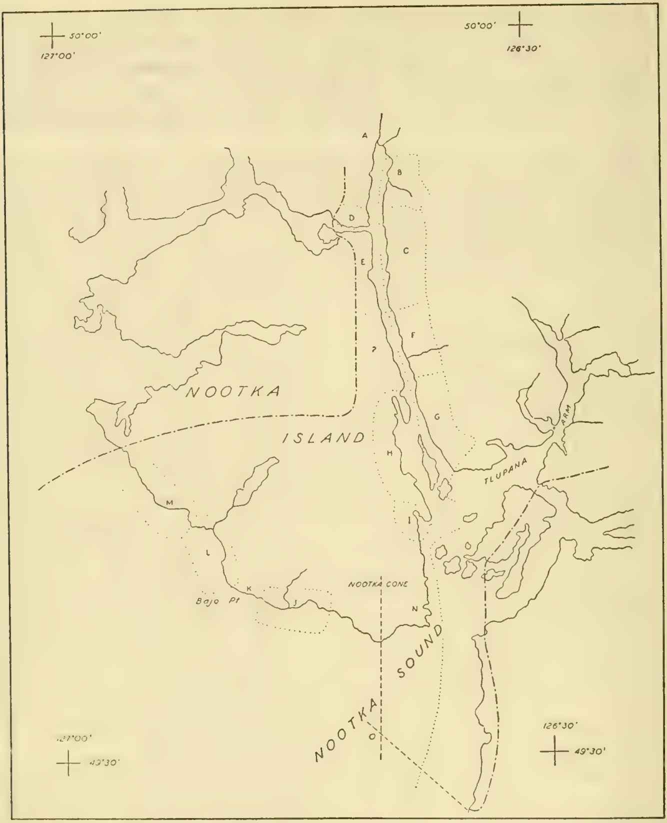
[60] In these narrow fiords, "midchannel" is considered precise enough to be used in pilotage instructions, as in the United States Hydrographic Office Coast Pilot.

Area *C* was the old amitsa area obtained by the nayitsa'àptakàmłàth and retained by them. I did not learn whether the amitsaàth were supposed to have got it from the Nuchatlet tacīs chief or if their right was believed to antedate his giving away of the inlet. Area *F* was an old territory of the tsawunàth. I neglected to record its western boundary. Area *G*, including the eastern half of Narrow Island to its southernmost tip, belonged to a division of the Tlupana Arm tribe, the ūmīqtakàmłàth, whose rights there are said to have been very ancient. Their foreshore boundary ran down midchannel through Narrow Island, across to Marvinas Point (mawunasapɛ) and back inland along the crest of this point. Area *I*, of the saiyatcaptakàmłàth, was bounded by a line from Marvinas Point to the main shore. The waters offshore from the tip of Narrow Island to Junction Island, and down the midchannel line west of the islands of the lower Sound belonged to the yałūactakàmłàth chief, as did all the alongshore rights from here on down. Area *J* is said to have been part of the original tsaxsisàth holdings, and extended from the crest of the first row of hills out to the kelp line. It still belonged to the nayitsa'àptakàmłàth chiefs. Area *L*, from ɛ'as to the east end of *M*, with the same foreshore boundary, the kelp line, but extending back farther inland, was part of the old ɛ'as holdings, and had been given by a yałūactakàmłàth chief to a son-in-law of the ta'atisàth of Tlupana Arm. Since that time the latter group has come to call itself the Lasmasàth, after a place Lasmas in this area.

All the waters to seaward, as far as people went out to fish or hunt sea mammals, belonged to the yałūactakàmłàth chief, from the Nuchatlet boundary that passed through katskwàtcū, where the Moachat version of the Shamans' Dance was discovered, southeastward to the edge of the Tlupaṇa Arm chief's territory. I did not learn just how this last was defined: it was undoubtedly a range on Nootka Sound points. The area *O* on the map was a favorite halibut fishing place in the former chief's territory. It was located by crossing two ranges, a north–south one formed by tsawunapɛ (*ts*) and a prominent point on Nootka Cone (*nc*), and an east–west one formed by two peaks on Flores Island.

The foregoing comprise most of the major territorial claims of the Moachat (excluding the Tlupana Arm Groups), except for those of one group, the tsisaàth, which I failed to locate. (See fig. 17.) (I


50°00'
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A
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NOOTKA
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J
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Bajo Pt
NOOTKA CONE
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NOOTKA SOUND
O
127°00'
49°30'
126°30'
49°30'

Figure 17.—Territorial holdings of various Moachat chiefs (inland boundaries approximate only).

listed extensive holdings of the present tsisaáth chief, which he had inherited from his maternal kin the tūkwittakámłáth). There were numerous minor rights within each of these territories, such as that to put a weir in a certain place in a salmon stream, the right to a certain cut of blubber from whales that drifted ashore on some stretch of beach, the right to the second picking of salmonberries at the yałūactákámłáth chief's berry grounds at ʟaiyaqáq up tacīs River, and so on. Such claims, while deriving from right in real property ordinarily did not abrogate the rights on which they were based, however. A chief could give a multitude of rights of usufruct to lesser chiefs and tenants, yet still be the owner of the territory itself. The major territorial claims were referred to as hahaułī, a term that would not be used for rights of usufruct.

Salmon streams constituted the most important economic properties of the Nootkan chiefs. Though they gave rights to set salmon traps in certain places to kin and henchman, the chiefs exercised their right to claim the entire first catch of the traps made in their individual rivers.

Not only rivers but inlets, bays, and the outside seas were divided by natural landmarks into tracts which belonged to various chiefs. Certain chiefs in each district had far greater domains than their fellows. Traditional histories have been quoted, describing how such extensive claims were acquired. These domains might be utilized by anyone of the owner's group, or even confederacy,[61] with the understanding that it was by virtue of the chief's bounty, and subject to certain conditions.

The conditions under which a group member was permitted to exploit a chief's territory expressed public acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the ownership. They were as follows: No one might fish on any important fishing ground until the owner formally opened the season either by ordering some men to go out to procure the first catch or the first two catches for him, or by calling on all to accompany him on the first expedition of the season. After this, men could go when they pleased. Sometime during the season, or afterward when the product had been dried, the chief sent men to collect "tribute" (o'ūmas) for him. This was nothing more or less than a tax exacted in kind for the use of his domain. No definite amount was specified: it was left to each man to give what he would. Informants say, "The fishermen gave all they could spare. They didn't mind giving, for they knew the chief would give a feast with his tribute." The foodstuff collected in this fashion was always used to give a great feast, at which the giver announced it had been obtained as tribute, and explained his hereditary right to demand tribute from that place. He invariably concluded by requesting the people to remember that the place belonged to him, "to take care of it for him," though they might use it when they wished after the formal seasonal opening. The right to exact this tax demonstrates very neatly the relationship between chiefly status and property ownership. Each chief collected this tribute from whatever fishing grounds he owned, river, inlet, or fishing banks.

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[61] There was but a thin line separating trespass from legitimate use. An Ehetisat man, for instance, would not be allowed to fish halibut on the banks belonging to the Nootka chief, nor might he hunt sea otter in Nootka waters. But if he moved to Nootka, staying with some kinsman there, he became for the time being a member of the group, and was perfectly free to fish and hunt in the Nootka chief's territory. This matter will be discussed further under "Residence."

The head chief of the Moachat could obtain in this way, in addition to salmon taken in the tacīs River, herring eggs from all the coves in which herring spawned in the lower part of Nootka Sound, and spring salmon caught offshore with hooks. He did not tax halibut fishermen "because not many went out at one time," (i. e., halibut were not as important economically at Nootka as at some other places). The tacisâth chief at Kyuquot took tribute of halibut from the famous banks off Kyuquot Sound. The Kyuquot qa'ōpincâth chief exacted a tribute of the ducks and geese netted in his inlet, which was a particularly good place for this kind of hunting. The only place near Ehetisat from which herring eggs and sockeye could be obtained was Queen's Cove, and even before the Queen's Cove people merged with the Ehetisats many of the latter moved over to spend the season with their neighbors, and with them gave as tribute part of their catch to the Queen's Cove chief.

A chief owned also the important root and berry patches along his river. When the berries or roots ripened, he sent some women from his house to gather the first crop for him. With this harvest he gave a feast to his people. The crew of berry pickers or root diggers were "paid" in kind.

The tacīsâth chief at Kyuquot used to watch the salmonberry patches along tacīs River. If there was going to be a good crop he announced to the people that they were not to go berrying there until he gave permission. When the berries ripened he sent some women to pick for him, and gave a berry feast. A "younger brother" (head of a younger branch of the chief's family) owned the second picking. Sometimes he got more berries than the head chief. After this anyone could go there; "there were still lots of berries."

Hair seal among the Northern Nootkans had to be divided in accordance with an elaborate system of ownership rules. This was the only game that did not belong either to the hunter or to the chief in whose territory it had been taken. Certain chiefs of each confederacy owned specified portions of any hair seal obtained in the confederacy territory. When a hunter brought in a seal these owners had to be invited to feast on it. Either the hunter or his chief might give the feast.[62] Chiefs of the Central province did not have these special hair seal rights.

At Kyuquot hair seal rights were as follows: The breast (ha'wiłâpshâm) went to the first chief, i. e., the head of the qasttsâksk house; the right flipper (hiniksa) to the tacīsâth chief, and the left to the chief of the qa'ōpincȧth; the qa'ō'qȧth chief owned the right rear flipper (hiniksa, or ʟictin) and the ciʟa'pȧth chief the left; and a two-finger-wide strip of fat cut down the back from the neck to the tip of the tail belonged to the chief of the a'ʟicȧth. The remaining fat was cut off in similar longitudinal strips for other guests (usually chiefs) at the feast. If two or three seals were brought in, the fat might be cut from one in spiral strips a fathom or more long for the warriors (all the owned rights were dispensed with for such a seal). This was not mandatory, of course; it was quite correct to invite only the six owners, and perhaps one or two persons from each of their houses (their close kinsman of course), cooking up all three of the seals so that each chief would have a sizable amount to take home as "left-overs" (mamutskwīunł). Even when the tribes were elsewhere scattered at lineage fishing stations, the six owners had to be called whenever a hair seal was taken; the Kyuquot have kept this custom up until the present day. Commoners and women (except in the case of a woman who inherited a high-rank position), seldom tasted seal meat, except during the Shamans' Dance, when the rights were not observed and seals were hacked into little pieces so that everyone without exception got a share. Sometimes a choice morsel—a piece of the breast, or a flipper—would fall to an old woman at one of these Shamans' Dance seal feasts. She would display it gleefully, saying, "Oho, I'm a big chief!"

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[62] If he did not care to assume this task, he was at liberty to give the seal to his chief, who would give him a small payment for it.

No other game was "owned" in this fashion. Other sea mammals—whales, sea otter, sea lion, and porpoise—belonged to the hunter. The only rule was that a feast should be given with the fat and flesh:[63] the giver could divide the portions as he liked. In former times whaling and sea otter hunting were noble vocations. If a lesser man killed a sea otter he would give the hide, of no particular good to him, to his chief, receiving a small reward. However with coming of the fur trade in historic times and the great value placed by white traders on sea otter pelts, men usually were permitted to keep those they took. It was expected that they would potlatch with the proceeds, giving presents to the chiefs and people. Sometimes if a chief wanted to give a big potlatch he asked hunters for any sea otter skins they had, but always rewarded the givers.

No tribute was taken of land game, although of course chiefs owned hunting grounds on land as well as at sea. A successful deer or bear trapper gave a feast with his catch. If he liked he could give it to his chief instead, and received a present for so doing. If a chief had a special reason for giving a feast he might ask a hunter for the game, or send him out to hunt. "The chief had a right to do this, for the game came from his domain."

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[63] A little whale meat and partially rendered fat was dried; other sea-mammal flesh was not. Some oil, of course, was saved for later feasts. Only a few upriver groups, who did not have access to salt-water products to supplement their salmon diet, dried the flesh of land game.

The ownership of a territory included rights not only to foodstuffs procured from it by human labor, but also to salvage. Whatever was found derelict in a chief's ocean territory stranded on his beach, or lost on his land, was salvage (hōnī) and belonged to the chief owning the place. The finder of such property was obliged to bring it to the chief, or at least notify him, and was in return given payment. This right of salvage applied to anything from a whale, a canoe,[64] a good log, or a runaway slave to a dentalia shell or a canoe bailer. Informants cannot say just what would have been done if a man had refused to turn over such salvage to the chief. "That would be a bad name; it would really be stealing," they say. None knew any instances of such trespass of rights. Of course, people used their judgment about small articles, though in theory a chief owned "even an eagle feather that fell on his beach." If they reported the find of an article of negligible value to the chief, he would likely tell them to keep it. They might even keep a few dentalia. "If one found many of the shells, though, he had to give them to the chief."

Salvage rights caused complications at times; a chief might seek to claim from an outsider more than was his due. Sometimes he was worsted, as happened in the following instance: nanɛqenac was a mō'yaàth (Mucha!at) man, noted as a sea hunter and for his strength. Once he went out with three other men in a canoe to hunt hair seal. He saw a very big sea lion and harpooned it. Being afraid to try to pull it in lest the line break and he lose his favorite harpoon point, nanɛqenac simply hung on to the line, letting the brute pull the canoe about. The sea lion towed him toward tcɛcīs. The tcɛcīsàth chief said, after watching the hunter play his quarry a long time, "nanɛqenac is taking a long time with whatever he is trying to get. We'll go out to take it for salvage." (That is, the sea lion was in his territory, and by all indications was still out of nanɛqenac's control, so could be considered salvage—by stretching a point). So some of his men went out. They told nanɛqenac, "You have been a long time with that thing. It is salvage now, and we are going to take it." nanɛqenac knew they would take not only the sea lion, but his harpoon point and line too, but he had to yield. He pulled the sea lion, which had weakened considerably, alongside his canoe. Inserting a finger in the wound, he gave a quick jerk and yanked out his harpoon point. Then he slapped the animal with his open hand saying, "All right, here is your salvage." The sea lion dove, to be seen no more. There was nothing the tcɛcīsȧth could do about it. This happened just before cīwuc began his wars against the Muchalat.

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[64] If the canoe of someone in the chief's own group or tribe drifted away, he would usually get it back. One informant stated the loser would be allowed a day or two to look for it; afterward it belonged to the chief if found. The chances are that a fellow tribesman was given even more leeway than this. A chief would not care to be petty about such a matter.

The rights to stranded whales were considered particularly important.[65] A chief observed elaborate secret rituals of bathing and scraping his body with branches to cause dead whales to drift onto a section of beach to which he had sole rights, or at least major rights. Certain of the highest chiefs owned sole rights to a beached whale in particular places; elsewhere, a number of the chiefs claimed portions.

The Kyuquot rights are typical. There, the first chief owned the whole animal if it beached on the west side of mū’kumł island; the second chief owned the entire whale if it drifted up on the east half of the same island, or on the seaward side of nūtcī (Union Island). If a whale came ashore elsewhere in Kyuquot territory, it was divided as follows: The first chief of the confederacy owned both sides of the head (tɔhtsit); the tiłȧth chief owned the lower jaw. The qa’ō’qȧth chief had the right and the cawisȧth chief the left sides of a strip from the blowhole to the "saddle" in width, from back to belly in length. The tacīsȧth chief owned the right side of the "saddle" (tcakwɔsī, a strip four spans on each side of the "fin" in width, down to the belly), and the qa’ōpincȧth chief the left side of this. One of the tīłȧth chiefs (of the house qwinaikinctakȧmł ?) owned the right "arm"; the informant did not recall who owned the other. Another tacīsȧth chief (head of the hōȧtsisʟȧth house), and the a’ʟicȧth chief shared right and left halves of a section (ȧpwin) just behind the saddle. The next section (tsītsikptcim) was shared by a tīłȧth and a qa’ōqȧth (hūpkinstīnim house) chief. The right side of the "tail" was owned by a tīłȧth chief; the ownership of the left (and of the belly and tongue also) was not recalled by informants.

The discoverer of a stranded whale hacked off a sizable piece of blubber to bring to the ranking owner. The latter gave him a blanket or two as reward, called the other owners to feast on the piece of fat and as many more as could be fed with it. He announced the location of the whale. All the people set out immediately. When they assembled by the whale, someone, a speaker or old chief, would admonish them saying, "Now we are going to cut on our marks. We are not going to fight over them. Let there be no quarreling; let us just have a good time." Two or more men, usually war chiefs who "knew about whales," were delegated to mark off the main divisions. Since whales varied in size the cuts could not be measured by absolute lengths, e. g., so many spans or fathoms, but were made on the basis of anatomical divisions.[66] It was customary for the war chiefs, in marking off the cuts, to pretend to quarrel violently. "They talk that way because they are war chiefs and are using knives. As soon as they finish they will be laughing and joking again." Occasionally people were badly slashed, but these injuries seem to have been accidental, or results of carelessness. After the divisions had been made people set to work stripping the blubber in pieces of convenient size for their respective chiefs. The meat and odd bits of fat belonged to anyone who wanted them. "Some old people would go right inside, to get the fat off the guts. When they finished there wasn't much but bones left." The owners of whale rights had the oil rendered out of their portions of blubber to give away. Particularly if a chief had obtained the whale where he had sole claim, and by his own efforts (his own ritual, that is to say), he would hang his strip of blubber from the back on a frame exactly as the successful whale hunter did. At a great feast, he gave each chief many large pieces of blubber and some to each lower-rank person. "He distributed the pieces just like blankets at a potlatch."

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[65] A distinction was made between harpooned whales, which belonged to the hunter, and dead whales that drifted onto the beach, which were divided according to the rules here described.

[66] The saddle seems to have been the only cut invariable in size. It was this same piece which was the special portion of the whale hunter.

Sometimes the salvage rights at intertribal boundaries were not strictly honored. People would take another tribe's property if they thought it safe. Once some Hesquiat were returning from a visit to Clayoquot. They met some Manoisath towing a whale. The beach there belonged to the Manoisath chiefs, that is, if the whale had beached of itself it would have belonged to them. The water was Hesquiat (kiqináth) property, and as long as the whale was offshore it was theirs. The Hesquiat made all speed home, where they mustered every able-bodied person they could. Many canoes went back, overtaking the Manoisath. They did not fight or try to cut the Manoisath loose, but put their own lines on the whale, and pulled in the opposite direction. The Hesquiat outnumbered their rivals, and soon were towing whale, Manoisath and all toward Hesquiat Harbor. The latter saw they were beaten. One, noted as a wit, stood on the thwart of his canoe and shouted, "Well, Hesquiat, for once you will have something good to eat instead of little hermit crabs." A Hesquiat retorted, "It's too bad, Manoisath, that you will have to live on mussels a while longer." Then the Manoisath gave up and went home.

Chiefs of four tribes, Nuchatlet, Ehetisat, Kyuquot, and Chickliset shared the right to fish dentalia at the dentalia grounds off Tachu Point. They camped at a place called cahqōs where they had places for temporary houses. The ōláktcīáth chief (Nuchatlet) was the head owner. Not all the chiefs had rights there. Of the Kyuquots, for instance, only the hōpsitasáth, qwɔwinasáth, tacīsáth, and qaqciłáth chiefs could send men out to "fish" for the shells.

It is clear, in fine, that the property concept was extended to cover almost every phase of economy. From the native standpoint, it was through the chief's bounty that the people of lower rank had shelter and sustenance. To him they were indebted for all the necessities of life. This alone would have been sufficient to give great authority to the chief's position, but in addition this economic motivation of his power was reinforced by another, which, if less essential to the existence of life, nevertheless had strong emotional appeal.

Ceremonialism was very dear to the Nootkan heart. Without wishing to anticipate a later discussion, it may be said that although every feast, potlatch, and Shamans' Dance had as its stated motive the transfer of privileges to an heir or the celebration of a new food season, all the ostensible purposes could have been accomplished in simpler fashion, or at least with fewer performances, had the people not been so inordinately fond of festivities. The bare schemes of the rites were not particularly complex, but the love of ceremonialism reveals itself in the way ritual themes were elaborated, recombined, and expanded again. No people are utterly without rituals, but among many we are struck by the poverty of the ceremonial pattern. In nearby regions, for example the Plateau, and the Lower Columbia area, ceremonialism was at a minimum. There people were interested in other things, such as the individual quest for power, and trading. But the Nootkans liked ritual for its own sake. They elaborated their performances—and gave so many of them—because they enjoyed doing so. It was for this reason that a chief's ownership of ceremonial rights gave strong support to his prestige.

It would be well-nigh impossible to describe all the multitudinous ritual privileges owned by Nootkan chiefs. They may be roughly classified to give some idea of their nature. The right to assume or give certain personal names was hereditarily owned. Each chief had a long list of names borne by his ancestors which he could assume himself or bestow on members of his family. Not only did he have ordinary names, but also war-chief names to give,[67] names for slaves, and even pets. For his house he had the right to use certain carved posts, beams, and paintings, each of which had ritual names. In transferring the ownership of the house, the giver ceremonially "gave the names" with their songs, to his heir. Even the great feast dishes had ritual names; not all but many chiefs had a pair of these. There were names for a chief's big canoes. A chief might have one name for his "inviting canoe," another for his "visiting canoe," his "marriage canoe," "war canoe," and so on.

Another type of privilege was used for display at potlatches. Display privileges were representations of supernatural beings, usually either by images or masked performers. Some had dances associated with them, some not. The native formulation is that the gifts were given in honor of these privileges. "The chief was paying the people for looking at his supernatural (display) privilege," is a constantly reiterated statement.

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[67] The holding of a war-chief name, i. e., the office itself, once bestowed by a chief, came to be itself a hereditary privilege, as was the speakership. These prerogatives were commonly held in middle-class families. (For discussion of the office, see pp. 269–270.)

Ritual privileges, in the broad sense in which the term is used here, were referred to as "spirits" (tcϵha), alluding to their sources as gifts from supernatural beings, or "ancestors" (nanīqsū), from the other important aspect of their origin, that of a family heritage.[68] The first term was used more frequently by Northern Nootkans, the second by Central tribes. Privileges of the Shamans' Dance were given a special name, u'ūyu (said to mean "he tends, or takes care of"). A special class of privilege were those for weddings, called tōpatī. Those used by a groom were displays, as a rule, of ritual privileges, though some referred to territorial claims; those of a bride were usually contests involving strength or agility, and usually referred to territorial rights.[69]

The source of all ritual privileges was the same. They were acquired in a supernatural experience, often by some remote ancestor, sometimes by a recent one. When one used any ceremonial prerogative (showed a display privilege, assumed or gave a name, etc.), he sang the song associated with it, and recounted who had originally "found" the privilege and how it had been inherited.

Many of the supernaturals which gave display rights were the same as those giving individual shamanistic powers and were sought or encountered in the same fashion. As informants phrase it, "some supernaturals could give any kind of power they wanted to; they could give songs and dances (i. e., for display), or doctoring power, or power for wealth. You can tell by the songs just what it is giving you." The recipient might acquire further instruction in dreams, just as a shaman did. Other supernatural beings were "good for one thing only, either display rights, doctoring, wealth, or hunting medicine; never giving anything else."

The following are some of the privileges (*not* including his Shamans' Dance rights) belonging to the tacīsȧth chief at Kyuquot: In addition to numerous personal names, he had the following war-chief names: wi'paxcaȧth ("they don't like him"), qȧtqma'ał ("ready to be beheaded"), qaxma'ał ("ready to be slain"), and qaqinaq (a Kwakiutl name). For male slaves he owned the name tūtūh; for female slaves:

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[68] A similar terminology was used by the Southern Kwakiutl. (Cf. Boas, 1897, p. 507.)

[69] Sapir indicates that this term was extended by the Alberni groups to mean any ritual privilege, including those of the Shamans' Dance—if so, they were the only Nootkan divisions to apply the word to anything but the wedding privileges.

kwɔhȧłitc, witspa'iʟ, hahał, and hinitsȧq. For dogs (or pet animals) he had the names: yuxnic, tcatsnał, ʟa'qeqstł ("mouth always greasy" [ie., from eating fat meat]), and timixtsanȧq (Kwakiutl name). For pet birds, such as seagulls, etc., he would use mȧtqɛ'łs (referring to a bird sitting on his fish trap), mȧttats ("coming downriver"), and ʟimi'kis ("watches [i. e., trap] without sleeping").

He was entitled to refer to his house (at either maxqet, the tribal winter place, or aqtīs, where the confederated tribes assembled) as nanīqs (grandparent, or ancestor) or netsqīłī. Within the house, to the left of the door, was a post carved to represent a woman "with a sad look, as though she hadn't had enough to eat." She has the name witspa'iʟ (cf. the slave name). To the right of the door was a post representing a man standing on a wolf (the name was forgotten). In the chief's corner was a post named hinitsȧq (another name used for a slave), representing a man holding a wooden ball (pakȧmł). This ball was used for scrambles at weddings (i. e., was a bride's tōpatī).

Outside the house he had the right to set up a post, ʟa'a'sīnanī, (grizzly bear post) representing a grizzly bear, and a tall slim uncarved pole named maxpiq. In setting up the latter several pairs of blankets were thrown in the post hole. Both came from Kwakiutl kinsmen. For his visiting canoe, he could use the name tsa'pitqtsin ("sawbill duck"), or haiʟhaiyȧtct ("Feathered Serpent canoe"?)). (The names of canoes for other purposes, such as war, weddings, etc., were not recalled by the informant.)

He had a name for a big tidewater salmon trap, hūpqahtcim (the name refers apparently to something round). He could make this trap big enough for men to go into at half tide in a small canoe. The cylindrical river traps did not have names, or at least his did not.

For displays, at potlatches after the Shamans' Dance, he had the following: tūta ("Thunderbird"), a figure of the thunderbird that rose from the floor and flew across the house while the chief sang its songs; wīnatcict ("Supernatural Canoe"), that moved across the house, suspended in the air; pitił, a large mask concealed in a hole in the floor (two men were called on to pull on a line, arranged so that the mask rose from the floor as they hauled); qamin, a small carving representing a bird (a dancer pretended to give birth to the figure, which then ran back and forth across the floor); hūhūqw, a monster with the body of a bear and a birdlike head with a huge beak,[70] that sat on the floor and snatched at little birds that flew about; two figures representing ama' ("Loons") that came up out of the floor of the house, moved across it, and dove out of sight; hai'i'ʟik ("Feathered Serpent"), represented by a large figure with movable head and tail; a mask called hiqwetcił (said to be a Kwakiutl word), with a big round face with a small figure standing on top (the small figure opened up to become rays around the face, which was that of the sun); tsȧxyiq qwaiyatsk ("Wolf Spear"), a flat board, with a wolf's head carved on either end, about 5 or 6 feet long by 6 inches or so wide (it was telescopic, and expanded to more than twice its original length ȧs the owner sang).

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[70] Presumably this was a mask like that figured in Boas, 1896, fig. 78.

Some chiefs owned rights connected with the various life crises observances of their tribesmen. For example, the qa'opincȧth chief at Kyuquot owned "cutting the umbilical cord." When a child was born to any Kyuquot, the parents "had to pay the chief for the cutting." He himself did not do the actual cutting; the midwife or shaman assisting the parturient tended to that, but he did get the payment. Most people would pay "about a dollar or two;" a high-rank person might pay a canoe or gun. Another Kyuquot, the tacīsȧth chief "owned the pubescent girl's hair ornaments." The parents of a girl might actually borrow the hair ornaments from him or might make them themselves. At the girl's puberty potlatch (one given at the end of the observances, when the ornaments were removed), the girl's father returned the hair ties to the tacīsȧth chief, with a payment for having used them. If he had other daughters, or nieces or granddaughters, the person might not return the ornament, but give a payment in its place (in addition to the one for its use). The wife of the tacīsȧth chief confided to an informant that this was a very good "property," one that brought in much wealth. The chief was required to remember how much wealth he acquired from such rights in order to announce when he potlatched that so much (of the amount he was distributing) came from his ownership, e. g., of cutting the umbilical cord, or of the hair ornaments.

CEREMONIAL SEATS[71]

One of the most important kinds of privilege was the ownership of a ranked seat for potlatches and feasts. These "seats" as remarked in the discussion of the graded ranking chiefs (p. 247), were arranged in a definite order, and each chief had to be formally conducted to his proper place before the affair could begin. The order of seats (and the correlated order of receiving gifts) indicated the relative rank of the various chiefs of a tribe or confederacy, and thus was the visible symbol of their nobility. The first chief, he who outranked all others, was called for and conducted to his seat first. Homage was accorded, and gifts were given in potlatches on the basis of this seating. It is only in speaking English that terms designating this rating, i. e., first chief, second chief, third, fourth, etc., are used.

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[71] See the tribal seating diagrams (figs. 18 to 26).

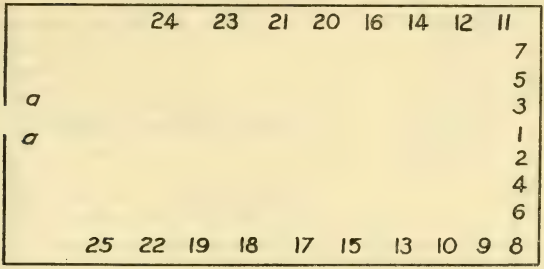

FIGURE 18.—Potlatch seats of the Kyuquot chiefs in order of rank. Names in parentheses are those of houses, to distinguish groups of the same name.

	Local group	*Tribe*
1,	yȧ'qȧtsȧth (qast tsȧksk) chief	ʟa'a'ȧth.
2,	tacisȧth (naniqs) chief	qanōpit takamłȧth.
3,	cawisȧth chief	cawispȧth.
4,	qa'ō'qȧth (hictsōqtanł) chief	qanōpit takȧmłath.
5,	aʟicȧth chief	qanōpit takamłȧth.
6,	qa'yōkwȧth (mȧtsūwaiȧth) chief	cawispȧth.
7,	amaiȧth (nū'ūl) chief	qwixqɔ'ath.
8,	yȧ'qōȧth chief	qanōpit takamłȧth.
9,	qa'ōpincȧth (ciʟsya'ph) chief	cawispȧth.
10,	qaqciłȧth chief	cawispȧth.
11,	namintȧth chief	qwixqɔ'ȧth.
12,	tiłȧth chief	qwixqɔ'ȧth.
13,	kūtsō'ȧth chief	ʟa'a'ȧth.
14,	qa'ō'qȧth (hūpkinstinim) chief	qanōpit tȧkamłȧth.
15,	amai ȧth chief	qwixqɔ'ȧth.
16,	qu'ōpincȧth (ciʟa'ph) chief	cawispȧth.
17,	qa'ōpincȧth (tupksȧth) chief	
18,	yȧ'qȧtsȧth (hilīnȧtōȧth) chief	ʟa'a'ȧth.
19,	qȧtsnimtath chief	ʟa'a'ȧth.
20,	yȧ'qȧtsȧth (qwəwinasȧth) chief	ʟa'a'ȧth.
21,	tiłȧth (qwinaiqinic takȧmł) chief	qwixqɔ'ȧth.
22,	tacisȧth (nȧ'tcasȧth) chief	qanōpitakȧmłath.
23,	(?)	(?).
24,	qa yōkwȧth (qimiłuqtakȧmłath ?) chief	cawispȧth.
25,	(?)	(?).

a, *a*, Potlatch officials, atca'ʟim; one from amaiath, one from ʟa'a'ȧth.

NOTE: tacis (house hō'ȧtsisʟȧth) yȧ'qȧtsȧth (house ʟȧtcwɔ'stakȧmł), may be in places 23 and 25.

Specific seating arrangements varied from one place to another. The first chief might sit in the right-hand corner, with his inferiors in order on his left. More commonly among the northern Nootkans he sat in the center of the rear wall, his subordinates arranged alternately on each side. Below the seats (i. e., along the walls between them and

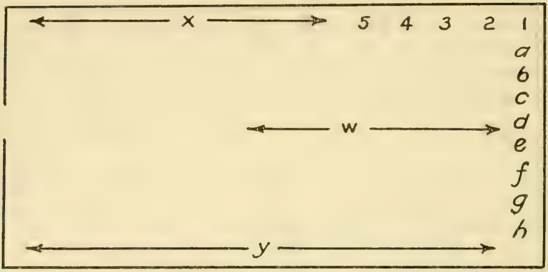

Figure 19.—Feast seats of the Kyuquot. The names in parentheses are those of houses, to distinguish which chief is meant.

Local group	*Tribe*
1, yȧ'qȧtsath (qats tsȧksk) chief	hōpsitȧsath.
2, tacisȧth (naniqs) chief	qanōpit takȧmłȧth.
3, qao qath (hictsoqtanł) chief	qanopit takamłath.
4, qa'yōkwȧth (mȧtsūwaiȧth) chief	cawispȧth.
5, aʟicȧth chief	qanōpit takȧmłȧth.
a, tacisȧth chiefs of lower rank (except nȧ'tcasȧth)	qanōpit takałȧth.
b, mȧtsūwaiȧth chiefs of lower rank	cawispȧth.
c, ʟa'a'ȧth chiefs	ʟa'a'ȧth.
d, nȧ'tcasȧth chiefs	qanōpittakamłȧth.
e to *h*, Chiefs of other high-rank houses.	
w, War chiefs' seats.	
x, Low rank chiefs.	
y, Commoners, women.	

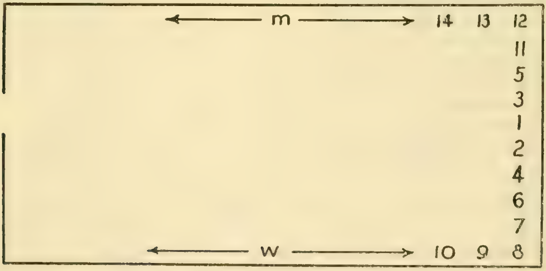

Figure 20.—Potlatch seats of the Ehetisat chiefs in order of rank.

Local group	*Tribe*
1, ha'wɛhtakamłȧth chief	tatcūȧth.
2, wɔhīnux takamłȧth chief	ehɛtisȧth.
3, icsȧth chief	ehɛtisȧth.
4, haqumstisath chief	ehɛtisȧth.
5, tsasumłatakȧmłȧth chief	ehɛtisȧth.
6, xɛnɛqinictakȧmłȧth chief	ehɛtisȧth.

	Local group	*Tribe*
7,	hūpholàth chief	ehɛtisàth.
8,	ta'atisàth chief	ehɛtisàth.
9,	icsaàth chief	ehɛtisàth.
10,	maʟasàth chief	ehɛtisàth.
11,	ʟakwɔ'actakàmłàth chief	tatcūàth (?).
12,	atcinàth chief	ehɛtisàth.
13,	wɔxnɛàth chief	tatcūàth.
14,	xɛniquctakàmłàth chief	ehɛtisàth.
m,	Men (commoners and retired chiefs).	
w,	Women (commoners and chiefs' wives).	

the door) sat the people who did not own seats (łàtwī). This group consisted of commoners and the retired chiefs who had given their seats to their heirs. They sat wherever they found a place, in no fixed order. Men sat on the right and women on the left. The host and his group (house or tribe) were at the door end of the house. There were differences in the number of seats used, depending on who was giving the potlatch, and whether it was a large or small affair. If it were someone from the same group, that is, if a Kyuquot were potlatching to the Kyuquot, or a Moachat to the Nootka, etc., many more people would be seated, perhaps two or four from each house. Thus, at Kyuquot there were more than 50 seats for a potlatch given by a member of the confederation. Where it was a small affair, all these seats did not have to be used. One might place only the first 4, 10, 14 (the 14 chiefs of the Kyuquot local groups), or 27 (i. e., the house chiefs). But no matter how many, those who were seated had to be in their proper order. When a chief from another tribe gave the potlatch fewer chiefs would be seated: if, let us say, a Nootka or an Ehetisat

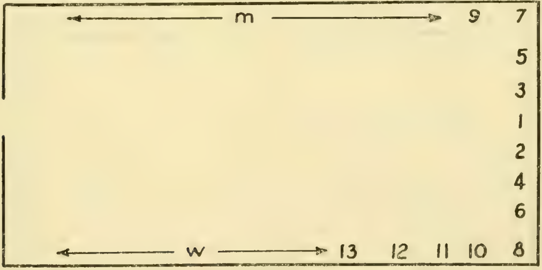

Figure 21.—Potlatch seats of the Moachat chiefs in order of rank. 1, yałūac takàmłàth chief; 2, tsisa àth chief; 3, saiyatca'àth chief; 4, tsawunàth chief; 5, tukwit takàmłath chief (elder house); 6, tukwit takàmłàth chief (younger house); 7, caxmactakàmłàth chief; 8, na'itsàptakàmłàth chief; 9, haiyanūwɔctakàmłàth chief; 10, ʟasmasàth chief; 11, nisáqàth chief; 12, ūmīqtakàmłàth chief; 13, małtsasàth chief (9–13, Tlupana Arm groups); *m*, men (commoners and retired chiefs; *w*, women (commoners and chiefs' wives).

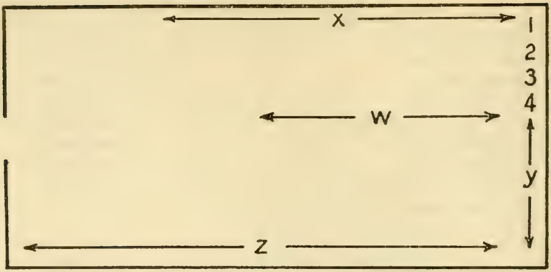

FIGURE 22.—Feast seats of the Moachat. 1–4, First four chiefs (same order of rank as in potlatches); *y*, other chiefs (not in fixed order); *x*, old (retired) chiefs (not in fixed order); *w*, war chiefs; *z*, commoners.

were potlatching the Kyuquot, only the chiefs of the 14 local groups (who held the first 14 seats) would be seated; all the rest would sit anywhere along the side of the house. For feasts the arrangement differed again. The first 4, 6, or 10 chiefs were seated, occupying, usually, the same relative positions as in potlatches. Ordinarily no more than 10 were seated. The war chiefs and sometimes the speakers would be placed in a double row down the center of the house, beginning at the rear wall. Sometimes retired chiefs would be placed here also. The people without seats sat along the walls, men on the right, women on the left. If no women were present, middle-class men might be placed on the right, commoners on the left. The precise arrangement depended on the number of guests, which in turn depended on the amount of food to be given.

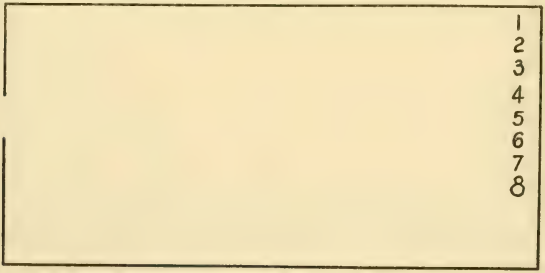

FIGURE 23.—Potlatch seats of confederated Muchalat groups, end of nineteenth century. 1, mȧtcłī (hɔhtin) chief; 2, mȧtcłī (mȧʟickōwatakamł) chief; 3, a'aminqȧs (ta'qa'ʟis) chief; 4, mȧtcłī (ʟīq t takȧmł) chief (mōya group); 5, mȧtcłī (maiyałkwɔ'ptakȧmł) chief (łīptī); 6, ia'aminqȧs (ta'qa'ʟis) chief, second in the house (cf. No. 3); 7, mȧtcłī (małtsa'a) chief (remnants of mōya tribe ?); 8, mȧtcłī (qomitsītas) chief (remnants of łīptī tribe ?).

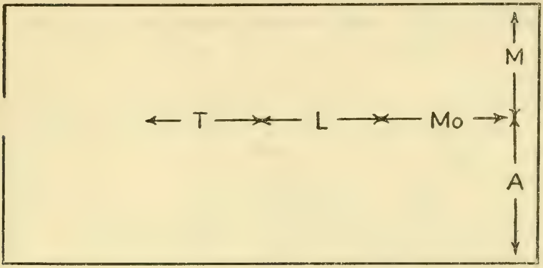

FIGURE 24.—Feast places of the Muchalat groups, during period of confederation (latter half of nineteenth century). M, màtcłi chiefs; A, a'aminqàs chiefs; Mo, mōya chiefs; L, łīptī chiefs; T, tsaxana chiefs.

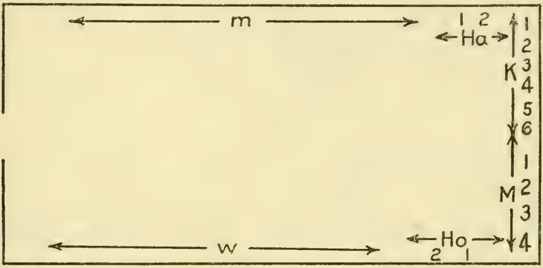

FIGURE 25.—Potlatch and feast seats of the Hesquiat after recent confederation. ←K→, kīkīnàth chiefs (1–4 from house qīʟanictakàmłàth, 5–6 from house napwīuktakàmłàth); ←M→, ma'apīàth chiefs, in local order of rank from 1–4; ←Ho→, hōmīs chiefs (2 only); ←Ha→, haimai'isäth chiefs (2 only); *m*, men (commoners and retired chiefs); *w*, women.

From this outline of the holding of ritual prerogatives it becomes clear that just as the chief controlled the economy of his people through his inherited rights, so he ruled ceremonial life. Nothing worth mentioning in the way of a ceremony could be performed without the chief's approval and cooperation if not actual direction. Governing in this way two important aspects of life, he commanded the homage of his people. Thus his hereditary rights were the basis of his authority.[72]

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[72] Another property of many chiefs was a shrine and the secret ritual associated with it. The owner of such a shrine was expected to use it to bring in dead whales, make good runs of salmon, etc. To thus create a bountiful food supply was decidedly to his credit. "They said he was a good chief, because he took care of [i. e., provided for] his people." This should not be interpreted, however, to mean the chiefs were essentially priests, or priestly rulers. Everyone, or almost everyone, had some sort of shrine or ritual bathing procedure of great or small importance; those of the chiefs were simply the most spectacular.

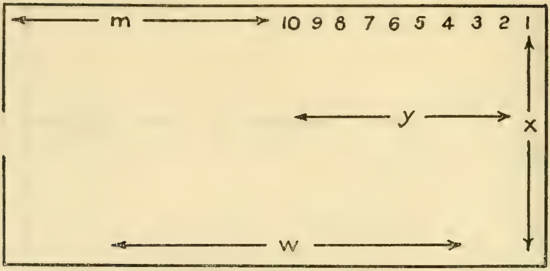

Figure 26.—Seating order of the Clayoquot chiefs, for both feasts and potlatches. There were said to have been but four ranked seats anciently (1–4). After the successful conquest, the number was increased. All the seats from 1 to 10 belong to chiefs of the łutchaōktakàmł lineage. In fairly recent times younger kinsmen have been given 12 seats in the area *x*; 10 of these are of the same lineage as the first 10 chiefs; the remaining 2 have been given to chiefs of the masᵋàth and qatckisàth groups. At feasts, war chiefs were seated in the area marked *y*. *m*, Commoners (men); *w*, women.

INHERITANCE

Since these prerogatives were of such tremendous import, it is only natural that much attention was paid to modes of passing them on. The inheritance of privileges was not inheritance as we customarily think of it. The rule was for a man's heirs to "inherit" his possessions long before his death. That is to say, from the first potlatch a man gave for his child (which might be while it was yet unborn) he began to invest it with various of the hereditary rights. That was really what the display privileges were shown for. The giver announced that his child (the one in whose honor the affair was being given), had the right to use thus-and-so, recounted how it had come to the child, and then "showed" it. The new name the child received was just another privilege he was assuming. So it came about that by the time a child reached maturity, he or she had assumed nearly all the family rights: display privileges, seat, songs, dances, etc. His predecessor retired from the limelight, but until the young chief was experienced enough to assume full command the "retired chief" continued to direct rituals and affairs of state.

The procedure by which rights were invested in an heir was always quite formal. The simplest was the potlatch just mentioned, given by the parent to announce that the child was assuming certain privileges. (As a matter of fact, in common parlance the child himself was referred to as the giver of the potlatch, and the "chiefs" who occupied the seats were all children or youths). A recital of the inheritance of the rights from the time of their origin invariably accompanied this formal bestowal. Another mode was through the Shamans' Dance. The Wolves, when they kidnaped a novice, were in the fiction of the ritual supposed to take him to the place whence a certain ancestor of his had sprung, and there bestow on the child that ancestor's name and whatever supernatural rights he had acquired. When the novice was brought back, he sang his supernatural song (which had been his ancestor's) and "told what the Wolves had given him" (privileges, etc.), thereby assuming his heritage.

If the procedure of taking an inheritance involved considerable formality, the line of descent of rights was singularly unencumbered by rules. A given privilege could be inherited by the eldest son, or shared by several children (all having the right to use it); it could be given to a daughter until her marriage and then bestowed on her brother; it could be given to a son-in-law, who might, as the giver specified, have sole right to it or share it with his wife's brother.[73] The nature of the privilege in question had some bearing; a name, song, or dance might feasibly be shared by a number of people, while a seat or a fish-trap was ordinarily held by but one person at a time. Cases are not lacking, however, in which serveral persons shared rights to a fishing place. Ordinarily, a daughter would keep (or a son-in-law be given), only such rights as were transportable (names, songs, dances, etc.), and not such things as seats and fishing rights, unless her husband affiliated himself with her group. It sometimes happened, however, and in recent times with the decrease of population, has become more common, that a woman might retain even such unportables. If a woman has no brothers her eldest child will inherit his father's rank and rights (if as high or higher than the mother's), and the next will be "put in his mother's place"—taking her seat and all other rights. If the mother were higher rank, the eldest took her rights. If a man had no children of his own, he might put a brother's or sister's child in his own place. If he had choice, he would likely take one who otherwise would not have so many rights.

Two transfers involving inheritance formed part of the marriage rites. One was the endowing of the bride with her husband's privileges when she was taken to his house. Everything he owned he had to give her. This was a formal acknowledgment that her children were to inherit the property, and made only on condition that she bear children. The privileges given by her father as part of the dowry were given under the identical condition and also represented a sort of inheritance.

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[73] This was a departure from Kwakiutl custom, whereby a man foregoes all further right to a privilege in giving it to his son-in-law, that is he gives the sole right.

When the daughter of a ʟitcyaàth chief (Ehetisat) married a young Kyuquot chief, her parents kept her until she had completed her puberty observances (taken off the hair ornaments). Her father, with the help of all the Ehetisat, assembled a dowry consisting of, among other things: 240 pairs of blankets, 4 copper rendering kettles, 5 canoes, 2 sea otter hides, and 16 sticks representing the following privileges:

(1) A grizzly bear for the Shamans' Dance.

(2) A pole (kla'as) with an eagle on top "looking for strangers," named nutcqō'a. (This pole symbolized "Ownership of the Beach," and the right to be the first to invite visitors in to a feast.)

(3–7) Five canoe names: hɛʟhaiya, for the "inviting canoe," tsapatqaxsin, for the "visiting canoe"; ka'wotqit, for the "nucmīs (a potlatch given at another chief's village) canoe"; pō'hoktqi, for the "marriage canoe"; ʟiyaqsī, for the "ya'acuk canoe" (for transporting food gifts to in-laws).

(8) A big box named kū'kūtsu'ił, for storing salmon eggs for feasts.

(9) A pole named taisumqa, to be put up when potlatching to one's own tribe.

(10) A "basket of dried fish which no one could lift," named iqhatuq.

(11–12) Two huge Wolves (made on a framework borne by several men; both were large enough to carry the novice owning them on their backs). One was white, and named haʟtīsis; the other went into the water, swimming about, and was named nuqmīsis.

(13–16) Four women's marriage ceremony privileges (tōpatī): a wooden ball for the scrambling contest; a heavy stone to be lifted named timīłum; a feather named matmanic suspended from a string (hinimix); and a greased inclined plank (ʟasa'tsàs) named haiyumhaiyàpcił; all but the last two were from her father's side; the hinimix and ʟasa'tsas came from her mother.

The tsisaàth chief at Nootka married the daughter of winuwɔ, a chief of the a'aminqasàth (Muchalat). The latter brought his daughter to Nootka a few days later, with a dowry of $400., the a'aminqasàth Shamans' Dance (that is, the songs, etc.), a cīcawuł (Supernatural Salmon display privilege), and a carved post named wɔhqīaxtōà representing a man holding a wooden ball for scrambling. winuwɔ announced that the privileges were given only in case the couple had children, in which event, the last two were to be solely the son-in-law's. winuwɔ's other display privileges, the rights to which he previously invested in both his son and daughter, may still be used by the descendants of both, for he did not specify that either one was to have sole right to them.

ʟanɛhanł was a middle-class man of the tacīsàth at Kyuquot. He had a son and a daughter. When he gave a dowry to his son-in-law, he gave, besides blankets, a fish-trap site up tacīs River, four men's dance songs (hūlai'itc) and two women's dance songs (tcīstcīs), (these are "common dances," for ordinary potlatches, not the Shamans' Dance). His own son tended the fish trap, taking the first "few" (probably four), catches each season to his brother-in-law, and keeping the rest himself. The son-in-law was to use the dance songs first, announcing how he had obtained them, then both he and ʟanɛhanł's son could use them at pleasure. ʟanɛhanł also had a seat for intratribal potlatches and a separate house for fish drying at tacīs, both of which he gave his son.

Although the ritual and economic properties were "inherited" through the various transfers described, and control relinquished, naturally a child of a few years, or even an adolescent, could not be expected to handle the complicated affairs of state which was the task of chiefs. The father, though he retired from nominal tenure of the privileges, continued to manage everything. Of course, he did it all in the name of the young chief. He himself no longer had a seat, but was still regarded and referred to in ordinary usage as ha'wił. It was really these middle-aged retired chiefs who directed affairs while the wide-eyed children sat in the highest places listening to speeches made in their names. Thus the young chiefs were schooled in the important matters of the culture: "where their property came from, and to whom they were related."

SPEAKERS, WAR CHIEFS, AND CLOWNS

The middle class owned various rights, fewer and less important ones, of course, which were inherited in the same way as those of the head chiefs. From the middle class too came various functionaries, particularly speakers and war chiefs. Both these offices were hereditary in certain families. The speaker, as the name implies, had the duty of making formal speeches for his chief. Often he was one of the lower house chiefs ("owner" of one of the lower rank corners). He was not a young chief, but one of the retired elders. Not everyone could be a speaker, for first of all he had to know all the family traditions and rights, and, secondly, be able to discourse in the laconic, somewhat explosive style mandatory for formal addresses. So it was that "inheritance of the office" meant essentially a considerable period of training, which usually would be given a boy by his father. This training, plus, we may suppose, a certain native aptitude for the work, kept the speakership in certain families. An older chief dispensed with a speaker on rare occasions, but this was uncommon. Sometimes a young chief's father or grandfather spoke for him. This was usual, as a matter of fact, when a lower rank chief had occasion to discuss some matter publicly.

The war chiefs were the recognized leaders of war expeditions. The office was more definitely hereditary than that of the speaker.

Few head chiefs ever assumed war-chief names themselves, but usually installed their younger brothers or cousins in the position. A commoner also, if he "was good to help the chief" might be given a war-chief name, which thereafter descended in his family. In addition to the title, each war-chief family commonly had its secret bathing ritual and "medicines" which the sons were taught from early childhood to make them fearless and invincible in war. Not only did these war chiefs have their duties in times of hostility, but they had certain ceremonial functions, dancing as a group (equated to the age-grade groups) in the Shamans' Dance. Again, they were called on to serve "whenever knives had to be used," as, e. g., marking off the shares of a stranded whale. They usually were the most permanent and loyal of a chief's retainers.

The clown (ōqhai, or yūatsł) was a personage whose office was in some places distinct; in others it might be coupled with that of the speaker (as at Kyuquot and Ehetisat). It was usually he who asked someone to give a feast. He danced to entertain people, who then gave him presents. "His job was to do funny things, at feasts and dances, to make people laugh." Apparently the position was not strictly hereditary; anyone with a talent for improvising comic songs and dances could build up a reputation for himself as a clown. People would call on him to perform on public occasions, regaling him with small presents. In his capacity as one who asked for feasts, he was expected to consume enormous amounts of food. In general, if he did not gain prestige by his clowning, he won at least the affection of the people by amusing them.[74]

Some of the performances of these clowns were of a rather high order of satire. Witness the following: yūmotq and wɔwɔ'ɛh were the two speakers of the tacīsàth chief at Kyuquot, and were clowns as well. (yūmotq was of fairly high rank; he owned the third corner of the house and held a good many privileges in his own right. wɔwɔ'ɛh was a commoner.) They liked to clown whenever a feast or potlatch was being given. They kept their paraphernalia in a battered old box which they called their treasure chest (hōpakwɔnum). On one side they had painted a frog and on the other a fish. They always dragged it out to the center of the house, with a great fuss, when they were performing. (The tacīsàth chief owned a very large elaborately painted treasure chest of Kwakiutl provenience.) Once they found some kind of a cast-iron "face" washed up on the beach (apparently a piece of ornamental ironwork), which they painted and put in their treasure box. At a dance they brought it out covered with cedar bark. They announced they had encountered a new supernatural being; it was alive, but they didn’t know what it was. Women were called out singly to unwrap and identify it for them. As each woman was about to touch the bundle, one of the clowns would jiggle it to make it seem to move. The women were all afraid (or pretended to be); none of them would open it. The clowns made long speeches thanking each for trying, and very ostentatiously gave her a payment—a silver 5-cent piece. “It was very funny the way they talked about the ‘money’ they were giving (as though it were a great sum), then give those little coins you could scarcely see.” (Calling a person out to perform a ritual act, and “paying” him for his performance, was a common ceremonial device.) Then they unwrapped the “face” themselves, singing that it was a white man’s supernatural being.

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[74] It would be beneath the dignity of a very high-rank person to be a clown. In the Central province the gluttony feature was emphasized, and there was a tendency to look down on clowns; "only a commoner would be one."

On another occasion they had a narrow board, with something that looked like birds’ heads carved on each end. They danced about with it, singing. People called to ask the name of their display privilege. They didn’t know. They’d stop to whisper to each other about it, or ask different people in the audience what its name was. Finally they made up a name; a’antcɛht (“supernatural bird?”). Then people asked them where they got it (who had found it; how they had inherited it). They didn’t know that either. They asked each other, and called out to ask their wives where their a’antcɛht was from. At last they announced they didn’t know its origin; they had found it in their treasure chest, and had no idea as to how it got in there. (The notion of showing a privilege without knowing its name or provenience strikes a Nootkan as utterly ludicrous and absurd.) They then sang a song telling it to grow long. They sang many times but nothing happened. They then took hold of the ends, tugging and pulling until they stretched it out about twice its (orginal) length. (That is, it was a telescopic arrangement, and obviously alluded to a display privilege of the tacīsȧth chief called Supernatural Wolf Spear. This was a telescopic board manipulated by strings, which had a Wolf’s head carved on each end, and increased in length as its owner sang.) Everyone laughed at the clowns’ “privilege.”

There was commonly a good earthy touch to the least obscene of the clown performances; they varied from well-barbed satire to lusty Rabelasian mummeries. But whatever the merit of the latter sort, one must give considerable credit to the people for the former. It is not every culture in which men can joyously burlesque before an appreciative audience institutions culturally held dear.

COMMONERS

Low-rank people and commoners were, as has been shown, dependent on their chiefs for necessities of life, and in return gave their services as fishermen, hunters, and craftsmen to their lords. "Pay," usually in kind, was given for labor. Thus the men who carried a chief's catch on salmon-spearing expeditions, the women who picked berries or cut fish for him, were given some of the produce for their services. If a commoner went fishing by himself he would give a part of his catch to the chief, especially if he got a large amount. Such gifts are spoken of as "help to the chief." People lower in rank always "helped" a superior; younger brothers gave to their elder siblings whatever they obtained in food or wealth. Even privileges would be given thus. If a commoner "found" a supernatural being that gave a display right he gave it to his chief. The reason is clear, for a display privilege with its songs and dances was of no good unless it could be shown, and a commoner ordinarily could not give a potlatch to show it himself. It was on the same basis that the commoner gave goods and property.

SLAVES

A slave (kōł) was socially at the foot of the scale. Slaves were obtained in war, then might be sold from one tribe to another, up and down the coast. If a captive's kin were able, they would attempt to ransom him as soon as possible, for slavery was regarded as a disgrace. Often relatives in another tribe would thus buy their kinsman out of bondage. A potlatch was always given for a person thus ransomed (or who escaped) to "announce to the people he had returned [and was free again]," in which he received a new name. Otherwise he would still be disgraced.

The treatment accorded slaves varied according to the temper of their masters. A slave was a chattel in a very real sense; he could be bought and sold, maltreated or slain at his owner's whim. Actually, the lot of most of them was little different than that of commoners. Both classes labored for their overlords, and both were allowed to attend or even participate in festivities.[75]

It seems to have been a rather common thing for a young slave to be assigned as an attendant to a chief's child of same sex and approximate age. Such slaves became boon companions of their masters or mistresses, who might prefer their company even in later years to that of other people. A slave established in such a relationship would be as well treated in daily life as the young owner with whom he ate, played, and slept. But such a slave would be the one most likely to be slain should the young chief die.

In some cases an owner might even buy his slave a woman (also a slave) as a wife. This was not a common occurrence, of course. A male and female slave, especially if they belonged to the same master, would often live together as though married. No one would interfere.

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[75] It is worth noting that Jewitt and Thompson were initiated into the Shamans' dance, though unwittingly (Jewitt, 1815, pp. 119-122, 163).

All this does not mean that a slave's life was a pleasant one. Even worse than the occasional mistreatment and possibility of violent death (when a young chief died) must have been the galling consciousness of his low and shameful status. For a well-born person it must have been bitter medicine indeed to serve persons of no higher, or even lower, rank than himself. The fact that so many runaway attempts were made despite possible death or abuse if recaptured, indicates the unpleasantness of the situation.

HEREDITARY TRADES

Another aspect of the social structure must be touched on, but it needs only brief treatment. That is the matter of specialization of labor. Most men, those of any account at least, were specialists of some sort. Even chiefs in addition to their other affairs had their "trades" of whaling or sea otter hunting. Other crafts were: Shamanism, canoe making, carving, sealing (hunting hair seal, sea lions, and porpoise), and trapping (especially bear, deer, and elk). These trades tended to be hereditary (except for shamanism) for the simple reason that a tyro had to be taught not only the practical details of how to fell a tree or construct a deadfall or whatever manual skill the vocation entailed, but also the rituals to be observed to do these things successfully. As a rule a father would instruct his son in these matters. Craftsmen did not form guilds or function together in any way. Each was jealous of his own trade secrets, that is to say his ritual, seeking to guard it from those outside his immediate family.

SUMMARY: THE CHIEFS AND THEIR PEOPLE

There was a nice balance maintained between the chiefs of highest rank, and their lower-rank kinsmen and helpers. It was commonly recognized that the individual chief's ability to "keep up his name," that is, to live up to the reputation of his forebears in potlatching and feast-giving depended on the people (middle class and commoners) living in his house. "That is the way with a chief," explained an informant. "If his 'tenants' are good, helping him lots [working for him, giving him wealth], then he will get a good name, he can do much [i. e., potlatching]. If they are no good or don't care for him, he can do nothing." In return for their contributions, the chief took their children in his Shamans' Dances to name them (giving them their own hereditary names, or some of his own), he assisted them in marriages and other matters, often "lending" his own privileges for them to use.

KINSHIP

It would scarcely be possible to overemphasize the importance of kinship in the social structure. This is true despite the fact that there were no special customs of respect or priviledged familiarity toward specific relatives such as obtained among the Tlingit and Haida, for example. Kinship in the broad sense had even more important functions than that of determining whether one might speak, or could joke, with a certain individual. In establishing social relationships, as in marriage and residence, one based one's claim of the right to marry into, or live with, a group, on his previous kinship with them. The same held true for feasts and potlatches. When a chief feted another tribe, it was not because he wanted to make a show of his privileges to just anyone, but because he wanted to show them to his kinsmen.

It was a fundamental tenet of all Nootkan social behavior that one had dealings only with one's kin. The actual practice was for the remotest relationships to be reckoned valid enough to entitle one to marry into, live with, or give potlatches to almost any group he chose. For an outsider the concept of relationship was extended not only to all the local group of a family to which he claimed kinship, but to the whole tribe or even confederacy. Thus, for example, a Nootka or Clayoquot chief would invite "his relatives the Kyuquot" though he actually might be related—and that most distantly—to only 1 of the 14 local groups. By this fiction practically everyone on the coast was related to everyone else. The fallacy of such a generalization, however, is not important. The real point is that the blood bond figured so large to native eyes. Naturally, close, "not so close," and very remote kinships were distinguished, and the ties biologically nearer were the strongest.

Being "related to a house" (i. e., to the chief of the house) was called by a special term, hinasyūkcił. One derived from this all rights and duties of membership in the group. The chief might call on one to assist and dance in ceremonies, and in return give names to one's children and initiate them in his Shamans' Dances. In modern times, with the decrease of population, the hinasyūkcił relationships are still more stressed, and such people may even inherit rank when the chiefly line dies out. This is not an inharmonious change, but simply a consistent development on the old lines.

Close kin, as brothers, formed united groups. The eldest held the major hereditary rights that there were in the family, and the others gave him their support. Even though, as in many families, brothers lived apart, each with a different chief, they turned to each other first of all for aid in times of stress.

To in-laws one had certain obligations of more formal nature. The exchanges of presents initiated in the marriage rites were continued. The postmarital ones were food gifts, called ya'acuk, "gift to in-laws"; the name was the same for those given by the husband and by the wife's people. The recipient had to call his house or tribe in to a feast, at which he announced from whom the food had come. Another sort of gift was called ōucsūwɔnum (ōucsuwił, "to carry something in one's arms"). It was given by a woman's father when she returned to her husband after visiting her parents. She was not supposed to come back from her parents empty-handed. "This is why young wives aren't supposed to go visiting their parents every few days, because they have to bring something back each time. They should wait until their parents ask them to visit." Of course, this applied more strictly to intertribal marriages; if a woman's parents were living in the same village she could visit now and then without making any fuss about it.

A number of cases contain explicit statements as to the function of kinship in social situations of various sorts. Five of these are given in the following paragraphs:

(1) A Kyuquot chief was dying. He told some of his men to go to Ehetisat to ask the ʟitcyaȧth chief to some see him. They were related (rather remotely), calling each other "sibling." Then he told his people he wanted them to get the daughter of his "kinsman" the ʟitcyaȧth chief as a wife for his eldest son, soon. When the Ehetisat chief arrived, the Kyuquot spoke to him immediately about the marriage. He was afraid he might die without arranging it. The Ehetisat did not answer. A few days later the Kyuquot chief repeated his request. His friend replied, "The first time you spoke I did not answer you. You know our custom is not to answer the first time. But now I can answer. I won't let my daughter go to anyone else. When your people come for her for your son, I must say 'yes' *for we are kin*." The sick man was content. After his death the Kyuquots got the girl for their young chief.

(2) There was a Clayoquot chief whose mother was from Ehetisat. His son came to Ehetisat to look for a wife. The Ehetisats, *as his kinfolk*, helped him purchase with elaborate ceremonies a high-rank Nuchatlet girl. The next year his father came with a big canoeload of rice, molasses and apples to give a feast (to thank them for their aid to his son). He announced, "My relatives the Ehetisat, I come to visit you; I am your chief. I come to bring you a feast."

(3) The wife of the icsaȧth chief at Ehetisat was pregnant, so they gave a potlatch to the Ehetisat. Then the chief said, "Let us go to

yukwɔt to give a feast to my relatives the Moachat. There is a store there so we don't have to prepare a lot of food; we can take money and buy what we want to give away." (His mother was a Moachat woman.) So they took one couple with them. They bought 40 boxes of pilot bread and 40 boxes of apples at the store. Then he called the people. He announced "he had not brought a lot of Ehetisat with him because he had so many relatives at Nootka." When they began to eat, he announced, "You are using my feast dishes, whose names are pisatsȧpcił and nełkwɔ'ka'pał." These dishes belonged in his mother's family; he had the right to use them when he gave a feast as a Moachat (but could not use the names at Ehetisat).

(4) A young chief at Nuchatlet was married, but didn't "get along well" with his wife. She was always nagging and complaining. His parents tolerated her because she had borne him a child. Finally he told his mother he intended to get another wife, and send his first wife home. "I am getting another wife. My uncle your brother is 'buying' her for me, not my father." The reason for this was that the prospective bride was related to the young chief on the maternal side, so his maternal uncle made the arrangements and helped in the marriage ceremonies.

(5) A portion of a marriage account expresses admirably the native attitude toward kinship. When winuwɔ was "grown" (he thinks he must have been about 15) his parents told him it was time for him to marry. They told him who the girl was they had selected. He had not seen her since early childhood, but said, "All right, if you think it is right for me." Then his father gave a feast to the a'aminqȧs people, to tell them his plans. He said, "You will know the parents of this girl I want for my son. You know how we are related . . . [the girl's mother and he were second cousins]. You know our custom is to go to our relatives for whose daughters *we have a right* to ask in marriage. We wouldn't want to go to strangers, who might ill treat or mock us . . ."

KINSHIP USAGES AND TERMINOLOGY

There were neither customs of avoidance nor privileged familiarity with specific relatives. There was a sort of joking relationship, but it was not limited to a particular kinsman. Among the Northern Nootkans, when a child was quite small, the parents selected from among their friends and relatives some elderly person of sex opposite to that of the child, saying that was the baby's spouse (ōtshai), or more properly, pseudospouse (ōtshai tī'ił). The "spouse" had no particular rights or duties, except to make jokes about the relationship. "It didn't mean anything; it was just something to have fun over."

An informant's husband (WO) is the pseudospouse of one of AM's little girls at Nootka. When AM goes anywhere with his family, the "spouse" usually brings some candy or popcorn for "lunch for his wife." One day while we were discussing social customs AM's. wife came over with dried fish she was distributing among her friends She gave some to the informant, saying, "Your 'co-wife' sent you this." The Central Nootkans did not have this custom. They said, for a jest, that a raven or a crow was the child's pseudospouse.

The terminology of kinship is as follows:

Blood relatives (hicinik or tsawatukctil, "from one ancestor")

Father	nū'wiqs (voc.: nū' wa).
Mother	ūmīqs (voc.: ūma).
Child	ta'na (or anax).
Older sibling	ma'mīqs (also means: parent's older sibling's child, and great-great-grandparent).
Younger sibling	yū'qwiqs (or: kałatik) (also means: parent's younger sibling's child, and great-great-grandchild).
Parent's sibling	na'iqs (voc.: na'a).
Sibling's son	wī'ō (often the terms for own child were used in speaking to a sibling's child).
Sibling's daughter	asiqs.
Grandparent	nanīqs (or: nanīqsū; same term for ancestor in general).
Grandchild	kwɔ'ots.
Great-grandparent	aunīqs (or: ō'nīqs).
Great-grandchild	ʟaiyitsqim.

To specify, e. g., a particular child, one had to use qualifying words or phrases. To designate one's child according to sex, one can say: ha'wiłałtkuks (lit.: my chief child male), and ha'qwałitkuks (lit., chief child female). To designate children by age, one can qualify the word for "child" (or "boy" or "girl") by: taiyī, yȧksya, or ma'mīqs, "elder"; anux, kałatik, or yū'qwīqs, "younger." There are other qualifiers for particular children, e. g., ō'atsik, "middle" (second eldest of three); ō'ats kūmaʟ, third eldest (of four or more), etc.

In the sibling class there are special words for "woman's brother" (hatcimsȧks), and "man's sister" (łūtcmōp), but these are not used in ordinary conversation. Half brothers or sisters use the regular sibling terms; to express the relationship accurately one can add: ʟa'ōk ūmīqs (different mothers), or ʟa'ōk nū'wīqs (different fathers). A number of "brothers" (brothers and cousins) may be referred to collectively as ai’kwinik; a number of sisters as ma’ahanik; and brothers and sisters as lūtcmōpchanik.

The term for parent’s sibling includes also parent’s cousin, and the same extension is applied to the nephew-niece terms. To particularize as to which parent’s sibling one means, one had to flounder through the same sort of roundabout expression as in English, adding a word indicating sex. Usually one says, if pressed, tcakup na’īqs (man parent’s sibling, i. e., parent’s male sibling) and łūtsmats na’īqs (parent’s female sibling), not specifying which parent. After all, one doesn’t ordinarily discuss relationships with people who don’t know on which side, paternal or maternal, a given person is—except ethnographers. In the same way, one can qualify the term for grandparent (or grandchild) with the word for “man” or “woman” to indicate whether one is speaking about a grandfather or grandmother.

Affinal kindred (*ochyimis or ma’malti*)

Spouse	otshai.
Co-wife	yaiyakpił (the term “ma’oł,” because of connotations of inferiority, is not much used ordinarily).
Parent-in-law	kwīyaks.
Child-in-law	kwīyaks.
Man’s sister’s husband	yūmmiqs.
Man’s wife’s brother	yūmmiqs.
Man’s wife’s sister	īyīks.
Woman’s sister’s husband	īyīks.
Woman’s brother’s wife	īyīks.
Woman’s husband’s sister	īyīks.
Man’s brother’s wife	tcī’nipsåqs.
Woman’s husband’s brother	tcī’nipsåqs.
Parent’s sibling’s spouse	ū:wīqs.
Spouse’s sibling’s child	ū:wīqs.
Step-parent, step-child	ū:wīqs.
Step-siblings	ū’ūwitspat (“call each other’s parent ū:wīqs”; ordinarily would use sibling terms).
Child’s parent-in-law	małti.
Grandchild’s spouse	kwatshatsyåks.

RESIDENCE

Residence was nominally supposed to be patrilocal. That is, a man was considered to “belong” to his father’s house group, and to live with them. Actually there was no fixed rule. Chiefs tended to stay most of the time with the group in which they owned property (a corner of the house, seats, fishing places, etc.), whether this came from the paternal or maternal line. But even they moved about, and might spend a fishing season, a year, or even 2 years, with another group to whom they were related.

Lower-rank people can be divided into two classes on the basis of residence. The first class lived in the corner places with some chief (to whom they were often, though not always, fairly closely related). Such people were referred to as "under the arm to" (mamutswinił im) such-and-such a chief. The second class stayed in the part of the house between the corners. They were called "tenants" (maiyustsa; a chief could correctly refer to *all* the people staying in his house as his "maiyustsa," but usually the term referred to those who lived along the side walls of the house). The mamutswinił im tended to be more definitely associated with their chiefs than were the ordinary "tenants." Their original association, of course, with a particular chief was based on choice, as well as kinship, rather than on any arbitrary rule. Often they were given minor privileges in an effort to bind them more surely to their chiefs. The "tenants" proper were for the most part perpetual transients. A man might spend a year or two in his mother's house, the next in his wife's father's, then live with his father's mother's group, and later go to live awhile with his son-in-law. One receives the impression that there was a continual stream of people, mostly of low rank, pouring in and out of the houses. As one informant put it, when trying to name the people living in his father's house during his own boyhood, "The people who lived in the houses used to move in and out all the time. After a man had stayed with one chief awhile, fishing and working for him, he would decide he had helped that chief enough, and would move to the house of another chief to whom he was related. If a man stayed too long in one house, his other relatives became jealous. They would think he didn't care for them any more."

With whatever group a man happened to be living, he identified himself completely. For the time being, he centered all his interests and loyalties in that group, and participated in all its activities. He tended the chief's fish traps, contributed food and property for feasts and potlatches, danced and enjoyed himself at the festivities. Only rarely were conflicts aroused by this temporary sublimation of other bonds, for he was really a member of the group through kinship. If he had not been related one way or another he would not have lived there at all. Were his housemates uncongenial he would not stay.

From a chief's point of view, this migratory residence-habit was far from advantageous. All his cherished rights would be of little use to him if he could not muster enough manpower to exploit them. The fish traps from which he derived not only food for feasts but his very sustenance required many hands to erect and tend. Little good the sole ownership of a stranded whale would do him were it not for many strong arms to cut the blubber and strong backs to carry it. Most of his ceremonial prerogatives required many singers and dancers to be properly used. So he was in every way dependent on his tenants. Every chief recognized this; it was taught him from childhood. His problem was, therefore, to attract lower-rank people to his house, and to bind them to him as much as possible. This he did by good treatment, generosity (giving many feasts and potlatches), naming their children, etc. A family noted as good workers, lucky and skillful hunters, or clever craftsmen would be courted to the extent of giving them economic and ceremonial rights, to entice them to associate themselves more permanently to his house. Even lazy no-accounts were not discouraged from residence; their close kindred might feel hurt and move out too. Should a whole family definitely sever their connections with one group, others would welcome them, no matter what their reputation had been.

At Kyuquot, a tacīsàth man married a woman related to one of the chiefs in the a'ʟicàth house. He was of low rank, but his family previously "had been given a war-chief name" by the tacīs chief. His wife was of higher rank than he, for she owned some important privileges. They had three sons. The eldest was given the mother's rights in a'ʟic and stayed in that house, living in the corner with the family to which his mother was related (he was in the "mamutswiniłim" relationship to the a'ʟic chief, and had been given a war-chief name by him). The second brother lived in their father's place in tacīs, mamutswiniłim to the chiefly family on the left-hand side of the door, and bore the war-chief name of their father. The youngest lived with the chief on the right-hand side of the door in tacīs. The eldest became a noted shaman, the others were good canoe makers and hunters. All three made names for themselves as being "good helpers for their chiefs," giving much wealth to be used in potlatches. The youngest actually did not give to the chiefs directly, but gave what he had to his elder brothers to give for him. The tacīsàth chief gave several important rights to the second brother: a place to put a river trap in a side stream of tacīs River, and the right to go to spear coho for himself in the main river (this was a highly desirable right, held by but few persons). The chief gave these rights during potlatches, announcing as he did so that he gave the rights as repayments for aid. These three brothers did not move around as much as many people, but stayed most of the time with the a'ʟicàth and tacīsàth, respectively. They used to visit now and then at qa'ōpinc, where they had kin, and stayed sometimes at their respective wives' places, but not for long at a time.

In one instance (to be described more fully in another connection) there was a "mean" chief at Ehetisat. People stood it for a long time, but finally all those in his house moved out. They did not want to stay with him any more. Sometimes he could not even get anyone to paddle for him when he wanted to go somewhere.

Because of the shifting residence, it is difficult to collect accurate house censuses. The principal house chiefs were obviously well known and definitely associated with the houses, of course, but even they often spent considerable periods with kin. Some of these stays were rather longer than what we are likely to consider casual visits—an Ehetisat chief (head of the house wɔhinuxtakȧmlȧth, and second in rank in the confederacy), once lived for 5 years with relatives at Kyuquot, and on another occasion spent 2 years there. For that reason the following lists of the "permanent" residents of two important houses, the Ehetisat house icsaȧth, and the tacīsȧth (nanīqs) house at Kyuquot, should not be taken too literally: the people listed are those regarded as "belonging" or being most frequently in residence, but they did not invariably stay home. An important point is that most of these people were related, or considered themselves to be so even where the precise kinship could not be traced by informants. They commonly addressed each other by kin terms, and regarded themselves as part of a single lineage. (The other parts of their lineage were, of course, the related houses: the other tacīsȧth houses and the other icsaȧth house, respectively.)

Figure 27 shows the occupants of the icsaȧth house at Ehetisat and their relationship to each other; the following comments give

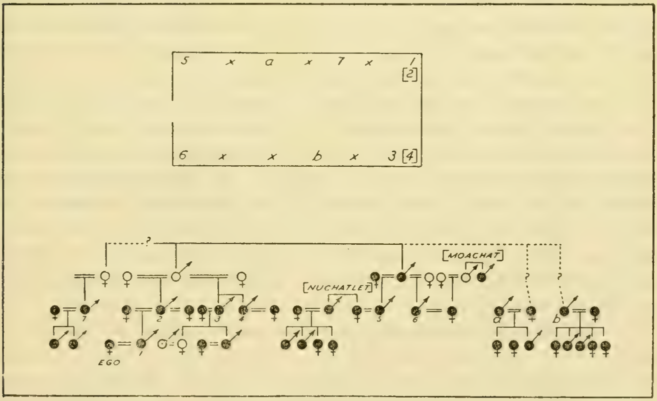

Figure 27.—Residence in the icsaȧth house at Ehetisat in the late 1880's. Numbers in house plan correspond to those in genealogy; they do not indicate relative rank (which was as follows: 1, 3, 5, 6). Black circles in genealogy indicate persons actually residing in the house.

additional data about them. The time to which this residence plan refers is that of the few years following the informant's marriage to the chief of the house, in the late 1880's. Two points should be mentioned in connection with this house: first, that the house chiefs were even more closely related than was commonly the case, and, second, that at this time some close kin of theirs who had formerly lived in the house had begun to build themselves individual family houses, "white-man style," and had moved out. The numbers below refer to the two charts.

(1) tsaxhwɔsip, the house chief, lived in the right-hand rear corner of the house with his wife (the informant), his father (No. 2 in the chart), who was the former chief, and the latter's two wives.

(3) wītaphi, half brother of No. 2, lived in the rear left-hand corner with his wife, his son, and the latter's Kyuquot wife (he died after a time and she returned to Kyuquot), and his younger full brother ʟɔhhai'is (No. 4) and his wife, another Kyuquot woman. wītaphi was considered a chief and so addressed.

(5) yaqɛna, father's younger brother's son of No. 2, lived in the front right-hand corner with his wife, a Nuchatlet woman. His mother lived with them. His wife's brother, a low-rank chief at Nuchatlet, lived here too with his wife, who was from another Ehetisat house. They had four children, of whom only one grew to adulthood. yaqɛna was addressed as a chief.

(6) ʟakicsimō'is, younger half brother of yaqɛna, lived in the front left-hand corner with his wife, a Moachat woman, and her father's brother, an aged blind man. ʟakiscsimō'is later built and moved into an individual family house. He was considered a chief.

(7) qanaqȧm lived on the right-hand side of the house with his wife, an ȧtcinȧth woman, and their two sons. He was of the middle class, but considered "good people." He was related somehow through his mother to the house chief; the relationship may have been more distant than indicated in the genealogy. He always stayed in this house, and had been given various rights, including a tidewater trap, and the right to accompany the chief for the first coho harpooning, and the like. He acted as the chief's speaker, and his elder son continued in this office, having learned the intricacies of relationships and rights from him.

(*a*) matatsawił was a commoner who spent most of his time in this house. The informant was not sure, but thought it may have been his wife who was related to the chiefly lineage. They had several children who were taken in Shamans' Dances by the house chief (tsaxhwɔsip, or his father, I do not know which). matatsawił was said to have been lazy and a ne'er-do-well.

(*b*) eqaph was a commoner, but industrious and liked by the chiefs. The house chief gave him several minor fishing rights, etc., so he spent most of his time in this house. He lived here with his wife and five children. His precise relationship to the house chief was not known, although it was presumed that either he or his wife were related to the lineage.

(*x*) Places at which various people stayed for a year or so, then moved somewhere else. Some of these were low-rank chiefs, some were commoners. There were formerly more people who tended to live for a long period in the house, but many of them had built individual houses.

The composition of the tacīsȧth house (nanīqs) at Kyuquot at the end of the last century is shown in figure 28 and explained in the following notes. The families indicated by numbers are those that "belonged" in the house, either owning places there or living there frequently. In addition, there were numerous temporary and casual visitors, mostly of low rank, who stayed in the house for short periods at various times.

(1) naswinis, the house chief, with his Nuchatlet wife and their three children. His father had had many wives, but had children by only one of them, a woman of low rank. His (the father of naswinis) mother had been a Kwakiutl woman.

(2) ʟaniniʟ, a chief, was the younger brother of No. 1. The place should have been inherited by their father's younger brother, but he had no heirs when he was killed by the Clayoquot.

(3) yūmōtqw ranked as the third chief of the house. He was distantly related, paternally, to the chief, who addressed him as "uncle." yūmōtqw was also a war chief, holding for this office the hereditary name of tcɛsiqpim, and served as speaker for the house chief. His wife, son, and son's wife lived in this place.

(4) nahwinic was fourth in rank in the house. He likewise was related to No. 1, being a cousin of some sort of the latter's predecessor (the informant could not recall the precise relationship). He had died at the time to which these data refer. His only child, a daughter, was married to a tīłȧth chief; they had four children, all of whom died in infancy. The daughter and her husband "put away" their rights in both houses, and went to live in a hut on the beach, in mourning. Finally naswinis gave a Shamans' Dance in their honor, "to bring them back," as it is said, and the couple came to live in the tacīs house.

(5) wɔwɔ'ɛh was of low rank, and traced kinship to No. 4, and thus eventually to the house chief. (As well as could be recalled, he was a distant paternal cousin of No. 4.) He also served as a speaker for the chief. His younger brother stayed most of the time in the qa'ō'qȧth house, but sometimes stayed a few months with him. His

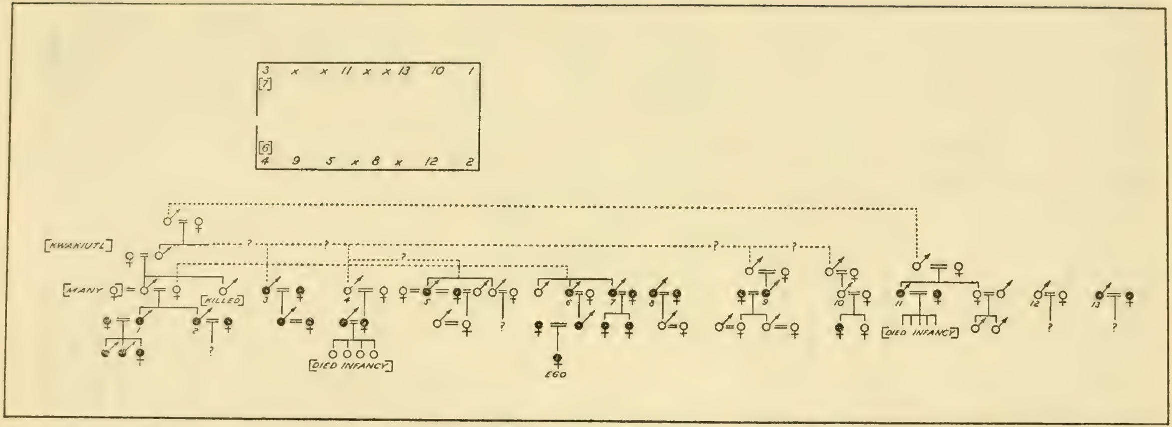
3 x x 11 x x 13 10 1
[7]
[6]
4 9 5 x 8 x 12 2
[KWAKIUTL]
[MANY ♀]
[KILLED]
[DIED INFANCY]
EGO
[DIED INFANCY]

FIGURE 28.—Residence in the tacīsàth house at Kyuquot (1890–1900), and relationships of residents. Numbers refer to same individuals in house chart, and in genealogy, and do not indicate relative rank throughout. Black circles in genealogy indicate persons actually residing in the house at the period specified.

second wife, with whom he was living at this time, was a tīłàth woman whose daughter was married to an amiaàth man.

(6) This place was occupied by the family of commoners (the second of the three brothers mentioned in a previous paragraph). The head of the family was related distantly to No. 4 (to whom he was mamutswiniłim), and also, distantly, to the house chief (No. 1) through kinship with the chief's mother. He was a war chief, (his father also had been a war chief), and held various fishing rights given him for his services to the chief. He gave wealth to Chief naswinis and also to nayisim to aid them in their potlatches. He lived here with his wife and two sons; a daughter was married to an a'ʟic man and her children inherited important rights from that house (in the lack of direct lineal heirs).

(7) wɔckwitya, the younger brother of No. 6 lived in this place with yūmōtqw's family (mamutswiniłim to yūmōtqw). He was married to an a'ʟicàth woman, and they had two daughters. (These two brothers had an elder brother, a shaman and war chief, who lived most of the time in the a'ʟicàth house as mentioned elsewhere).

(8) wi'paxca'at was a man of low rank, a commoner, who lived with his wife and son in this house. He was also a war chief (there were said to have been more war chiefs in this house than in any other at Kyuquot). His son had an affair with a woman of high rank of the natcasàth, and it was arranged for him to go there to live (the affair was patched up by this matrilocal residence). When he moved to his wife's house, his parents moved there also, and subsequently spent most of the time there. They were always regarded, however, as belonging to the tacīs house.

(9) ʟanɛhanł was of intermediate rank. His kinship to the chief's family could not be traced, but his father before him had lived in this same house. He was more closely, though deviously, related to the chief's mother, and called naswinis "nephew" on that account. He was a shaman and a trapper; he accumulated considerable wealth at times, which he gave to the chief. His wife was an a'ʟic woman, and their children, a boy and a girl, both eventually married into the house a'ʟic. He had some minor privileges, among them a salmon trap in tacīs River, that had been given to his father by the former chief of the house. He lived at times in the ʟatcwɔ'stakàmł house, instead of here.

(10) nakwi'tinł, a commoner, had lived here, but had died by the time of these data. He had held a war chief's name given by the chief's predecessor. His two daughters married white men; the elder eventually came back to live in the house. Both women brought their children to the house so they could be taken in the chief's Shamans' Dance and given names by him.

(11) ōwitchamis was addressed as a chief, although he was of rather low rank. He also was a war chief. He claimed kinship with the chief's family, although the relationship was remote. His paternal ancestors, so far back as they could be traced, had always lived in this house. One of them, his great-grandfather, had been renowned as a war chief and as a great eater; people used to tease ōwitchamis telling him he should try to beat the exploits of his ancestor. ōwitchamis was a noted sea otter hunter. Sometimes he gave small potlatches (supplementary ones during major affairs) in the name of his sister's sons; sometimes he gave the proceeds of his hunting to the chief. He held various minor economic and ritual rights, given to him or to various of his paternal ancestors by the chiefs of this house. He and his wife had five children, but all died. His sister was married to a cawis chief of intermediate rank (but higher than hers), and her two sons visited their uncle but seldom stayed with him. Sometimes he lived in the cawis house for short periods, or in the ciʟsya'phȧth house to which he was related on the maternal side.

(12) qwawin was considered an a'ʟic man, but sometimes visited in this house, spending a winter there. He was a noted carver, among other things, and was, therefore, popular with all the chiefs. He had inherited various rights, mostly in the a'ʟic house, and was regarded as a chief of the middle class.

(13) ūstatkw was a commoner who often lived in the tacīs house. He had no rights, and was commonly regarded as rather shiftless. But he helped the chiefs with their traps, and so on, and was well liked.

(*x*) Places occupied by less permanent occupants.

MARRIAGE

As was so often the case among primitive people, marriage, in the Nootkan view, was a formal alliance between two family groups rather than between two individuals. That is to say, a union was recognized as legitimate only when formally approved by the recognized family heads through a series of gift exchanges. There were several types of marriage ceremonial which differed only in the amounts of gifts exchanged and the elaborateness of the accompanying ceremonies. All were equally legal. The only difference was that the more elaborate ceremonies reflected the higher rank of the pair and augmented the esteem in which their progeny would be held. Unsanctioned sexual relationships were considered degrading, not only to the persons involved but to their respective families. This was especially so in the case of prolonged affairs from which offspring resulted. Premarital chastity was demanded of girls, and seems to have been ensured by very close chaperonage of girls from the time they neared puberty until their marriage. Most of the early historic sources speak highly of the virtue of *all* Nootkan women, but this may have been because the white mariners were not sufficiently circumspect in their approach; it seems to have been true that adults of both sexes frequently engaged in casual affairs. This does not contradict the remark that unsanctioned relationships were disapproved of if one qualifies it by "if discovered"; the real offense lay in being caught. The fuss made by a wronged spouse at such times makes clear that such relationships were considered illicit, however; the complaisance common in Southern Kwakiutl situations was not a Nootkan custom.

In theory marriages were always arranged by the elders, without the knowledge of the young couple. Actually this was only partially true. A boy's or girl's first nuptials would be arranged for him or her, but a boy might be consulted. The young people were usually too young to have any definite ideas on the subject; girls married soon after they had completed their puberty observances, and boys at an equivalent age. (There was no formal infant betrothal, though parents might have an understanding on the matter.) In later marriages, however, the wishes of the individuals immediately concerned were taken into account.

There were several ways in which one married. The most honorable procedure, called łūtcha, involved a great deal of ceremony and gift exchange. It was nearly always used for the first marriage.

The first step consisted of a proposal (tsī'as) made by the groom's parents, or a party representing them, to the parents of the girl they had selected. Two or four men, one a good speaker, comprised a proposal party. Unobtrusively entering the house by night, they went to her parents' place, and began to talk in low tones. The speech dealt with the rank of the young man. His ancestry was traced and the kinship of the two families through previous unions was stressed. Close kin (cousins of the first and second degree) rarely married, but mates were deliberately sought among more remote relatives. "That's why they [the groom's family] have the right to come to ask for the girl—because they are related." During the long recital the girl's father sat silent. When the party left they gave him a present of from one to five blankets. If he kept these, he thereby accepted the proposal; to send them back signified refusal. As a matter of fact, a chief would nearly always refuse the first time, or even several times, as a matter of form. The proposal party would continue coming until he accepted their suit or that of another group.

Sometimes several men would be trying to marry the same girl. This complicated matters for her parents. They would call in all their relatives to discuss the suitor families, trying to decide which to accept.

Various factors were considered. First and foremost was the rank of the suitor. The girl's family wanted her to marry as well as possible. Sometimes, however, a chief, if he had an only daughter, would prefer a slightly lower rank son-in-law who could be induced to come to live in his wife's house. If the suitor had been married before, that had some bearing. Her family would not want their girl to be married to a man who was notorious for tiring of his wives and casting them aside. If he were married at the time they would often refuse his suit, for many people objected to letting their daughters be put into the position of a secondary wife. Personal likes and dislikes, previous relations between the two families, also carried weight.

In one case related to me, there were six suitors for the daughter of an Ehetisat chief. The situation was made more difficult by the fact that the girl had been married once (to young chief at Kyuquot) and had demonstrated she had a mind of her own by refusing to sleep with her husband and finally leaving him. Her parents were anxious this should not happen again; "they had lost too much money over her already." The girl's mother favored the young chief of the icsaàth (Ehetisat) to whom she was related (his father was her mother's brother's son). The father did not like the family because he himself had once been married to an icsaàth woman who had left him. One evening one of his brothers came in saying, "I have heard that the icsaàth are coming, the Nuchatlet are coming, and one of the Moachat chiefs is coming, all for your daughter. You had better decide quickly to whom you are going to give her." The problem was too much for the chief. In despair he said, "Whoever gets here first gets her." The icsaàth came over right away. (I suspect a little collusion here between the icsaàth and this brother which my informant did not mention.) The chief kept their blankets, though he didn't like to. After the marriage they continually brought him presents of salmon, hair seal, etc. with which he had to give feasts. It irked him to have to announce that "this food comes from my son-in-law, the icsaàth chief." But he finally reconciled himself to the situation.

A few chiefs never used the tsī'as. *Not* to send a proposal party was a hereditary right of the ʟitcyaàth chiefs at Ehetisat. They always came directly in marriage. (One may suppose they often had an informal understanding with the prospective in-laws.) Others had the right to use an "ih tsī'as" (big proposal party), following the usual type. For this a large group came by day, singing special songs, to formally ask for the bride.

Once the preliminary arrangements were made, the groom's father called his people to a feast to announce the intended marriage. He would outline plans for the marriage ceremony and ask people to accompany him. The number of persons composing the marriage party depended on the importance of the young couple. Sometimes a chief asked for contributions to the bride-price; more often people volunteered them. There was another way of recruiting the party, which would likely be used in important intertribal unions. Having feasted and consulted with his house chiefs and relatives, the chief would send two men to go to all the houses. They would carry staffs and bundles of sticks for the persons to be asked. Standing at the door, one proclaimed: "so-and-so is being called to go with a marriage party." The other said, "Chief so-and-so is asking you [i. e., because he is marrying]. Please come with him." At the same time the bride's family met with their tribe to lay plans for their part of the proceedings.

At last the time arrived for the ceremonies. The groom's party came in their marriage canoes. Oftentimes they put off in their canoes even for intravillage marriages. As they approached the beach they sang their chief's marriage songs. Then they performed certain ceremonial privileges called tōpatī. The list of these is long and varied. Usually they were dramatizations of display privileges hereditary in the family, which were shown in different form at potlatches.

Four of these privileges are described in a detailed account of a marriage ritual to follow. Other groom's tōpatī are: "reaching up to the sky"; arriving holding tall slender poles, adorned with streamers of cedar bark, which were "danced" up and down in time to a song; arriving with similar poles, moved in a violent fashion to simulate "heat waves over the ocean" (this phenomenon precedes bad weather; to use this tōpatī means "they will get 'mean' if they are not treated well." hīnaɔhsum, "whaling harpoon," was another. The groom danced carrying his whaling harpoon up the beach, and his party followed, carrying the line with four floats. Before the bride's house he sang two songs, then drove the harpoon into the planks barring the doorway. (Of course he used an imitation whaling harpoon; no whaler would treat his cherished gear so roughly.) qaqawun, "Killer Whale," was performed in canoes, much like the Wolves in the described marriage. Some chiefs had Killer Whales which came on the beach and became Wolves.

After each tōpatī performance, the speaker stood on the beach to eulogize the groom's ancestry, and "tell how the families were related." He declaimed at length, often for hours, while the bride's people listened in silence. Then as the speaker named each of the bride's kin and tribesmen as recipient, two young men carried the gifts up to the house laying them on new mats. The whole bride-price was thus apportioned out. As a rule the bride's family would carry all the property back down to the beach refusing it. This all would take the better part of a day. The groom's party camped on the beach or an adjacent one for the night. No matter what the weather, they were not taken into any of the houses. Next day the whole procedure was repeated (except that they used a different marriage privilege). They might be kept waiting for 4 days, singing, their speaker orating, and the bride-price being carried back and forth. Finally the girl's father's speaker came out. He indicated the acceptance of the bride-price by telling the groom's speaker to cease talking.

Now it was time for the bride's side to do their part. They had certain marriage privileges to use, also called tōpatī. A bride's privileges were usually games, or tests of skill, strength, or courage. Individuals were called from the groom's party until one succeeded in the test, when he would be given a prize. The following list is by no means exhaustive, but indicates the nature of these bridal tōpatī:

hinimīx.—A dancer came forth with a slender springy rod tied to his head, from the end of which there was a string with a feather attached. The contestant tried to catch the feather as the dancer spun around. There was usually one for men and another for women.

mamatcaʟ, "Shark."—Five pairs of men held burning torches close together. The first few contestants did not really attempt to run this flaming gauntlet. After the torches had burned down a bit, a man went through.

patsakum.—For this there were two oval wooden balls, one about the size of a football, for men, and a slightly smaller one for women. The balls were thrown one at a time, the first into a crowd of men, the second to a crowd of women. The contestants scrambled for the balls. The winner was he or she who first ran to the chief with a ball.

A pair of poles were tied together at the top, shears-fashion. Men stood holding them upright. From the apex hung a greased rope which men were called on to climb.

inikwīts.—A number of the groom's party were brought into the house and seated around the fireplace. Boards might be put around them. A fire was made of fine dry wood which blazed very hot, then died down. Whale oil was often thrown on the fire to make it burn even hotter. Four such fires were lit. The guests were expected to endure the heat with no sign of discomfiture. After this the "contestants" were fed four times. (This tōpatī represented the Sun, i. e., the bride's father was giving his son-in-law a Sun-Moon display right.)

ʟasa'tsus.—A wide plank was set at a steep pitch, and greased. Contestants tried to run up it.

A big rock was brought out for men to try to lift. The strongest man of the bride's party came carrying it; usually it was so heavy he could not lift it, but had two men lift it to give to him.

There were many such privileges to be used for brides. Many were shared by a number of chiefs on the coast, but each had a specially owned name for his, usually referring to some territorial right he owned. Any number could be used, but two or four were usual. These privileges were used only in marriages, except that a chief might use them in potlatches given for his daughter "so that the people could practice what they would do when they came to marry her."

Often gifts of blankets were given to each of the groom's group "to warm them" for having stayed outside on the beach for so long. Sometimes the bride, painted and arrayed in finery, danced for her new people, and was given to them to take home; sometimes her parents announced they would bring her to her new home later on. There was no established usage; what course her people took depended on her age (whether she had completed the puberty observances, for example), or whether they wanted to give the dowry right away. Whenever it occurred, her arrival at her husband's home was the occasion for further festivity. First her new in-laws gathered to dance for her and regale her with all manner of gifts. In former times, it is said, the people who danced would heap presents before her until she was hidden from view; more recently they gave her money. If her family had brought her, she might be asked to dance before them with her new relatives to formally identify herself with her husband's group. Then her husband, or sometimes her husband's father, would take the floor. He would invest her with all his chiefly rights and privileges, lands, seats, names, songs, and all the rest. This endowing was called tcimpiłȧ'kcił. If she had been brought directly back by the groom's party (if her own people had not escorted her to her new home), she would have two "witnesses" whose duty it was to remember in order to report to her family all the prerogatives her husband gave her. These privileges were not given outright, however, but only on condition she bear children by her husband to inherit them. Now she assumed her status as a married woman.

Her family was expected to give a dowry (wiktshatcȧkcił) at some time or other. They might give it right away or might wait until she, bore her first child. Whenever her father decided he was ready, he called his people together to ask their aid. All the kinsmen who had received portions of the bride-price were expected to contribute. The girl's parents and immediate kin gave the most. In the case of a chief's daughter, various privileges would be given in addition to the material wealth. Names, dances, seats, and territories might be thus transferred to the son-in-law. There was invariably a condition attached to this transfer of rights, however, just as in the bride-endowment: that the couple have children to inherit these prerogatives. Should they be childless, or should they separate, the rights (but not the wealth), reverted to the woman's family without more ado.

This completed the marriage ceremonies proper. Afterward, from time to time, both sides made gifts, chiefly of food. The recipient was expected to give a feast to his group with the present, announcing to them the source of the food.

Difference in rank accounted for the variation in elaborateness of the rites. Naturally, only a chief who had ceremonial and material possessions could bestow them on a bride, or transfer them to a son-in-law. Those lower in rank simply had less to give. When commoners married, very often their chiefs would "lend" marriage privileges and songs to them. This was sure to be done if the persons or families involved were "good to help their chief"—that is, retainers' loyalty was repaid in this way.

When the youngest of the three commoner brothers at Kyuquot (mentioned previously, p. 280) married, his brothers furnished most of the money and blankets. The tacīs chief lent him privileges to use. He married a woman of the a'ʟicàth. The a'ʟicàth gave back a dowry of blankets, and other goods and wɔckwitya gave it to his elder brother to give away for him.

Chief naswinis, of the Kyuquot tacīsàth, decided on the daughter of a commoner in ʟatcwɔstakàmłàth.[76] Though she was yet but a young girl, she is said to have had a wide reputation for virtue, good sense, and beauty, all of which overcame his prejudices against marrying a commoner. Two of his men came to propose for him. They put down a blanket and began to speak. The girl's father just laughed at first; he couldn't believe the tacīs chief really wanted his daughter. "I am nothing, just a commoner." Finally he gave his consent, "If Chief naswinis thinks she can do as a chief's wife should." The two men went out, leaving the blanket. The girl's father called the house chiefs of ʟatcwɔstakàmł to a small feast, announcing to them what had occurred. He conferred with them on what should be done. In a few days a "large proposal party" came (ih tsī'as). The girl's father told them they should "buy the girl from the chief of Latcwɔstakàmł," for he himself had no privileges. So when the marriage party came, the ʟatcwɔstakàmł chief took charge, using two bridal privileges of his own. Then the girl was painted and dressed in a new blanket, and two men brought her down to the beach singing. Her father gave his chief all the blankets he had and a canoe for the use of the privileges.

There were a number of variations of the usual marriage procedure, most of which were based on specially owned rights. For instance, two noble families, one at Chicklisct and the other at Kyuquot, have the right to bring a daughter to buy a husband (tcàphwa). This privilege came from Chickliset long ago. There was a chief there who had all daughters and no sons. He was the only one who owned the right to "buy a husband." Wanting to "be related" to Chief hakʟīsanâpciɫ at Kyuquot, he came to maxqet with his daughter qwɔqwâtyik. She was sitting on a box of blankets on a raft made by tying two canoes together. Her face was painted black, and her hair was tied up on top of her head with a hemlock branch (this is a warrior's style of hairdress). She was singing a spirit song. Her father's speaker by her side announced, "qwɔqwâtyik is seeking to buy a husband." Then they performed their marriage privileges just as a groom's party ordinarily did. She was marrying one of hakʟīsanâpciɫ's sons. When the Chicklisets finished, the tacīsâth brought out a young female slave (she had brown hair and was, therefore, very valuable), two sea otter hides, and many yellow cedar blankets edged with fur to pay for bringing qwɔqwâtyik into their house. She stayed there with her husband and had many children. Her father gave the right to "buy a husband" with her (as part of the dowry) so now his descendants at Chickliset and the tacīs line of chiefs are the only ones who can do this.

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[76] The effects of this marriage have been cited previously; see p. 283 f.).

If the bride's parents were both of very high rank, the groom's tribe might "buy her from both the houses" (i. e., paternal and maternal), performing the full marriage ceremony in each case. There was essentially no difference between this sort of marriage and an ordinary one, except that the number of dances and amount of the payments would be doubled. This, of course, added to the prestige of all groups concerned.

The chain of ceremonies and the complex series of gift exchanges that took place at the marriage of a chief's daughter are well exemplified in the account of the informant M's first marriage, which was typical for a young couple of high rank.

The union had been arranged informally, and privately, by M's father, chief of the Ehetisat ʟitcyaâth, and his close friend and kinsman the tacīsâth chief of the Kyuquot (the relationship was actually remote, but they treated it as close). This was one feature that was not typical: its informality was due to an emergency situation as previously described, for the tacīs chief was on his deathbed when he asked for his friend's daughter in marriage for his elder son, instead of sending a proposal party. M judges she was 11 or 12 years old at the time, and her future groom was 15 or 16. A year or so later, during the herring-spawning season, a canoe of Kyuquot people came by, and M's father asked them to a small feast, to learn the news. One of the Kyuquot remarked that he had heard the tacīsâth had had a meeting, and decided they would come for the bride soon. "They will ask you once and then 'buy' her the next day." Some days later singing was heard early in the morning, and a canoe containing eight men and a woman rounded the point. All the people ran down to the beach to see; M ran down with them. Some women tried to send her back to the house. Her father heard her asking them what it was all about, while they scolded her for unseemly curiosity. He told them to let her alone since she didn't know what the Kyuquot came for. The Kyuquot beached their canoe. Still singing, they marched up to the chief's house. One carried a blanket folded over his arm. He laid it on the floor, and began a speech. One of M's father's men picked up the blanket, giving it back to the Kyuquot speaker, and said, "We don't know what you have come here for," an obvious untruth, which stood for the formal preliminary refusal of the request for a bride. The eight men returned to their canoe, and paddled away. The woman remained behind. She told the Ehetisat chief, "Almost all the Kyuquot, men, women, and children, are waiting out of sight around the point. They will arrive soon." The chief sent word to his people to make ready to receive the Kyuquot. Before long the Kyuquot came in sight with a great fleet of canoes. Everyone, M included, ran down to the beach to see.

The first groom's tōpatī, or marriage privilege, the Kyuquot performed was a hai'ī'ʟik, "Feathered Serpent," represented by their canoes formed in a single column, paddling a zigzag course around the cove in a counterclockwise direction while all sang. They made four circuits of the cove. Then they beached their canoes, and began to unload blankets, while two speakers stood on the beach recounting the traditions and glories of the tacīsȧth chief's lineage. Then the blankets were distributed, each Ehetisat, even those of low rank being called out by name and receiving one or more. At dusk, the Kyuquot shoved off, crossing to the point on the far side of the cove, where they camped for the night.

Next morning the Kyuquot began with a qwaiyatsiq tōpatī, "Wolf marriage privilege." They wore headdresses of hemlock and fir twigs, and some blew Wolf whistles to accompany their songs as they paddled around the cove. They were representing the Two Hundred Wolves of the tacīsȧth chief. When they finished, a different pair of speakers went ashore, while the canoes lay to. They made speeches all the afternoon. All the Ehetisat stayed quietly in their houses, listening. Toward dusk, M's father sent a man down to give a blanket to each of the two speakers. The Kyuquot returned to their camp. One of the Ehetisat chiefs came in to suggest to M's father that they send the Kyuquot dried salmon for a feast. "No," answered the latter, "we'll wait until the last night, and then feast them." The Kyuquot sang most of the night in their camp.

The third day the Kyuquot used a tōpatī called meme'yȧk, "two huge masks," one male and one female. A man stood behind each, shouting stereotyped phrases through the mouth of the mask. A pair of speakers went ashore after the mask performance, and made speeches all afternoon.

Early the fourth day, M's father called his people in to tell them to make ready for his tōpatī. "I shall not use difficult privileges, because the young chief is my relative," (he called the young man "nephew," although, as has been said, the relationship was not actually very close). While they were assembling the necessary gear, the Kyuquot came over from their camp to perform their fourth tōpatī. The old people paddled the canoes. They had two rafts "fixed up like islands," covered with structures of poles and canvas to represent łanȧq and mō'kumł, two islets belonging to the tacīsȧth chief. Children danced on the rafts, wearing maskettes in the form of little beaks, and young men, wearing similar maskettes leapt from the canoes to wade about in shallow water, blowing whistles. They represented certain little shore birds called kwɔkwīp, that were always to be seen at the above islets. Four songs were sung about the islets. (These tōpatī, of course, were part of the bride price, and were being offered to M to be used by her children.) A fourth pair of speakers came ashore. They had hardly begun to speak when M's father sent a man to tell them to stop, thus acceding to their request for the bride. The eight men of the courting party were called up to the house. They were seated about a roaring hot fire. This was the first bridal tōpatī. Then each was given a blanket.

The second bridal tōpatī was to climb a greased rope suspended from a pair of shear legs. This belonged to M's mother, and a chief gave her a canoe for using it. Various Kyuquot young men were called forth to try. The first came up singing, but didn't get far. Several others tried without success, then finally a young man made it to the top. M's mother gave him the canoe as a prize. The third and fourth bridal privileges were scramble balls, patsaksum, with two wooden balls, one for men, one for women. M's face was painted, and down was sprinkled on her hair, and she was made to stand between the two men who threw the balls down the beach. She was not shy or frightened, she related, but rather pleased by her prominent position, for she still did not realize that this all concerned her. A sea otter skin, which one of his henchmen had presented her father, was given as a prize to the winner of the scramble among the men, and a three-man canoe to the winner of the women's contest. Each time, Ehetisat men stood by to see that no one was hurt when the contestants got out into the water as they invariably did on the narrow beach at hōhk. After the scramble, M heard her father tell his speaker to announce to the Kyuquot that his (M's father's) daughter was theirs now, to take back to Kyuquot when they wished (this was a formal announcement, which, like many, was not meant to be taken literally, for M was still prepubescent and he had no intention of sending her to her new home till her puberty rites had been observed). This was M's first clear intimation of what was going on. She became frightened, and wanted to run into the house to hide, but could not.

Now all the Ehetisat contributed blankets to their chief, each giving 1, 2, or 3 pairs, the chiefs giving 5 or 10 pairs. (These were, of course, the bride-price blankets distributed by the Kyuquot the first day of the tōpatī). There were 196 pairs of blankets all together. M's father danced, wearing a Chilkat blanket. Then he made her dance, and distributed the 196 pairs of blankets among the Kyuquot, giving 10 pairs to his son-in-law, 5 pairs to the latter's younger brother, 2 pairs to their mother, and 1 pair each to the Kyuquot men. Kyuquot women were given beads, and the like. This was "to warm them" after their 4 nights of camping on the point. The Kyuquot reassembled the blankets, turning them over to the tacīsāth chief or his speakers, who then had them carried up to be given in a lot to M's father, as the łūtchum, or "bride-price." (He later distributed them to the Ehetisat, at a potlatch after the Kyuquot departed.)

This ended the bride-purchase part of the ceremonies. It was understood that M would remain with her parents until after her puberty ceremonies. Her father invited the Kyuquot to a feast of dried salmon that night, and next day an Ehetisat came in from Victoria with a big canoeload of flour and molasses, which he used to give a molasses and gravy feast. There were so many Kyuquot that he gave the feast on the beach. Then the Kyuquot went home.

Then there began a series of gifts of food for feasts—ya'acuk, "food gifts to one's in-laws"—which were sent back and forth. M's father bought 10 big baskets of herring eggs for 5½ pairs of blankets at Friendly Cove, and sent 2 canoes to the trading post at Ahousat to buy rice, flour, and molasses. This assortment he sent to his son-in-law at Kyuquot in charge of his two brothers. Twelve men went on the party. The Kyuquot chiefs were at a feast when the party arrived. The latter were invited first by the Kyuquot Owner-of-the-beach, who gave them a feast while the local affair was hurriedly finished. The Ehetisat turned over the food gift, and were feasted by one Kyuquot chief after another for 4 days. They were also given a canoeload of "left-overs," food given to be taken home, and somewhere along the line, presumably in the tacīsāth house, each was given a pair of blankets. When they returned to hōhk, M's father gave a feast with the "left-overs" they had brought, announcing to his tribe that they had been sent by his Kyuquot son-in-law and the latter's kin.

Some time later, the tacīsàth sent 6 big boxes of salmonberries, 10 baskets of dried halibut, and 4 baskets of dried salmon to M's father, in one canoe, with a party of 6 men. M's father called in all the Ehetisat to a feast that night, serving them the food he had received from his son-in-law. At the feast, 9 Ehetisat chiefs danced, and each, after his dance, gave each of the Kyuquot envoys a pair of blankets.

It was 2 years after her marriage before M had her first menses. Her father staged an elaborate debut, with a Shamans' Festival and potlatch, but a hurried one—she wore her hair ornaments only a short while. Then he went to Ahousat with a canoeload of food for his kinsmen there, to give them a feast to announce that his daughter was now a woman, and that he was going to Kyuquot to give the dowry. (This was a request for financial aid, though circumspectly phrased.) One of the Ahousat chiefs rose to announce that he was going to give his Ehetisat kinsman a new big canoe. "Ahousat," he continued, "let us aid our kinsman here, even though the Kyuquot did not notify us they were going to marry his daughter to their chief [i. e., the Kyuquot had not formally recognized them as in-laws]. All of you who have property, give our kinsman whatever you wish." Altogether the Ahousat gave him 140 pairs of blankets, 9 sacks of flour, 1 large and 2 medium canoes, and several kegs of molasses. He returned to Ehetisat with this property. There he gave a feast to his tribe, to announce the results of his visit, and his plans for the trip to Kyuquot. The Ehetisat gave him more property: 2 sea otter skins, 2 canoes, and 120 pairs of blankets, and 4 big copper rendering kettles for trying out blubber.

Soon all was ready. M was taken in the canoe with her parents. Ten Ehetisat canoes made a Feathered Serpent in front of the Kyuquot village. All the latter turned out to watch. M was made to sit on a big box in the canoe, dressed and painted her best, with 16 sticks representing privileges she was bringing. The Ehetisat had tied blankets corner to corner, making a line that extended the length of the beach. They danced on the beach, then her father's speaker announced the 16 privileges being given with her. They have been listed elsewhere (p. 290).

When the speakers finished, four Kyuquot chiefs, painted, and with ceremonial down sprinkled on their hair, came to the canoe in which the bride sat, carrying a plank padded with two pairs of blankets. They asked her to sit on the plank to let them carry her to the house. At her mother's urging she got on, and they carried her up the beach, singing. New mats had been placed for her to sit on, while the dowry was brought up into the house. Once it was stowed, the Kyuquot

"Owner-of-the-beach" invited the Ehetisat to feast, and M went with them. She still hadn't seen her husband.

After the feast they returned to the tacīs chief's house. That evening they were invited to another house for a feast of dried halibut, rice, and molasses. During the feast, 10 men, who formed an inviting party, came through the houses, calling all the people to the tacīs house, where they were going to dance in honor of the Ehetisat, and a party of Quatsino who had been invited to a potlatch by one of the chiefs. M was asked to dance with her in-laws, as hostess. They instructed her in the part she was to play. The Ehetisat were brought in and seated across half of the end of the house and down one side, the Quatsino in the other half of the end and along the other side, each tribe in order of rank. First the Kyuquot, M with them, came in dancing a dance called hōlaiyȧtc. Each dancer carried some small object, and after the dance gave it to any one of the guests. Women gave tin cups, plates, and the like; men gave shirts and similar objects. After this the Wolves whistled once. M pretended to faint, letting herself drop to the floor. Four other women did the same. Drumsticks and planks were distributed. The men drummed four times. There were no songs. After the fourth ruffle, M and the other novices blew whistles and stood up, then danced, making four ceremonial circuits of the house. The bride's new name, "which had been bestowed by the Wolves," was announced; she received the name ō'mȧqīyȧxtu'a, and a name for her child, "as though she were already pregnant," of hīnatumyis. This ended the abbreviated version of the short "in-the-house" Shamans' Festival. Then followed potlatch songs, and a dance by young men wearing maskettes, after which gifts were distributed, first to the Ehetistat, then to the Quatsino. M's father received a sealing canoe, as did another Ehetisat chief, and other men were given blankets. Women were given dishes and mats. A chief sang the tacīsȧth chief's potlatch song and announced that after the guests had departed, the tacīsȧth chief was going to potlatch the dowry wealth goods to the Kyuquot.

The Ehetisat escort went home next day, as did the Quatsino. The bride's parents, and three of her father's henchmen stayed on, however. Her father spent four nights teaching the tacīsȧth speakers and singers the songs that went with the privileges of the dowry. When they had learned the songs, M's husband gave a potlatch to the Kyuquot. First, the bride was given presents by her new neighbors: the Kyuquot women danced, and gave her mats, dishes, and beads. There was soon a great pile of these gifts (ō'ōcʟītȧp) on the floor beside her. Next, she was endowed with numerous ceremonial privileges by her husband. "There were sticks set up all around the house," (representing privileges). This was the proceeding called tcimpiłákcił, "endowing the bride." After these, the blankets given in the dowry were distributed. The two sea otter hides had been sold for blankets, which were distributed along with the rest. "There were so many blankets that even commoners got them;" a rare event at Kyuquot where there were so many people.

This, to all intents and purposes, ended the marriage ceremonies. M's parents, and the three men who had stayed to paddle them home, were invited to small feasts by friends for several days. Finally they set out for hōhk, having been assured by all the chiefs that they need not worry, for their daughter would be cared for as well at Kyuquot as though she were in their house.

All the elaborate and costly performances went for naught. M took a dislike to her husband, rejected his advances, and returned to her parents' home a few weeks later. The privileges, both those of the dowry, and those of the "bride-endowment," since they had been given for the children of the couple, automatically reverted to their original owners. The blankets, canoes, and the like were "lost" or "wasted," as M's father pointed out to her in a scolding for her headstrong conduct and unsubmissive attitude.

Another sort of marriage was called makcił, which means simply "to buy," or "to pay for." A few kin and friends of the man would go to the woman's family giving them a small amount of blankets or money. This was usually done without singing or displaying any privileges. No dowry was given. A marriage of this sort was usually made to legalize an elopement, or for marriages of elderly people.

A slightly more elaborate affair was called "night marriage" (àthai łūtcha). The groom with a few of his friends went to the house of the woman's family taking perhaps 10 to 20 pairs of blankets to give members of the woman's family. They sang a few songs but neither side used privileges. Then the woman's people gave the groom's party a few gifts. Older people at Kyuquot very often married this way.

In certain cases a marriage with matrilocal residence (mawi'itph) was arranged. The young man's family brought him to the bride's house, gave presents to all her people, and announced they were "giving him to her father." Then he stayed there permanently. This was a perfectly proper arrangement which carried no stigma unless it were common knowledge that it had been a last resort for patching up an illicit affair. If a chief had no sons he might prefer that his daughter marry thus. The young man would then usually be of lower rank than his wife. In a few cases, a regular marriage performance preceded the "giving of the young man to his father-in-law."

The son of wīpaxca'àt, a commoner who stayed most of the time in the tacīsȧth house at Kyuquot, eloped with the (previously widowed) daughter of a natcasȧth chief. (The "elopement" consisted in bringing her to his home.) Next day her people came for her. They were very angry. Her father scolded her before all the people; he said nothing to her lover, however. After they left the tacīsȧth met to discuss the matter. They knew the woman's father would not let her leave his house to marry (a commoner), so they took the young man and some blankets and went to the natcasȧth house. They took a Wolf along (a man wearing a wolf-head mask) who danced, leaving his blanket with the woman's father. Then they "put the young man in the natcasȧth house." The woman's side used no privileges. After a while the young man's parents went to natcasȧth to live.

Living together without any payment was called łūtcīs. This was considered a disgrace to both families. A child born of such a union was called bastard (łūtcīsha'ōkt). The term could be used as an epithet precisely as its English equivalent.

There is a current explanation which some informants offered tentatively to explain why illegitimate births were so rare in former times. The notion is that with the ancient full and far from clinging cedar-bark blankets, an unmarried woman could conceal her pregnancy, have her child, and dispose of it with no one the wiser. Pragmatists assert scornfully that this would be impossible. Aside from certain obvious difficulties, they maintain other signs indicate pregnancy. "When a woman is three or four months along, her face begins to get full, and she gets dark rings around her eyes. You can tell right away if she's pregnant."

Abortion was sometimes practiced. Informants unanimously declare that only young widows or divorcees would have need of such measures. Various families possessed as family secrets knowledge of certain abortifacients; some medicinal, and some perhaps only magical. Another method was to destroy the embryo by squeezing it. Some old women shamans knew how to do this; they would be well paid for they were not supposed to tell. It was very dangerous to do this, and some women died as a result. An unmarried mother's family might prefer the risk rather than face the disgrace.

There was a hunchback girl of a good family at Ehetisat. No one wanted to marry her for a long time. She bore two illegitimate children. Finally a man did marry her; she left the two children for her people to care for. They gave them names and had them taken in the Shamans' Dance. Both died before maturity, however. (By way of dating, a legitimate child of the woman was alive when these data were recorded, an old man). Another woman who had an illegitimate child was a Nuchatlet (a contemporary of the hunchback) who had a rather tempestous married life. Her last marriage was to a chief at Chickliset; she was pregnant at the time and bore a son a month or two after the marriage. Her Chickliset spouse kept the child, and even gave a Shamans' Dance in his honor. "In old times they wouldn't keep them, though," for bastardy was a great disgrace. "The children, and the grandchildren of such a person will be called łūtcīsha'ōkt ('bastard') when someone quarrels with them, and they can't say anything in reply."

The feeling that kinship between two families gave the one "the right to ask for the girl" of the other has been mentioned. Actually marriages of kin as close as first or second cousins were generally avoided, for it was believed that "their children would not be strong." However, such unions aroused no feeling of horror. The incest group included only sibling, parent-child, and parent-in-law—child-in-law classes. The Chickliset are reputed to have married first cousins very often in former times; the "practice" is passed over with the comment that "they were funny people. But they were good high-class people just the same, and always gave lots of potlatches." Nor is there any shame or horror in the fact that two different chiefs at Clayoquot married their nieces (younger brothers' daughers in both cases), for diplomatic reasons: to forestall a schism in the house group. But such marriages were definitely exceptional.

One informant suggested what he considered an excellent reason for marrying within one's kin-group—"not too close of course." A couple related by blood could not very well throw ancestral misdeeds or differences in rank in each others' faces when they quarreled, Ergo, much of the sting of family squabbles would be obviated. I do not know how widely this was recognized by Nootkans as a great social truth, but its homely philosophy is quite appealing.

Polygyny was practiced, by chiefs especially. A certain esteem attached to having a number of wives, since it implied wealth, but it was common knowledge that polygynous households were often not happy ones. The first wife was the "head wife," subsidiary wives were called maōł (cf. makcił "to buy a wife" without ceremony; one informant dubiously derived it from matcił, "to bite," or carry off in the mouth, in other words, "stolen"). A chief might obtain all his wives by ceremonial marriages but the secondary ones were nonetheless called maōł. A subsidiary wife was supposed to work for the first wife. Polyandry was not practiced; "a man wouldn't stand for that."

Both the levirate (kwotcīpił) and the sororate (asupīł) were practiced, though neither was compulsory. A man often took a kinsman's widow if she had children, in order to keep the children in the house. He could marry with full ceremonies if he wanted to, but would be more likely to give a feast and a few presents to her relatives to announce that he intended "taking care of their kinswoman and her children." If he did not like her he would not have to take her. If she waited a decent interval she could remarry outside of her husband's group. It was considered good form for her to inform them of her intention beforehand. Otherwise their feelings would be hurt, for "they would think she cared nothing about their kinsman" (her deceased husband). They took no action over it though. A widower with children might prefer to marry a kinswoman of his wife on the grounds that the children would be treated better by their mother's relative than by a stranger. The woman's people ordinarily would not refuse his request for another wife. He could marry ceremonially or simply make a (small) payment (makcił), depending on his wealth. The simultaneous sororate was regarded as advantageous, for two sisters were less likely to quarrel.

Although marriage in its fullest form was elaborately ritualized, divorce was simplicity itself. A husband could send his wife home, or she could take the initiative by leaving him. There was no repayment by either side. If privileges had been transferred they automatically reverted to their original owners. Childlessness was the most common cause of divorce. If a couple had children, their friends and relatives did everything in their power to prevent a separation, for it was considered a disgrace for a child to have parents living and be brought up by a stepfather or stepmother. Incompatibility caused many separations; cruelty and adultery were not in themselves grounds but might lead to divorce. Both the man and woman were quite free afterward. Unless a person left so many spouses that he or she was revealed as having a bad disposition or fickle nature divorce carried no stigma. Most people changed mates several times in an ordinary life time without damage to their reputation. But couples whose affection was strong enough to weather domestic storms so that they stayed together all their lives were considered admirable.

Once in a while a married woman would be "bought" from her family, without the knowledge of her husband. The Clayoquot invited all the Kyuquot to a potlatch. One of the Kyuquot chiefs had an unmarried younger brother. The Kyuquot met and asked the young man if he liked the youngest of four daughters of a Clayoquot chief. He replied he did not; he preferred the next youngest, who had just been married. The Kyuquot wanted to arrange a marriage with the Clayoquot "so they would be friends after all the wars they used to have." Four men went to the girl's father to propose, taking some money. They waited but the money was not returned. When the potlatch was over, a large party went to propose, announcing they would come to marry next day. The Clayoquot chief sent her husband (the first) home; the latter had not known anything about it till then. Next day the Kyuquot began the marriage ceremonies.

In case of a man's death, or a divorce, the allocation of children presented quite a problem. Both families wanted them, recognizing that they would in later life align themselves more definitely with the people who brought them up. The paternal claim was usually stronger. If there were several children, the elder ones stayed on their father's side, the younger with their mother.

SEX CONFLICTS

The system of parental arrangement of marriages was at the root of a great deal of marital discord. Young people who were perfect strangers were united without being given a chance to make any adjustments and then expected to get along together. Yet it must be added, without wishing to be unsympathetic toward the youngsters, that the lot of parents was not an easy one. They wanted to see their child happily and permanently married, so that there would be grandchildren to bear the family names and honor. The financing of the marriage ceremonies was no light burden for either the boy's or the girl's side. Neither profited by the gift-exchange for the payments were always "given out to the tribe." In fact, the native view, repeatedly stated, is that "both families lost a lot of money over the couple." So there was no point in arranging a marriage that from the outset was destined to fail. On the other hand, they dared not wait until their daughter reached the age of discretion to select the best possible mate for herself—"best," of course, being thought of in terms of rank. For there was always the fear that she might meanwhile become involved in some scandalous affair and bring shame upon them all. If a son's derelictions brought a less sharp disgrace, this was more than made up for by the ill feeling he engendered by them. The parents tried, therefore, to arrange a marriage as well as they could, at the beginning of the children's physical maturity, drawing on their judgment and experience in what was most valued in the culture. By sage counsel they sought to help the young couple adjust themselves to the new situation. The fact that some of these marriages were successful, in other words permanent, always gave them hope.

The way in which the girls were brought up was scarcely ideal to prepare them for marriage. As a girl approached puberty she was no longer allowed to play with the small children of both sexes, but only with girls of her own age. A high-rank girl was scarcely let out of the house, and never out of the sight of some older kinswoman. In the short time between her puberty observances and marriage, the surveillance was increased manyfold. She could not go anywhere unchaperoned. The theory seems to have been that there was safety in numbers, for a chief's daughter would usually have several women with her constantly. Although a common girl might not have so many chaperones, she was still carefully watched. All this time the girl's kinswomen would be advising her in ladylike behavior. She should never speak to a young man outside of her immediate family; indeed she should not look at him if he came nearby, but had to sit with downcast eyes. She had long since learned that she must keep her body covered at all times when men were about. In other words, all her training at this time was deliberately intended to make her shy and reserved in the presence of males. As informants put it, "by the time a girl was old enough to be married she was afraid of men." Not only was the girl kept innocent, but she was supposed to be ignorant of matters pertaining to sex. Her grandparents would regale her brother by the hour with the obscene myths and tales in which all Nootkans delight. "The grandmothers are great ones for that; those old women don't care what they say." But they would never tell them to her. "Of course," remarked one realist, "sometimes she can sit a little way off and hear it all, even if she's not supposed to."

Whatever the merits of this sytem of chaperonage and training as preparation for the future, it was successful in one respect. There is little doubt that premarital unchastity was almost unknown in former times, except in the infrequent cases of definitely abnormal girls. This is despite the fact that chastity was otherwise not an outstanding Nootkan virtue.

After negotiations were well under way for her marriage, the girl's mother might begin to instruct her. Along with such generalities on behavior as remarks to the effect that "she should be nice to her in-laws, and always speak kindly to them," she would be told that she must "sleep with her husband and have intercourse with him, for that is what men buy wives for." It may be supposed that this made little impression on the girl, who had been hearing "good advice" of a different sort for some time past. Further, there was beginning a distracting bustle of preparation for ceremonies, in which she was to play a central role—all very thrilling for a young girl, who at the same time often did not realize that the rites were to mark a new chapter in her own life. Her real awakening usually came when her parents put her in the canoe of the bridal party, telling her that she was to go with them, that these strangers were her new family and relatives, and she was to stay with them in her new home. For some days after her arrival in her husband's home she was feasted and feted so that she lost some of her fears and loneliness. Her in-laws all made a point of being friendly and kind. But sooner or later the festivities came to an end, and life settled down to everyday monotony and reality.

Her husband, little more mature but better trained than she, was receiving counsel from his parents during this time. He was told to be especially nice to his bride, to talk to her, but not to try to have intercourse with her too soon. Among the Clayoquot (and formerly among the Moachat, according to Jewitt), a newly-married couple was not permitted to sleep together for 10 days after the wedding. Elsewhere there was no definite rule, but commonly the groom slept with his brothers and male friends for some time, sometimes for as long as a month or two, while she slept with his mother and sisters. After awhile he would come over and lie down by her. A common reaction was for her to sit up and weep quietly until he gave up and returned to sleep with his men friends. By day they would talk and eat together, becoming better acquainted. This preliminary skirmishing went on until either she yielded to his advances, in which case they were over the first hurdle to congenial married life, or she resisted so decisively, perhaps even shaming him by striking or scratching him, that they were at an impasse. In the latter case it was only a matter of time till he sent her home, or her parents heard of it and came to get her.

In rare cases a man, especially if older and more experienced than his bride, would be goaded beyond the limits of his endurance, and resort to harsher measures. He might even mutilate her; the type procedure was to cut off or bite off the tip of her nose. This is remarkable in being the only sadistic behavior, outside of warfare, socially countenanced. Her own parents would do nothing in this case, "for they wanted her to stay with her husband." Just how this act would win the lady's affections is not quite clear, but it is said invariably to have been effective. It should be added, in justice, that informants can recall having seen in their lifetimes only three women thus mutilated (an Ehetisat, a Muchalat, and an Ahousat).

Although premarital chastity was absolutely demanded, not much was said about chastity after marriage. This does not mean that license was tolerated—on the contrary, a virtuous man or woman would be commended—but there was a feeling that it was asking a bit too much of ordinary human nature to expect constant virtue. So all the emphasis was placed on admonishing a couple to avoid jealousy.

A woman's grandmother or aunts would admonish her not to be jealous if she heard her husband was having an affair with another woman. "Sometimes people just tell you things like that to make trouble. Pay no attention to them. And even if it's true, don't do anything about it: don't quarrel or scratch your husband. When he goes out somewhere, don't question him about it. A good woman isn't jealous even if her husband does go to see other women. You can't do anything about it anyhow. Men are like that."

Men got the same sort of counsel. "If you hear another man is after your wife, don't quarrel with him about it. It's not right to fight over a woman. Don't even think about him. Don't be jealous over your wife; a jealous man never gets any wealth [i. e., when he is away from home training or hunting he will be thinking about his wife all the time instead of the business at hand]."

There was a great deal of casual philandering among the young married people and the middle-aged and from it arose many quarrels. Wives would berate wayward husbands and might even return to their parents in a huff. "But they usually came back." A husband might beat an adulterous wife, or worse, tear her clothes off publicly, upbraiding her the while. This was a great disgrace for the woman. Actually there were more hard words thrown than blows struck. Other people would intervene if a man seemed to be going too far. Separation did not necessarily follow an affair of this kind, in fact more often did not. Only if the adulterous mate persisted would they part. The wayward one's behavior would be blamed for any children they might have lost.

The chief of qwɔwinasàth (Kyuquot) and his wife were staying at tacīs one dog salmon season with their daughter and son-in-law (a tacīsàth). It was common gossip that the chief's wife was carrying on an affair with her son-in-law. Early one morning the couple went separately out of the house, the chief followed and spied them *in flagrante delicto.* He returned to the house quietly. They returned separately, the son-in-law first. When the chief's wife came in her husband said, "You've been gone a long time. Have you been out for ritual bathing?" She laughed and went toward the fireplace. He seized her dress at the neck and ripped it from her, throwing the pieces in the fire. "You might as well go naked!" he shouted. All the people got up to watch. He seized his wife and began to maul her about, saying, "I knew it all along, but this time I saw you. You know you've harmed your own daughter." (There is a folk tale about a woman who caused her daughter's death by such an affair.) The daughter got up to go to her father's aid. Between them, they gave the woman quite a pummeling; finally people intervened and stopped it. The chief and his daughter were very angry. They packed their belongings and loaded their canoe. They did not say anything to the daughter's husband, and he made himself as inconspicuous as possible.

All their wrath was directed against the woman. When they were ready to go the daughter said to her father, "Don't let her in the canoe; leave her here. She's just like a dog. That's why I've lost my children, because my own mother was having intercourse with my husband." The woman was sitting on the beach crying, her face swollen. The chief picked her up roughly and dumped her bodily into the canoe. They went home. The chief's daughter was pregnant at the time; she had a child which died after a year or so. Then she left her husband. Her parents did not separate. They had married young and never separated. But the mother did not go to feasts and potlatches for a long time after this.

A factor contributing to the prevalence of adultery was that there were always many unattached women about, widows, divorcees, and during the fur-sealing days women whose husbands were gone 6 to 8 months at a time. By the time a woman reached full maturity and had perhaps been married several times she did pretty much as she pleased. Her parents and kinsmen might try to control her but their authority was weakened. If she did not heed their counsel, their only recourse was to try to shame her into proper behavior by public reprimands, but even these were ineffectual in many cases.

The tempestuous history of an Ehetisat widow, ū'ūkōwisàqsu', contains some typical examples of the sort of reprimands that older relatives gave to express their disapproval. When her husband qanaqàm, a minor chief of the Ehetisat house icsaàth, was killed by a falling tree, she stayed for a time in the house because her two sons had inherited various of their father's rights. She quarreled with the house chiefs before long, however. (She seems to have suspected that one of them planned to marry her in order to insure that the boys stayed in that house, and she particularly disliked him.) She took her sons to her home, the àtcinàth house. Her father was dead; her "uncles" the house chiefs welcomed her. When time came for the salmon run, the icsaàth chief sent a messenger to call her sons (one of their father's rights had been that to a certain salmon trap, and consisted in taking the first two catches from the trap to give feasts to the people). The widow's uncles urged the boys to go, for the rights were important. They returned with the messengers, she quarrelled with her uncles, and followed her sons to icsa. That winter she ran off with a young Nuchatlet man during a Shamans' Dance. The icsaàth felt badly about it when they discovered what she had done. Their chief gave a feast to the Ehetisat to announce publicly that she had run off without a word to anyone, not even her own sons. "We feel badly about it because we have tried to treat her well, and have taken care of the rights of her sons (seeing that all the privileges of the boys' father went to them). It would not have been so bad had she waited for them to 'buy' her properly [i. e., from her 'uncles'], just as we 'bought' her. We had even decided that if she wanted to marry outside of this house we would let her take her younger son with her. Had she married properly instead of showing that she cared nothing about our dead brother, her husband, we would have done this. Now we shall keep both boys." Her "uncles" covered their faces with their blankets for shame. Soon after they went to visit Nuchatlet relatives, and sent one of them to call her to the house in which they were staying. When she came in and saw them she almost turned back, but did not quite dare. One of her uncles rose, saying, "Well, ū'ūkōwisȧqsu', I see that you are here. How did you get here? Did you walk across the inlet? You left without telling anyone. Your uncles aren't dead yet; you still have relatives. Why didn't you let us know what you were going to do? We are just like dirt now; anyone can step on us; we're nothing. You have shamed us before all the tribes. You know the icsaȧth made us great when they bought you. You showed all the tribes you care nothing for our good name when you came here with no word to us. All right, now you're here—stay here, don't come back. If those people you went to want to arrange a marriage for you, tell them not to come, for we won't look at them. If you have a child don't bring it to us saying we're its grandfathers—it will get no name from us. You wanted to come here, so stay. Die here, rot here."

"I'm glad to know that's what my 'uncles' think of me," she answered. "You want to kill me, you want to see me dead. All right, I'll go kill myself."

"Why don't you? As far as we are concerned you died that night you ran off without telling anyone where you were going."

The woman walked out of the house, mumbling her suicide threat. Her uncles sent a boy to follow her, lest she be serious about it—he returned saying she had gone back to her lover's house, and was chatting happily with him.

On their return to hōhk, her "uncles" invited the Ehetisat to a feast in the name of her younger son. At the feast, one of them announced, "We have just been over to Nuchatlet to see our 'niece.' You all know how she disgraced us. It's just as though she killed us: she brought down our high name. Some people told us the Nuchatlet are planning to come over to arrange a marriage (makciɫ). I don't want any of you chiefs to receive them or aid them. The Nuchatlet have married many of our women in a proper ceremonial way; this is the first they ever stole from us. I am going down to the beach myself and push their canoe away, when they come."

The wɔhīnuxtakȧmłȧth chief rose, saying, "Chief, please don't speak those words. That is a bad way to talk. Now you are angry and hurt, but you will change your mind when you think it over. She is your niece; really, she is almost your own daughter. When hes has a child it will be a great shame for her and for the child if she was not married."

The ȧtcin chiefs were finally mollified, and probably would have received the Nuchatlet, but the latter never came. It was believed that she convinced them not to. Before long she quarreled with her lover, and with several others, and was finally married (makcił) to a youth much younger than herself with whom she quarreled continually and by whom she had a considerable number of children.

There was no institutionalized prostitution in Nootkan culture comparable to that of the Southern Kwakiutl as Charley Nowell (*in* Ford, 1941) describes it. A man would give a mistress small gifts in return for her favors—beads, paint, and the like, but nothing of great value. If the recipient were a married woman she hid these from her husband. Men did not prostitute wives or kinswomen, it was maintained.

Some men quarreled with their wive's paramours, and sometimes came to blows. They might seize each other by the hair, or maul each other. Once in awhile their kinsmen became involved, and there would be quite a melee before other people could separate the combatants. In a few instances an irate husband smashed his rival's canoe or house boards. No informant can recall any slayings or serious injuries resulting from these affairs, however. It was definitely considered unseemly "for men to fight over a woman," and people did all they could to prevent it. If a man took another's wife, he could legalize the new union by ceremonial marriage or by giving presents to the parents, not to her former spouse. The latter was out of pocket his bride-price. "If he wanted another wife he had to go buy one again."

Many Ehetisat men were out fur sealing one season. The rest of the people were at Tachu for fishing. A young man told his wife one night he was going out for ritual bathing for sea otter hunting. Actually he went to spend the night with the wife of ʟakicsimō'is (brother of the icsaȧth chief's father), who was out on a sealing schooner. About daybreak someone came to rap on the wall, for the schooner was lying offshore at anchor and boats were already being lowered to put the hunters ashore. The young man crawled out a window in the rear of the house and took to the woods. Unfortunately his wife saw him. She ran over and set upon ʟakicsimō'is' wife. Seizing her and shaking her, she cried, "So you are a sea otter! So you're the sea otter my husband was after! I was staying awake helping my husband [i. e., as a hunter's wife had to do during his ritual bathing], and here he was sleeping with you!" People came in to try to pacify her, but in vain. She was still berating her rival when ʟakicsimō'is came in. He scolded his wife, telling her to leave; he was through with her. Someone got the "sea otter hunter's" wife away. ʟakicsimō'is' wife protested her innocence vigorously; her paramour came in as though by chance and assured everyone that he had been bathing in the sea all night. ʟakicsimō'is was almost convinced, when the young man's wife came in again, spoiling the whole thing by asserting she had seen her husband tumble out the window. The latter tried to silence her but she kept on, and gave him a shove. Off his balance, he lurched against the outraged husband. They seized each other and began to fight. Bystanders pulled them apart. They began to malign each other at the top of their voices, keeping it up for a long time. A high-rank kinswoman of the adultress reprimanded her for the affair. "What's the matter, isn't one man enough for you? Look at the trouble you've caused. Don't you know men don't care about women like you? They just want to be able to laugh about you afterward." Others were reprimanding the young man's wife. "Why didn't you keep still? Look at all the trouble you've made with your big mouth. If you hadn't said anything ʟakicimō'is wouldn't have known about it. You shouldn't have told him. This is all your fault. Why did you have to come over and make trouble?" The uproar continued for some time, till people, tiring of it, made them stop. There was a chief's wife there who had recently lost a child and they did not want her to have to listen to so much wrangling. A day or two later ʟakicsimō'is' elder brother, the retired icsaåth chief, came down from the inlet with some dried sockeye for a feast. At the feast the old chief reprimanded his unruly brother. "I heard good news about my younger brother, ʟakicsimō'is," he began, ironically. "I heard he has forgotten that he has a good name. What did you bother to fight with that one for? He's nothing, but you have a chief's name, a big name. Don't think about him any more. It's not right for a chief to fight about a woman. Don't be jealous. You should think about your good name, and how to keep it good, not about being jealous." ʟakicsimō'is and his wife did not get on well after this, however, finally separating. He and the "sea otter hunter" did not speak for some time, but eventually "they got over it." The latter and his wife did not part.

Another potent source of discord was the institution of polygamy. As has been stated, the first wife was "boss" of her co-wife. The latter was likely to resent this situation, especially if she were of as high or higher rank. The first wife, on her part, was likely to become jealous of another woman who shared, or for the time at least, monopolized, her husband's attentions. As a result there was usually ill feeling, and a continual bickering, until one or the other packed up and left. Sometimes, though, especially if the two wives were sisters or close kin, they got on well enough together.

During a discussion of the relative merits of polygyamy and monogamy, one informant recalled from the time of his boyhood an old Muchalat man who had two wives. Ordinarily in polygamous households each wife had her own bed, but it was this man's conceit to have them make an extra-wide sleeping mat, so that he might sleep with a wife on either side. The two women squabbled from dawn till dark, over their husband, over fetching water and cooking, over household utensils. At night they kept other people in the house awake by their continual bickering. Only on one matter did they agree, and that was to turn on their husband if he tried to pacify them. Once they fell to quarreling about the common bed mat. Their long-suffering spouse happened to be sitting on the object of dispute, trying to be oblivious to the quarrel. One of the women gave the mat a yank to emphasize a point, tumbling the husband onto the floor. This was more than he could stand; sputtering with rage he ran to his box of gear and snatched up a huge butcherknife. Other householders looked on, too horror-stricken to interfere in the bloodshed they expected to see. For once the two women were frightened into silence. He pounced upon the bed mat and with a single slash cut it in two. Then he threw a half at each wife, and stalked off to an unoccupied place to sleep by himself.

There were many people who adhered to the cultural ideal of not being jealous, though it was not always an easy course. In return such a person received the approval of his or her fellows, and the erring spouse sometimes would be shamed into mending his ways, so that the patient one gained in the long run.

DISSENSION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

It is only to be expected that in the course of ordinary human lives conflicts should now and then arise. Men, and women too, fell out over a variety of things, chiefly sex matters (adultery, etc.) and property rights of various sorts. Some people were known to be more truculent than others. But on the whole there was remarkably little fighting in everyday life.[77] Violence was very definitely not considered seemly, and was discountenanced. When two men came to blows (which usually meant seizing each other by the hair), bystanders would watch a few moments, then intervene before any real damage was done. Close kin of the combatants might join in the battle, but there were always enough people left to separate the fighters. "It's really not right for men to fight." If a chief so far forgot all his training as to come to grips with someone, commoners would not hesitate to seize him and drag him off. They would even intervene in such a purely personal affair as wife beating, if the man seemed to be going too far. The usual course of a fight was something like this: first the two persons would loudly accuse and threaten each other for some time. Sometimes they would grapple until all the bystanders pulled them apart. There was almost never any attempt made to seize a weapon to obtain really decisive results. Then they settled down to "jawing," each boasting of his own superiority in rank and all fields of endeavor, and reviling the other with every insult and epithet he could lay tongue to (it scarcely need be added, to the great glee of the assembled spectators). This went on until they became too hoarse to talk or the audience tired of listening and set about pacifying them. Nothing ever came of it afterward. Even if one got the worst of it all the way around, he did not brood or seek vengeance. "They wouldn't be friends for a while, and would not speak to each other," say informants. "But pretty soon they forgot about it."[78] The concept of weregild was unknown.[79] Men did not potlatch, trying to outdo each other, after one of these "swearings." "You can't do that. You give a potlatch for your child (in your child's honor) and it would be a bad name for him if you fought, or had bad feelings in a potlatch."

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[77] Sproat (1868, p. 51) was impressed by this fact: "The men rarely quarrel except with their tongues, and a blow is seldom given . . . I have never witnessed a fight between two sober natives; when drunk, they seek close quarters and pull each other's hair."

Of course, a man's anger once roused to such a pitch did not die down immediately. Therefore his relatives, especially those whom he liked and respected most, would set about pacifying him. "Don't think about him any more. It's not right to fight. You have a good name; don't bring it down. You would be bringing shame to all of us, if you made more trouble. Don't think about it—just let it go. If he says anything to you again, don't answer him. Even if he should hit you, do nothing. Just turn around and walk away." This last bit—that one should not answer a person seeking a quarrel, and should even let a blow pass unreturned—was a well-recognized principle in the art of getting along with other people. It was repeated over and over again in instruction to the young, pacification of people involved in quarrels, and in general discourses on good social behavior. So well was it dinned into them that many people actually practiced it, difficult though it may be to do.

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[78] A "fight" between men is called hīan (lit., "swearing"). A quarrel between man and wife is qåtpåł.

[79] Sproat (1868, p. 51) refers to gifts made after fights. This must have been a practice of the Alberni people, learned by them from the Coast Salish, among whom a weak form of the weregild complex occurred. (Cf. Barnett, 1939, pp. 266–267.) None of the Nootkans up the coast knew of such a custom.

The early explorers and traders considered the natives much given to petty thievery, and did not hesitate to take violent countermeasures at times. However, it seems clear that such stealing of nails and spoons and marlinspikes that irked the traders' thrifty souls was not thievery in native eyes, for after all, the white men were aliens, and their property was not regarded in the same light as that of fellow tribesmen. Sproat (1869, p. 159) noted this difference, commenting that instances of theft among tribesmen were rare indeed. It is said by informants that some persons possessed magical procedures, apparently some form of contagious magic performed over an object, that caused a thief to break out with sores, so that he was singled out and disgraced, as well as punished for his crime. Actually, whether for fear of such punishment or because of emphasis in early training that theft is reprehensible and shameful, stealing was and is very uncommon. Nowadays, white men resident on the coast, who now are regarded as "belonging" there, leave tools about, seldom lock up their boats, and very rarely find anything missing. Robbing trap lines (taking mink or marten from someone else's set), is the chief exception, and with the indifferent woodcraft of the trappers is difficult to detect. Older informants maintain that this practice is much more common in modern times than formerly.

Witchcraft constituted the principal crime problem. Since people who could perform it, shamans who had the power to "send" disease-causing objects and persons who knew ritual procedures to harm their fellows (consisting chiefly in contagious magic), were so secretive about not only the techniques involved but also about the fact that they possessed them, only rarely did one know whom to suspect. This added quality of mystery, of course, increased one's danger. For this reason the young people were advised never to offend old defenseless men and women, "for you never know who may know how to do harm to you [magically]." The obvious solution when someone fell ill for some apparently inexplicable reason was to accuse someone known to bear him ill will, with whom he might have quarreled. Only in rare instances, and then only long after commission of the deed, would someone admit he had bewitched his victim, or hired a witch to do it. Shamans in cases beyond their resources to cure often hinted darkly at witchcraft, and sometimes openly accused other shamans, who invariably denied culpability and replied with similar accusations of malpractice. Yet though kin of the victim might be convinced as to the identity of the evil shaman or witch, they seldom did anything about it, beyond harbor a grudge. The most common mode of revenge was to employ witchcraft against the enemy. In rare cases public indignation mounted so high, especially if a chief were the victim, that the suspect would move away to another tribe. This was called pūmis, usually translated as "scared out." It was not really banishment, for the suspected person himself took the initiative, perhaps fearing actual harm, probably hurt by the unjust accusations. Two instances of witchcraft illustrate common occasions for its use. It must be noted that both are unusual in one respect: the perpetrators (instigator, in one case), boasted about their deeds afterward, something that was rarely done.

A widely known "case" supposed to have happened a number of generations back—about the time of the first white contacts—concerns a Clayoquot head chief who stood watching another chief carry wood from a canoe to his house. Nearby, a man, half-Clayoquot and half-Ehetisat, sat making a stone hammer. The first chief said to him, "I wish you were one of those persons who 'send' magical objects. I would ask you to send one into that man. He hates me, and I suspect him of working magic to cause my children to die." The hammer maker, deliberately pretending to have misunderstood, replied, "Yes, I have been making this hammer for a long time. It's slow work." The chief said, "No, you didn't hear me right. I said . . ." and he repeated his desire. The hammer maker stared at him. "Is it possible that you say this to me? Can it be true that you say this?" "Yes. I want to find a man who can do this. I want that man to die." The hammer maker still protested amazement. The chief (presumably convinced he was dealing with the proper person), repeated his wish several times. At last the hammer maker told him to retire a short distance. The other chief was still going back and forth to his canoe, carrying loads of wood. Suddenly he dropped in his tracks. People assembled, shocked. Of course, they did not know what had occurred. They carried the chief's body into the house. The first chief began to praise the wizard. "Sit here and wait, chief," said the latter. "Maybe he's not really dead. When he dies the thing I sent will come back to me." Soon there came a humming sound like a ricocheting bullet, and a little black stone dropped to the ground beside the hammer maker. It quivered "as though it were alive." "That is what I used to kill him," said the wizard. The chief heaped presents on the wizard, giving him a place in his house. Years after, he used to tell of it publicly, praising the power of his wizard. The latter came to a bad end, so the tale relates, for someone worked contagious magic on him and he died of it. No one knew who did it, or why.

Another case of witchcraft resulted from the following circumstance. aiłtcīnåk, of the Moachat tsisa'åth, stole the wife of qåłka, a chief of the ūmīqtakåmlåth. The tribes were living at their old winter villages of kūptī and ō'is at the time. qåłka tried several times to get his wife back, going with a party of his kinsmen to kūptī to carry her off by force. Each time, the woman ran off into the bush and hid, and the tsisa'åth men rallied to the defense of their chief. From the accounts, they seem to have staged regular Donnybrook Fairs on the beach. qåłka and his party came off second best each time, retiring from the field bruised and battered. (No weapons were used in these affairs.) Not long after, a sister of aiłtcīnåk found the place where qåłka bathed ritually, and recovered a bundle of twigs which he had used to scrub his body. This she used for her spell. qåłka soon showed the effects of the magic. He became ill, and great sores broke out over his body. "His nose rotted off and his eyelids grew together." He lingered on in this lamentable condition for a number of years, dying finally about 1915. The witch herself made it known that she had brought this ill on her victim, although she never revealed the method, other than to say that she had used the bundle of twigs in some fashion. qåłka's kin did nothing, neither making her undo the spell, nor taking retaliatory measures. It was rumored that various people hired her to bewitch enemies for them, but the deals were kept secret, so that no other case in which she was concerned was known.

With so deeply ingrained a belief in black magic, it is rather surprising that crimes of which witches were suspected were not avenged more often by open violence. Yet shaman killing, which came near to attaining the status of a favorite sport over a great part of western North America, was extremely infrequent. Informants could tell me of only two instances in which the bereaved relatives went berserk and took violent vengeance.

There was a woman shaman from a'aminqås, who, one day, invited the young daughter of a tsaxana chief to go with her to get cedar bark. The chief's daughter was a child of 10 or 12 years of age. The woman and the girl stripped several lengths of cedar bark, and the latter sat down to peel off the inner bark from the strips. As she sat there, she felt a sharp pain in her shoulder. She looked around, for it felt almost as though someone had stabbed her; she saw the shaman standing some distance away pointing her hands toward her. Then the older woman came to sit beside her to peel the cedar bark. The pain did not go away but increased, until the girl began to complain of it. Her companion told her that perhaps she had wrenched her shoulder, and paid no more attention. When they were ready to return, the shaman had to carry all the cedar bark, for the child was in too much pain. At the village, as soon as she told her father he sent for first one shaman and then another, but they could do nothing for her. Two running sores broke out on her back. Soon she died. After her death, the people began to talk about the old woman sending wizardries into her. It wasn't the first time the shaman had "poisoned" someone, so it was said; she always chose her victim from the families of chiefs, so they would call on her and pay her well to cure them. She had expected the girl's father to call her but he had not done so. The child's father said, "I want to die myself. But before I die I want to know what happened to my daughter." So he hired two young men to cut open the sores on the girl's back. In one they found a splinter of bone, an inch or so long, and in the other the claw of a duck. Then the chief said, "Now that my only child is dead, I don't want to live any longer. But I am going to kill that shaman woman before I die." He told his people that they would move down to mȧtcłī. The shaman and her family moved to łīptī, so he did not have a chance to kill her. Then one day she came to mȧtcłī alone. She was going to stay with some relatives there. She beached her canoe at the lower end of the beach in front of the house in which the tsaxana chief was staying. As she started to walk up the beach, he came out behind her with a gun concealed under his blanket. When he was close to her, he shot her in the back. Her relatives saw it all, and came running out of their house with guns and knives. The tsaxana chief stood still, making no effort to defend himself or to escape. "Go ahead and shoot me," he told them. "I am ready to die. I don't care about living any more. She killed my child, and I have killed her—now you have the right to kill me if you want to." His people came down to the beach too, ready to fight if the shaman's family killed him. There was some talk for a while; some of the dead woman's kin still wanted to kill him. Finally the mȧtcłī first chief came out and stopped the quarrel, and nothing more was done about it. (The informant was a small child at the time; he remembered having seen the shaman, and later heard them talk about her slaying, although he did not witness the incident.) This was the only instance the informant knew of in which a shaman was killed for witchcraft, among the Muchalat Arm tribes.

Another version of this same incident was related by a relative of the murdered shaman. As might be expected, he believed that the woman was unjustly accused by less successful shamans jealous over the fact that she had been able to cure the mȧtcłī chief of a serious illness. Her brothers, he averred, were with difficulty dissuaded from slaying the tsaxana chief, but finally let her death go as a sort of company (tcitcmō) for their many relatives who had been lost in the wars with the Moachat.

A somewhat peculiar story, known to most informants, concerns a skeptical chief who tested the shamans. It is usually attributed to cīwuc, of the Moachat, but according to one version it was his successor. The fact that his victim was a slave may be window dressing; one informant was very sure the guilty shaman was a woman of a prominent Queen's Cove family, and that she was not slain, but fled to Ucluelet along with some of her kin, who felt the disgrace most sharply. Descendants of the family do not like to hear references to the incident, according to this version.

cīwuc, the Moachat chief killed by the Muchalat warrior tuckai'iłam, did not believe in shamans, and once set a trap for them. He pretended to go to Clayoquot for a visit—actually he camped at hōmīs for a few days. He returned home, pretending to be ill. His people worried about him, and called for many shamans. According to another version of this tale, he confided in his mother that he was not really ill, but wanted to test the shamans. She is said to have scolded him. "You call many of those old people 'uncle,' or 'grandparent.' You shouldn't do things like that to them." But she kept this secret, it is said. Some tried to cure him, but said they could find no disease objects, and didn't know what was wrong with him. He was content with these. Finally a woman slave named niłwiłta was called to try to cure the chief. She sang, then bent over to suck out a disease object. Two war chiefs were sitting close to the chief. As she sucked she slipped one hand under her blanket, then attempted to slip something into her month. One of the war chiefs grabbed her by the hair and yanked her head back saying, "You have bad luck. Now drop the disease object from your month." She sat singing her spirit song. Finally they forced her to spit out the object—there were two bits of bone with some sort of wrappings. She pretended she had taken them out of the chief, but everyone realized the truth. She had intended to send the disease objects into the chief's body(!). They asked who had told her to do this. She finally named qwɔ'īnic, one of the chief's slaves. Everyone was sure this was a lie. The chief wanted his war chiefs to kill her there in the house, but the people wanted qwɔ'īnic to kill her, and outside. So they gave qwɔ'īnic a war club, and he took her outside and killed her.

Witchcraft was enough of a menace, and accusations of it involved so many families in bitter disputes, that few informants like to discuss it even today. However, this does not mean that the Nootkan society was essentially witch-ridden. They did not go in for black magic nearly so strongly as did their Kwakiutl neighbors across the island.

Nootkan informants are not impressed, but think it very funny that Kwakiutl witches have to resort to taking slivers of chairs or benches on which their intended victims have sat, for the Kwakiutl are so afraid of witchcraft that they take pains to leave nothing about over which contagious magic might be worked. It is claimed (by Nootkans) that outhouses at some Kwakiutl villages are habitually padlocked lest witches steal excrement for magical purposes.[80] There is no indication that the Nootkan fear of witches was strong enough to lead them to try to hide excrement, hair, old clothes, and similar articles that they knew the witches used.

Murder (except by witchcraft), either for gain, as a solution to personal antagonism, or in revenge, was very uncommon. Organized warfare, which, of course, always had one or another of these motivations, is considered separately for it involved group action, chiefly by tribes or confederacies, rather than acts by individuals, and the occasional killing of slaves (war captives), similarly was not considered in the same light as killing one's own tribesmen. Since the termination of the intertribal wars in the 1870's, there have been remarkably few killings among the Nootkans—informants can recall only seven or eight since that time. Of those, three were wanton slayings committed by one individual who, though not definitely abnormal, was antisocial, and considered as such by his contemporaries.

mōqwinȧ was first chief of both the Ehetisat and the Moachat. His father was the Ehetisat chief, his mother, elder sister of the Moachat chief. When his mother's brother died without direct heirs (he was the cīwuc killed by the Muchalat war chief), mōqwinȧ obtained his dual chieftainship. Having thus tremendous prestige and authority, and apparently a sadistic tendency, he became a tyrant and bully. No one would stand against him because of his rank. He committed three brutal murders and many malicious acts. Finally public sentiment at Ehetisat began to rise against him. Almost all the people moved out of his house; he could scarcely get men to paddle for him when he went anywhere. One or two of the stronger chiefs stood out before their houses and publicly upbraided him. An old man whom mōqwinȧ called "grandfather" stood up during a feast, saying to him, "My grandson, I want you to tell me what you're doing. This is the third time you have killed a person. No chief has ever done such things before. It is bad; you will never raise your children if you do that way." mōqwinȧ ceased going to feasts and potlatches. At last after a particularly malicious act (smashing up some boards a man had spent several weeks making), a victim rebelled, vowing to kill the tyrant. Only with great difficulty was he dissuaded from this act of lese majesty. mōqwinȧ became frightened and moved to Nootka. He never returned to live at Ehetisat (though he did give some potlatches there long after).

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[80] Boas (1897, p. 441) relates that a piece of flesh bitten from a person's arm by the Hamatsa had to be returned to the owner "to assure him that it will not be used against him for purposes of witchcraft."

At the time of mōqwinȧ's flight, his old father was on his deathbed. There was a great to-do; accusations of witchcraft were flung back and forth. One family moved away on account of it. Finally one man stood near the dying man and told him, "Don't say any more about anyone bewitching you. No one is killing you [i. e., by magic]. You're dying over your son. We're all ashamed of what he does. He is just like the beings of mythical times when they killed for nothing. He's *crazy*." The old man turned his head away in silence. He died without accusing anyone.

This résumé of a long biography reveals a number of things concerning social control. First of all there was no formal machinery to punish wrongdoers. People did not know quite what to do about the situation. They talked against mōqwinȧ and refused to cooperate with him, but his rank gave him a certain immunity from physical harm. To the advice and pleas of his elders he turned a deaf ear. Finally the resentment became so obvious and unpleasant that thick-skinned as he was he had to leave. Informants do not know what would have happened to a man of lesser rank who behaved like mōqwinȧ; none ever did.

The most common means of control was the counsel given a wayward person by his kinsmen. They sought to calm his wrath or mend his ways, as the case might be. They appealed to his loyalty to the family "to do right; not to do anything that will bring down our name (disgrace us), or involve us in trouble." As a rule this sufficed. If it did not, the public reprimands would shame most people into conformance with conventional behavior. At a feast or similar gathering, or simply standing before his house, a man would give the wrongdoer a dressing-down in blistering phrases. Usually some elderly kinsman would take it on himself to do this.

Revenge did not play much actual part in social conflicts. After the first flare-up of anger, people dropped the whole thing, and gradually even the ill will and unfriendliness toward the offender died away. I am convinced that the utter absence of the wergild complex had a great deal to do with the individual's willingness to let bygones be bygones. Both in the north, among the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, and in northwestern California, where the concept of wergild occurred, it seems to have focused attention on injuries and slights, so that no one dared risk loss of face by letting a wrong go uncompounded or unavenged. Among the Nootkans, if revenge, other than in some magical form, were taken it was taken immediately. The relatives and friends of the injured person cursed and threatened the wrongdoer; he defied them to kill him, for he had his own kin at his back, arms in hand, ready to attack the moment he should fall. Any act of violence was, therefore, a match over an open powder keg, for it could easily lead to not just individual revenge but to out-and-out war between the groups. For this reason older cooler heads sought to dissuade their hot-tempered fellows during such quarrels. The potential danger of such situations was enough to deter many from any violent act.

The following tale is the only one told me of a long-delayed revenge. It is, therefore, not typical of Nootkan social behavior in this regard. I cite it because of the picture it gives of the way in which acts of violence embroiled large groups of people, not just the persons immediately involved. It is very apparent that had the tacīs war chiefs refused to back the killer while he was making his plans, he would probably not have committed his crime. Their acquiescence involved their entire house, of course.

In the last century, probably in the 1850's, a Chickliset shaman married a Kyuquot woman of the tīłāth house. The woman bore him a son. The shaman had on various occasions been accused of sending disease objects into people. At length someone at Chickliset killed him (the details were not related, but the instigator was a chief of importance, who enslaved the child and his mother). The tīłāth chief hastened to Chickliset, ransomed his kinswoman and her child and brought them to Kyuquot. The boy vowed never to return to Chickliset, although his slain father had had a minor chief's status there. When he was grown, the tīłāth chief arranged a marriage for him with an amaiāth girl. The youth was a good sea otter hunter. He gave his pelts to the tīłāth chief. Meanwhile, his father's slayer had died. The chief of the qaqciłāth, at Kyuquot, went to Chickliset for a bride, and returned with the eldest daughter of the shaman-killer. Her presence in the village was a constant reminder to the young man of the murder of his father; he began to brood over it. She became pregnant, and her Chickliset relatives came over constantly with feast gifts for their in-law, her husband (the type of gifts called ya'acuk). One summer day, all the people were at aqtīs, the men fishing sharks and the women rendering the oil to sell to the traders. The young man went to the informant's grandfather, and the latter's brother—both noted war chiefs of the tacīsāth—whom he addressed as "uncle" (their relationship was actually not close). He said, "Uncles, don't go shark spearing tomorrow. I keep thinking about my father all the time [i. e., about his murder]. I'm going to kill that Chickliset woman tomorrow." The warriors replied, "All right. We'll stand by you." They cleaned their guns in secret, and made pretexts for not going out next day.

Next morning the young man went to the warrior brothers again. "Get ready now, my uncles. Don't come out at the first shot, for I'm going to try my gun on a crow. Come out when you hear the second shot." All the women were down on the beach; some of the shark hunters were coming back in. The Chickliset woman was in front of the qaqcił house. The young man went near her, and shot a crow eating offal on the beach. The woman was startled but said nothing. He went back to the tacīs house, to tell his "uncles," "I'm going to shoot another crow—I want her to say something to me." So he went out and shot another crow from quite near the woman. She shouted at him, "Don't do that! It scares me so." He reloaded, and pretended to aim at the crows again. She put her hands over her ears and closed her eyes. The young man put the muzzle of the gun against her side and pulled the trigger. She screamed, ran a few steps toward her husband's house, and fell dead. He ran to his own house, to blacken his face and tie his hair up on top of his head. The warrior brothers, similarly painted, came out with him. He was singing his war song. Meanwhile the woman's husband and a number of other qaqciłȧth had come in. They rushed toward the young killer. The warrior brothers stood in front of him. He shouted, "Her father killed my father, so I killed her. If she'd stayed home in Chickliset instead of coming here she'd have been all right!" (that is, he had not intended to seek revenge, until she reminded him of his father's death by her presence). Threats and shouts of defiance were hurled back and forth. More and more men were coming in, and they promptly took sides with kin. The tā̇łȧth, the tacīsȧth, and the a'ʟicȧth (closely related to the tacīs group) sided with the young man; the qaqciłȧth against him. The warrior brothers challenged, "Come over here if you want to die! We're ready to die, and will take you along." The affair settled down to a long drawn-out bickering that lasted most of the afternoon. The qaqciłȧth took the body of the woman out to bury her, first removing the fetus. Someone notified the Chickliset, and they came next day for her body. They took it to their village.

Before reburying her, they carried the body to a little bluff, and, calling her slayer's name, dropped it over. This was magic, of course, to make him fall to his death out in the woods. Then they buried her. Some of the slayer's friends learned about the spell, and warned him to be cautious in the woods. Nothing more was done over the affair. The qaqciłȧth, of course, could have taken revenge, in view of the loss of the woman's unborn child. But they did not do so—the informant believed because of fear of the tacīsȧth war chiefs (and the rest of that house, committed to the young man's side by their espousal of his cause). The story was spread, afterward, that when they were destroying the dead woman's effects, they found numerous little odds and ends—packets of paint, strings of trade beads, and the like—such as a woman received from lovers for her favors. (This, of course, sounds like malicious gossip intended to turn her in-laws against her, to make them less likely to take up her cause.) Long years after, the woman's slayer tumbled off a cliff and broke an arm, which was attributed to the effect of the Chickliset magic. He died of old age some years back.

SUICIDE

Suicide, that last ineffectual protest against insoluble conflicts, seems to have been very rare. It is mentioned in traditions: the usual incident is one in which a chief's son or daughter is unjustly rebuked for something, whereupon he or she commits suicide "from shame." Hanging, crawling under and tripping a deadfall, wandering off into the woods to die of starvation and exposure are the usual methods described in these tales. Variations on the theme come when the would-be suicide encounters supernatural power, or finds a route to an unknown region (the trails to Kwakiutl territory are said to have been discovered thus). There seem to have been no suicides within the memory of informants, save for one person (a Kyuquot) who, in what is believed to have been a fit of insanity, shot and killed his wife, their child, and himself. No one knows why he did it, unless it were that he became deranged.

PERSONALITY TYPES AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

IDEALS

The ideal personality to the Nootkans was characterized by mildness of temper, lightheartedness, and generosity. They say, "So-and-so was a good man—he never quarreled with anyone, and was always laughing and joking. He would always help people, and invite them to eat with him. Everyone liked him." Whether chief or commoner, such behavior was expected. The truculent, shiftless, or niggardly individual was looked down on. Such social disapproval was not expressed except in gossip, however; no attempt was made to force a mild nonconformist into line. People tried to get along with him with as little friction as possible. Of course, if he went too far, his fellows pointedly avoided him, refused to speak, and in general indicated that his company was not wanted.

Nowhere are the ideals of behavior expressed more clearly than in the advice given to children. Before a child learned to speak, and continuing until maturity, his parents and grandparents instructed him daily. It was said that if one began when the child was still small (really before it could understand), the facts would be impressed upon him. As he (or she) grew older, mealtimes would be utilized for counsel, "for the child swallows the good words with the food." They would say, for example, "When you are playing with the other children, be careful not to hurt those smaller than yourself [i. e., by accident], or their parents will think you are mean, and feel badly toward you. If any child tries to quarrel, saying something mean to you, don't answer him—turn away. Even if he should hit you, go away. Do not fight back; it's not right. When you are playing with a chief's child, take care of him, see that he does not get hurt." Often at night a boy's father would lie down beside his son coaching him in good manners; a girl's mother did the same for her. A typical speech was one the Ehetisat ʟitcyaȧth chief used to give his son at night. "You must start while you are still young to get up early in the morning to go bathe. Don't lie in bed. That way things will come easily to you [i. e., you will acquire wealth], and people will think well of you. Always treat your people well. Feed them and take care of them so they will help you; otherwise you will be nothing. Be friendly; speak kindly to everyone. When you walk through the village and see a commoner with a child, hold the child and talk to it. If you see a man pulling a canoe up on the beach, go help him without his having to ask you. Be good to everybody, chief or commoner, young or old. Then they will like you and help you. If the people think you are mean, or arrogant, they won't do anything for you. They may even be behind you working black magic to do you harm. Unless you make the people like you and help you, you will be nothing. Never quarrel, or speak angrily to anyone. When you are grown you must begin to bathe ritually for wealth and to bring food for your people . . . [A description of the proper ritual procedure followed]."

"There were four things," a high-rank old lady told me, "that a chief's child was always told. The first was that he should always be kind and friendly to everyone, of high or low rank, old or young. The second, he should never quarrel. If someone tried to pick a quarrel, he should not answer. Third, he should bathe ritually, to feed his people [i. e., to bring plenty for them]; and fourth, he should bathe for wealth. His parents told him these things all the time, while he was eating, in evenings. As he grew up he would be thinking about these things constantly, follow them, and become a big chief."

One cannot doubt that such training had its effect. Formerly, as now, the Nootkans emphasized the fact that mildness of nature was their ideal, and strove to achieve it.[81]

ABNORMAL PERSONALITIES

As a check on the direct descriptions of the culturally idealized personality, we may consider briefly some types considered abnormal or antisocial. It is obvious that in as large a population as that of the Nootkans, not everyone could be expected to conform to a so definitely prescribed standard.

Insanity, at least in its more extreme forms, was recognized as an abnormal condition. One said of a psychopathic person, "He is wikhtin." Supernatural causes were usually sought to explain the cause of insanity. Certain malevolent beings might when encountered cause the unfortunate finder to lose his reason. There were not many such persons, but a few cases were recalled.

One was an Ehetisat girl, slightly older than the informant who told of her. Before her first menses (she seems to have been physiologically retarded; her age-mates were already married), she went berrying with some other girls and women. She wandered a little way from the rest. All of a sudden she heard strange laughter which she knew could not be that of her companions. Frightened as she was, she could not resist looking in the direction from which the eerie sound came. Four haqwo'ʟum appeared. (These are "female" supernaturals with very long hair. If there are 10 together, they are really "women supernaturals" who give good fortune. One or four are males being dressed as women, and invariably harmful.) The girl fainted instantly. After a time she regained consciousness and made her way down to the beach. Her companions, missing her, had been searching for her frantically. Among the others was an older woman who was "beginning to be a doctor." To her astonished eyes there seemed to be something like a shadow behind the girl; "she was just like two persons." Though only a novice she realized the girl had met a supernatural of some sort which had attached itself to her. That evening at home the girl ate, then became violently nauseated (a typical reaction to a supernatural encounter). Then she began to laugh wildly. Her parents were alarmed, knowing something must have happened to her; they tried to take care of her, but she became progressively worse. (I did not learn how long she continued so; my impression is that it was over a period of perhaps a year.) Apparently she experienced hallucinations; the informant said, "The girl could see them 'after her' all the time." Finally the woman doctor sent her brother to tell the girl's distraught parents. "She [the doctoress] had not wanted to tell that the girl had seen a supernatural being, but waited for the girl herself to tell." (The reason is either that the woman feared she might be accused of having bewitched the girl, to get a fee for curing, or as is more probable, her account of what she had seen was a later rationalization. The girl seems never to have told her own experience.) Her parents tried a number of shamans, all of whom failed utterly in curing their daughter. One pretended to remove the supernatural being, even going through the motions of "sending it away," but the woman who had seen it merely laughed. "He didn't take it at all. It's not within her, it's still on her back. When it enters her she becomes crazy." Finally the being possessed its victim permanently. She became quite violent. When people approached her she would clutch at them, trying to claw or bite. Her parents sent to Kyuquot for a famous doctor, but when he arrived she had been dead 2 days. Two of her three sisters died in just the same way within the next few years. "They had got some of the supernatural's power from her."

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[81] It is worth remarking that in the course of a 6-month association with modern Nootkans I did not see or hear of a single fight, despite the fact that there were altercations—many situations highly charged with possibilities of violence (at least I expected them to result so) but the individuals never actually came to blows.

About 60 or 70 years ago, there was a Kyuquot woman married to a ciʟsyaphȧth man. She went alone one day to dig clams, though she was heavy with child. As she dug a strange cry came from the woods. The woman ran to her canoe and put off. Something like a person dashed past along the beach, so swiftly she could not tell clearly what it was. "It was a puqmīs [transformed spirit of a person who nearly drowns then 'goes wild' in the woods]." When the woman returned home, she was afraid to tell; her husband might have been angry with her for going out alone in her condition. Soon after she gave birth to a daughter. When the child began to grow, it soon became evident she was "different." She had a peculiar manner of speech, and she "twitched all the time." Yet no one in the tribe, not even the fleetest of the young men, could run or swim as fast as she. As she raced up and down the beach she "talked a strange language that no one understood," calling "matatatatata." People began to say she was "wikhtin" (crazy). Her mother finally told the father what had happened: that she had seen a puqmīs while carrying their daughter. (It was strange, commented the informant, that all the puqmīs power had gone into the unborn child; the woman hadn't been ill at all. Usually a person who saw a puqmīs, or any other supernatural, became sick and had to be doctored.) After the girl's puberty she flouted every feminine convention of Nootkan culture. "Her mother would dress her neatly with a new bark apron; in a little while she would see her daughter running up and down the beach with the apron lost, or clear around to one side. That girl didn't care about anything." She could not be restrained from seeking out boys and having intercourse with them. Soon she became pregnant. When her mother asked whose the child was, by report she answered, "How do I know? There are many Kyuquot boys." (Ordinarily her parents would have been terribly shamed, but everyone knew their daughter was insane and beyond all control.) When her time came, she disappeared alone into the bush, had her child and left it. She recounted how it had been crying, remarking, "I didn't want it." Shocked, the people begged that she tell where the infant was so they might try to save it, but she refused. They searched but could not find it. Her mother tried to make her observe the birth restrictions, but she refused, "and soon died as a result."

Another case recounted was that of a Kyuquot man who apparently suffered from hysteria of the "shell-shock" variety after receiving a terrible mauling from a wounded bear. For some time after recovering from his physical injuries (though one arm was permanently disabled), he "dreamed about bears" constantly. "Sometimes you could hear him screaming from one end of the village to the other." One day while going along a trail with some other men, he met a bear; the animal stared at him a moment, then ambled off into the bush. The man "began to act strangely," then suddenly fled into the woods. His companions pursued but could not capture him. People caught glimpses of him for some days thereafter, still clutching the tin lunch-pail he had been carrying. At last he was seen no more, apparently dying in some desolate spot in the forest. "Some people thought he was turning into a bear. But most said the bear made him crazy (wikhtin)." A milder case was that of an echolaliac woman at Nootka. The "cause" of her aberration was not known to my informant. She too was considered insane (wikhtin).

There can be little doubt from these descriptions that the term "wikhtin" very definitely referred to an abnormal condition. The fact that such a state was ascribed to supernatural causes is not particularly strange nor unique among primitives. Of more specific interest is the fact that the designation for these abnormal types is extended in common usage to refer to individuals who were antisocial rather than psychopathic. The most extreme case known by informants is that of the Ehetisat-Moachat chief mōqwinȧ mentioned in a previous connection. (See p. 318 ff.) He was an individual who, taking advantage of his high status, viciously tyrannized his people until they were near rebellion. His record includes three wanton murders and many purely malicious acts such as destroying fish traps and smashing up a man's newly made house boards, all for no reason except uninhibited sadism. He was also the only Nootkan to bite spectators when dancing Hamatsa. Yet it seems that after middle age he abandoned or repressed his sadistic inclinations in great part, indicating that he was not actually a psychopath. Nevertheless, people referred to him as "wikhtin."

Other less extreme instances were known. A truculent person is commonly spoken of as "wikhtin," although there is a specific term hīhīanik (hīan, "quarrel"), that can be used. There was a Muchalat man named haiyūpī'a, the eldest of three brothers, who had the doubtful distinction of having quarreled with almost every one of his tribesmen at some time or other. He was not a husky individual either, but a small man of no particular brawling abilities. Possessed of an unusually acrimonious tongue, he aroused a number of men to physical combat, and on more than one occasion got a first-class beating. But neither that nor the many rebukes, public and private, that he received, had any effect. Once he flew into a rage and fought with his two younger brothers. When bystanders separated them, he snatched up his belongings to move into another house. His brothers were much ashamed, but although they did their best to patch up the quarrel he would not speak to them for a long time. There was nothing that could be done with him. People simply tried to avoid arousing his temper. "haiyūpī'ȧ is wikhtin," they said. "If he says something mean, just don't answer him. That is the best way of dealing with him."

X, at Nootka, was the disturbing element during my visit there. He was referred to also as "wikhtin." His failings can be more specifically described as a pronounced disinclination for work, and chronic thirst. In sober moments he was an intelligent, affable person, and was a carver of considerable ability. Drunk, he was noisy and abusive. The general attitude was to take his obnoxious behavior as something of a joke. No one, so far as I know, has ever manhandled him, although he was small and not particularly strong. It may be added that he was very careful to avoid the local white men while on his sprees.

Persons of notoriously loose morals in sexual matters ("notorious" in a society where considerable freedom was tolerated) also might be termed "wikhtin." Their behavior was really considered foolish rather than insane or wrong. Some informants admit that despite this mild censure, men like one now living at Clayoquot who is reported to have married upward of 20 women seem to have an irresistible attraction to the opposite sex. "He can always get a woman even though she knows he'll soon tire of her and throw her away."

Another sort of individual was the lazy shiftless person, (ōwɔphai). Such a man was not considered actually abnormal, or antisocial, but simply as of no account, like a harmless ne'er-do-well in our own society. He was the man who fished just enough to keep from starving, sponged off his relatives, and never got enough wealth together to potlatch. If he had children, his kin had to see to it they got names and were taken in the Shamans' Dance.

matatsɐwił of Ehetisat was ōwɔphai. His forte was getting sea eggs (which does not require much effort). When he got many of them, he would take them to some chief, and thereupon be invited in. He was not quite a commoner, but rather of low-rank family. He moved about from one house to another more than anyone else. He had a daughter for whom he gave a few minor feasts; his wife's "brother" took her in his Shamans' Dance. At her puberty, matatsawił gave a small potlatch, for which an uncle of his furnished the wherewithal. Although people could say but little good of matatsawił they tolerated him. He was quite good-natured. He never quarreled with anyone.

A close-fisted person was called wī'aik. There were not many such that informants knew. One was yūmōtqw, who "owned" the third corner of the tacīsȧth house at Kyuquot. He was of good family, and reckoned a chief, owning a considerable number of privileges in his own right. His niggardliness was well known; "it was the only bad name in the tacīs house." People regarded it as irremediable, for it is said that yūmōtqw's forefathers "had always been like that, and his grandson today is the same. They can't help it; it runs in the family." On one occasion the tacīsȧth chief wanted to give a big potlatch. He had a sea otter skin, and asked that other Kyuquot give him any they had as help. Six men, yūmōtqw among them, each stood to announce the gift of a sea otter hide to the chief. For several days the seven pelts were hanging over a pole in the chief's corner. yūmōtqw repented his sudden liberality, for he sneaked over in the night to recover his sea otter. When the chief was ready to take the skins to the trader to sell for blankets and other potlatch goods he found one missing. Calling some of his men, he inspected the remaining six—all were identified. yūmōtqw's was the missing one. The chief grew very wroth. He threatened to reprimand yūmōtqw publicly, but his wife advised him not to. "Don't say anything to him. You know how he is; he can't help being wī'aik. Just let it go." So the chief desisted, but in his potlatch speech he could not refrain from telling his guests that he had had seven sea otter hides to sell but lost one somehow. "We don't know what happened to it; probably a dog dragged it off." (It is interesting to note that this was told to illustrate yūmōtqw's "stinginess"; it was not regarded as a theft). yūmōtqw was also the only person who was ever repaid fully as much as he gave a chief for "help" in potlatching. No one else expected it. If he were given less he would feel hurt, and might go home before all the speeches were finished. So the chiefs made a point of repaying him in full. Sometimes people teased him about this. He would reply, "I don't know why they do that. I never *ask* to get back as much as I give. I guess the chiefs just want to give me a lot." But everyone knew it was done to avoid ill feelings.

Stealing was never common. White men long resident on the coast corroborate this; guns, tools and the like may be left lying about, or in an unlocked boat or house, in perfect safety. The only habitual thief (kūwik) recalled was a Kyuquot woman who used to steal other women's washing from the lines. Whenever they missed anything they knew where it had gone. Usually they did nothing. Sometimes a woman would go to recover her lost articles. The thief would usually say she had found the things—they must have blown off the line. Her husband was much ashamed but could not prevent her from this petty thievery. She herself was of good family; "she ought to have been ashamed, but she never was."

There was another recognized type—one not looked down on but regarded with sympathetic amusement. This was the "ō'ucshaik" person, the bungler, the clumsy one, represented, doubtless, in all cultures. He was the sort of person who always spilled things or fell down, or forgot to take his harpoon when he went fish spearing. "If he tried to make a canoe it would turn out all lopsided." Other people teased such persons about their misadventures, but quite without malice; in many instances the bungler would tell the story on himself if no one had happened to witness the mishap. The people comment cannily, however, that the teasing "seems to make them worse; they do more and more funny things." Such a person was not persecuted or discriminated against. On the contrary he was often well liked, and people were more than usually ready to help him. I suspect that often this trait, or rather, sort of behavior, was due to some physical deficiency, such as defective eyesight, rather than a mental one.

yałtsixin, of Kyuquot amaiáth, for example, was cross-eyed, which may account for some but not all of the many blunders he committed. Once he went out early one morning to shoot ducks. He paddled to an outside beach where there was a large flock of ducks, then crept down a long sandpit to within range—a trying task. Opening the lard pail which he had thought contained his shells, he found he had brought instead a pail of sugar. As he later told his delighted audience, in disgust he walked to the water's edge waving his arms to drive the birds away.

sasâqtō also was known as a bungler. One night he and his wife went down to the beach before retiring. The tide was far out. He was cautioning his wife to be very careful not to fall; the rocks were slippery and covered with kelp stems. In the midst of his admonitions he himself tripped, clutched at her, and down they both went. They sat on the beach laughing till the people in the house heard them, "so they had to tell what had happened when they returned." On another night sasâqtō went out alone. He and his wife had just moved into a house at a fishing place, so he was not entirely familiar with his surroundings. On his return he felt his way to his sleeping place in the darkness. "Oh, it's cold outside," he said, getting into bed—there was a startled scream—he was in the wrong bed. Everyone in the house realized what had happened and began to laugh. sasâqtō's wife, amused as the rest, called to him, "Come over here! This is where you belong." Next day they all teased him about it. "You didn't really make a mistake that time. You were just pretending in order to sleep with another woman. Too bad she screamed so your wife heard it."

Jealousy was not included among the abnormalities of human nature, but rather among the frailties. Young men and women, as has been described, were continually advised against giving free rein to jealous outbursts. Such behavior might well react to their own disadvantage. In one instance, often recounted to the young as a horrible example, a dying man called his "cousin" the icsaâth chief to his side, to say, "My 'elder brother', I want you to do something for me when I am dead. I know you have a wife from whom you do not want to part, but you have no child. I want you to take my wife as your secondary wife, and bring up my child. We are 'brothers'; I know you will care for my child just as for your own." The icsaâth chief temporized. When he told his own wife about it he said, "I would like to take her on account of the child, but I'm not going to do it. I'm afraid of that woman—she's too mean. She has always been jealous of her husband [the dying man], and always nagged him. I don't want her." This was the woman's loss, of course; her child would have been well cared for and probably been given noble ranking.

These descriptions of various personalities do not exhaust the list but they do give a fair cross section of types the Nootkans regarded as deviating from their norm. It is quite clear that truculence particularly, and niggardliness and laziness represented the opposites to those traits of character deemed normal and estimable. Worthy of comment also is the way in which such undesirable personalities were dealt with—again we find the culture consistent with its own ideals. So long as these unesteemed individuals did not become quite unsupportable, overstepping all bounds, they were tolerated. Others made a point of trying to avoid all possible friction with these antisocial ones as well as they could.

Transvestites, male and female, were known of, but uncommon. There seems to have been no belief that they were sexual perverts; their chief characteristic seems to have been a preference for work normally engaged in by the opposite sex. Questions about female transvestites almost invariably call forth tales of women who became famous war chiefs in ancient times, through a supernatural experience in which they received medicines and rituals for strength and bravery.

NEWS AND GOSSIP

Not only was news transmitted by the common and effective "over-the-back-fence" channels through which information is disseminated in all primitive (and civilized) societies, but there were certain formal patterns for its transmission. Visitors from another tribe, whether of high rank or low, were invariably invited to feasts by the chiefs of the group to which they had come. This was the especial privilege of the "Owner-of-the-Beach"; he had the right to be the first to invite them. At such feasts the newcomers were expected to recount to their host all the latest novelties. All events constituted news: the abundance of salmon in this or that river; the fact that a certain chief was planning a potlatch; and, in ancient times, that the war chiefs were talking of war; who had killed a sea otter; who was having an affair with someone else's wife; who had begun to dance as a novice shaman and what his power seemed to be; vital statistics—all were of interest. Such feasts were as a rule informal affairs, unless the visitors happened to be chiefs of high rank; the formal songs and speeches were not used, nor were the chiefs seated in their ranked places. The recital of recent events constituted the entertainment. Similarly, when a tribesman returned from a visit elsewhere, he was called to a feast so that he might tell the latest gossip to the stay-at-homes. The "left-overs" given at feasts, that is, the gifts of food that guests were to take home with them, represented a recognition of this custom. The idea was that the guests on their return to their homes would give feasts to their housemates, or to tribesmen, in the case of chiefs, at which they would tell what they had seen and how they had been treated. It was expected, of course, that they would dwell on the splendor of the festivities they had just witnessed. Thus it worked out that although only a relatively small number of chiefs might have been invited to a distant celebration, the important events—the names and privileges announced, and so on—would soon be known to everyone. The chiefs did not care to leave the spread of their fame to chance.[82]

News, retailed at these feasts, thus became a recognized form of diversion. The entertainment value of choice bits of gossip was recognized, and incidents that had a ludicrous twist were appreciated. The tale of the Kyuquot gallant who fell in the barrel of rainwater while sneaking out the window of his inamorata's house, spread like wildfire up and down the coast. People often related their own misadventures, if they were amusing and not too painful—the instance of the hunter who stalked a flock of ducks, crawling on his belly down a long sandpit, only to find that he had brought the can containing sugar instead of the one of shotgun shells, was known because he told it on himself at a feast.

Tacit recognition of the extent to which gossip affected public opinion appears in the instances in which what seem to have been malicious falsehoods were deliberately circulated. It is probable that, in the case of the Chickliset woman murdered at Kyuquot, the report that presents of the sort given by lovers in illicit affairs were found among her effects was deliberately circulated to make her in-laws less desirous of avenging her—of course, it might have been true, but no men could be named although ordinarily persons involved in affairs sooner or later came to be known. Similarly, the Ahousat callously admit stoning a young captured chief to death on the beach, then spreading the story that he died "of fright"; there was, of course, nothing intrinsically wrong about killing a war captive, but it demeaned his memory to say that he was so weak he dropped dead of shame and fear.

WAR

Warfare was a phase of Nootkan life that stood in a very peculiar relation to all other aspects of social behavior. In one sense, it may be said that it had a certain integrative function, since it was conducted on the tribal and confederacy level, for it enforced the realization on united local groups that they had to stand together for mutual protection. On the other hand it also produced violent strains on individuals who were torn between two loyalties. Which of these two trends, the integrative or the disruptive, predominated in the long run is very difficult to decide at this distance. Another feature of warfare was the way in which it diametrically opposed every principle of ordinary social behavior. In time of war every tendency toward sadism and violence, repressed in ordinary life, was deliberately called out and even magnified. The temper of the people altered as though by magic. The Nootkans were not unique in this regard: impartial observers could note a very similar phenomenon in our own culture in the late unpleasantness, when tales of such neat devices as the razor blades set in trunks of trees favored by enemy snipers were good for a hearty laugh in any gathering. It is easier to report the matter objectively when describing a primitive people, of course. Perhaps the most remarkable part of the whole war complex and its attendant attitudes was that so little of it was carried over into ordinary social life.

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[82] The same customs prevailed among the Kwakiutl, and perhaps among other neighboring peoples as well. Boas (1896, p. 425), in recounting the adventures of a man who killed some "northern people," took slaves, and captured some of their ceremonial equipment, quotes his tale, as related to George Hunt: "Then we came here to Alert Bay. . . Here we were met by our tribe, the Nimkish. We were invited at once by Chief Koaxilanokume, together with our slaves. He gave us dried halibut to eat. As soon as we had eaten, the chief spoke and said: 'My dear, tell us where did you get these women (the slaves)?' Then I spoke to him and told him what had happened."

Wars were fought for a variety of causes, and sometimes for very little cause. Economic motives, however, ranked very high in the scale of importance, a circumstance rather unusual among primitives. A group would want the territories and fishing stations of its neighbors, and if they could share in the rights no other way would send out war parties for the express purpose of exterminating the intended victims and seizing their property. In the native phraseology, it is usually said that it was a certain chief who coveted the alien possessions, but it seems fairly clear that the chiefs merely expressed, at such times, the sentiments of their people who were pressed for "Lebensraum" either through growth of the group or because of relative poverty of their territory. The Ahousat before their war of conquest inhabited a marginal territory, mostly along the outer beaches of Flores Island, and had no salmon streams; they must have suffered privation more often than any of their neighbors. The Clayoquot were a local group with rich salmon-fishing grounds but little else, for they were hemmed in on Kennedy Lake, and seem to have had no herring grounds nor halibut banks to fill in between salmon runs. In short, there is abundant evidence that some of the wars were based on economic necessity. Vengeance for past slayings or even for slights, particularly to chiefs, provided another strong motivation for warfare. At the same time, revenge invariably reinforced other motives, such as the economic, once trouble had begun, to make the strife continue during a long campaign. If a group wearied of a war, and became disheartened after heavy losses, they could nearly always be roused into continuing it by a few vengeful souls who harped on the necessity of avenging their lost tribesmen. Closely linked with clean-cut revenge was the concept that might be translated "death companion," (tcitcmō);

when a chief, or a chief's child died, the bereaved tribe might kill a slave, or slaves, on the beach "for tcitemō" or they might stage a full-scale attack on some neighboring tribe.[83] One of the accounts of a campaign that follows this general discussion describes just such an event. The idea seems to have been not only that the dead should be accompanied, but that other people should mourn as well.

Whatever the reason for the war, it was decided on formally. The men met, often outdoors (perhaps to keep the plans secret from the women, some of whom might be from the intended victims' group). Inflammatory gossip spread by war chiefs, in many cases, preceded such a step. At the meeting the leading chiefs or the war chiefs announced they wanted to make war. Denunciations of the enemy, and long recitals of grievances held against them formed part of the speeches. Nominally the decision rested with the highest ranking chief of the tribe. Actually, we hear of chiefs of lesser rank, and of war chiefs of known prowess, turning the tide of opinion one way or the other. It appears that the factor of personality was decisive—the dominant individual with a strong following would have his way. Some projects for war bogged down at the outset because an influential chief, or a noted war chief refused to take part. War chiefs ordinarily acceded, of course, lest their refusal be interpreted as cowardice.

Once the war was approved, plans were laid. Usually the men were told to begin by bathing ritually for a period varying from 1 to 4 nights, or even longer. Sometimes each man was left to bathe as he thought best, or according to his own ritual, but at times war chiefs gave them part of their stock of secret medicines for invulnerability or courage. The chiefs and war chiefs usually planned the operation in private, announcing plans at the last minute to avoid possible leaks of information. Sometimes longer preparatory periods were mapped out, and occasionally war chiefs were astute enough to insist on practical as well as ceremonial preparation. Such leaders made their men practice at dodging pikes and arrows, and when planning an open assault, staged dry runs of the most difficult of military maneuvers: hitting the beach. They made their force practice leaping from the canoes and running, zigzagging, up the open slope.

The members of a war party painted their faces black with charcoal. War chiefs, especially, were said to use other materials, such as charred wolf or mountain lion bone, for painting. The hair was tied up on top of the head with a hemlock twig, and transfixed with sharp bipointed bone pins which were supposed to keep an opponent from grabbing the warrior by his topknot. The war chiefs often wore headdresses made of the skins of wolf or bear scalps "to make them look fierce." In dances, there were occasions when headgear with long tresses attached was worn, but these were not from scalps but made of hair cut from the dancer's female kin. These articles were not known in actual war, nor, informants were sure, would scalps ever be used. The war chief's weapon before the days of firearms, and his badge of office, was either a whale-bone club (tcī'tuł), a heavy wide flat blade, sharpened along one or both edges, or a stone skull crusher (tsitsiqīyàq). These latter implements were of heavy close-grained stone all of one piece with a haft and guard and heavy conical tip that tapered to a blunt end. Interpreters often call them "daggers" because of the stabbing motion with which they were used, but they were crushing, not cutting implements. Most war chiefs had special ritual names for these weapons, and referred to them by such names, or by some euphemism like "Orphan maker." Ordinary warriors carried pikes (tsaxyàq), 7- or 8-foot lengths of yew wood with sharp fire-hardened points, bows (the same bow and arrows used for hunting), and slings (nūtcyàq), made with pockets of spruce root twining, and long thongs, one of which had a loop at its free end for holding. These last weapons have not been used in war for a long time, but informants say their elders taught them that the slings were very effective, before firearms; the device has persisted as a toy, and boys are said to become quite accurate with it, killing birds, squirrels, and the like with stones the size of a hen's egg. The emphasis seems to have been on weapons for close quarters, however, rather than fire power. Since the days of the maritime fur trade, guns, crammed with buckshot and powder to within a hair's breadth of the bursting point, became the favorite arm. Accuracy and range were of little moment; the guns were murderous at close quarters.

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[83] Literally, the term "tcitemō" was explained as meaning simply "companion." A woman who accompanied a bride to her new home, and lived there with her for a time for company was referred to as "tcitemō." Also, if someone were going out into the rain, a friend might say, "tcitemō'aqs," "I'll come along [and get wet with you]."

The war chiefs alone wore armor. The most common form was a strip of two or three thicknesses of elkhide (a Clayoquot informant suggested sea lion hide instead) that went about the body, protecting it from the armpits to the hips, and was laced down one side where the ends overlapped. Informants disagreed as to whether armor was ever made of woven materials. A Muchalat informant believed especially heavy closely twined cedar bark was used; a Hesquiat informant described a sort of rod armor, twined of hardwood twigs.

Turney-High (1942) has called attention in an interesting study to the ineffective nature of most American Indian warfare and the fact that it was merely a murderous game, hardly to be considered real war. It appears that not only was Nootkan warfare real war by Turney-High's definition, usually (though not always) aimed at completely exterminating the enemy, but that in most departments of war activity the Nootkans performed with more efficiency than most of the Indian groups appraised in Turney-High's study. (It is certain that the Kwakiutl groups, and probably other Northwest Coast tribes, had as effective a war complex as the Nootkans.)

The command of a military force devolved upon the chief or war chief who instigated the war, although sometimes a chief delegated actual field command to one of his war chiefs. The composition of the force is hard to define; some accounts speak as though volunteers were called on, while others indicate that all able-bodied men were subject to service when called on by the commander. Probably the latter was true, in view of the authority of the chiefs in all matters. The stamp of approval given the war in the men's assembly made such authority valid. The selection of individuals for the nucleus of the striking force, their training, ritual and practice, and their disposition in battle all indicate that the orders of the commander had to be obeyed. The size of the force depended obviously on the manpower of the group setting out on the campaign, but the commanders almost always tried to put into the field a force superior to the foe they were planning to attack. This was usually possible even when a small group waged war on a large one, for in such cases small divisions, such as isolated groups at fishing stations, would be raided.

Intelligence was recognized as an important part of any military proceeding. The problems of the Nootkan G2 were simplified by the fact that the identity of the enemy war chiefs and able warriors, the location and arrangement of the houses at enemy sites, and the probable activities of the enemy at any given time (whether they would be assembled in the tribal villages, at salmon streams, or scattered in fishing camps along the outside beaches) were all well known. The immediate problems were always to determine the number of people in each site at times when the groups were scattered, and in just what houses the enemy war chiefs happened to be living (since they moved around from one house to another in most instances), and, finally, necessary tactical information just prior to the actual attack. The disposition of the enemy was usually obtained from tribesmen, or members of a friendly neutral group, who had recently visited the proposed foe. Such persons were called on to brief the war chiefs on these matters, including precise data as to the sleeping places of various individuals in each house. Sometimes such information is said to have been obtained by sending spies—tribesmen who would go to visit relatives and observe what the disposition of forces was. This method served only at the beginning of a campaign, as a rule, or after a long period of truce, and was always liable to the danger that the spy might relent enough to warn his immediate kin of the impending attack. Occasionally it was deemed possible to obtain sufficient information through scouting. War chiefs often did such scouting themselves, going by canoe to a point screened from the village, hiding their canoe, and creeping through the woods to a point from which they could observe the enemy.

Once the necessary information was assembled, the chiefs and war chiefs discussed it and made their plans. The favorite tactic was the familiar American Indian night raid, but the Nootkans brought it to a high level of perfection. The attacking party was divided into as many squads as there were houses, ordinarily at least, and each squad was assigned a certain house. Since it was recognized that the enemy were most easily demoralized when their war chiefs and chiefs had been killed, each war chief was detailed to kill a war chief or other important personage—it was for this reason that location of the sleeping places of various individuals was important. Each individual was coached on his mission, so that he knew just what to do. It was assumed that in the confusion and darkness, the well-briefed attackers had an insuperable advantage, and this was nearly always the case. There were other tactics besides the night raid, however. Bold frontal attacks from canoes that ran in on the beach, from which the warriors leaped to charge the waiting foe, were often mapped out, but it must be owned were usually failures, because the attackers did not have enough fire power, or did not use it adequately, to overcome the advantage of defenders shooting from the shelter of the houses. The problem in such cases was to get an effective part of the attacking force at grips with the defenders, and the houses were solid enough and entrances restricted enough to make it hard to do. One of the few successful solutions was that of the Chickliset who, coming in to the ʟa'isåth beach singing, beguiled their enemy into believing they were coming on ceremonial affairs, so there was no attempt at defense until too late. Other, and more successful tactics, were variations on the encirclement theme. Sometimes an attacking force was divided, part of it being distributed across the expected line of retreat (or flight) of the enemy. At other times it was planned for the two bodies to strike simultaneously from the flanks, or from front and rear. The chief difficulty with such operations was the element of time: sometimes one element struck before the other was in position. Signals were used to try to overcome this defect—cries of night birds, wolf howls, and the like were all tried. The value of diversionary maneuvers, both to draw the attention of the enemy and to make them waste their fire, was well understood. Occasionally plans were laid that were far too complex to be practicable, like those for the Otsosat attack on the Ahousat village to be related.

Another sort of tactic was that of out-and-out treachery too base to be condoned even though it was so consistently successful. It served, of course, only at the beginning of a war, or with a foe who was anxious for peace. The Moachat chief cīwuc worked it several times against the Muchalat. The technique usually consisted in offering peace, and suggesting a marriage be arranged to cement the new tranquillity. At some stage of the festivities, the plotters arranged to have their men distributed among the foe, each trying to maneuver himself into a place on the right of his intended victim so that he would be able to whip out a dagger or club to strike him down when the war chief gave a certain signal. This was also, of course, the technique used in the taking of ships, such as the *Boston*, and the *Tonquin*, in the days of the maritime trade.

Defensive tactics consisted principally of posting sentinels, use of fortified positions, and interdicting approaches to the village through the woods (i. e., from the flanks and rear) through use of deadfalls. Whenever word came that one group was planning an attack on another group, sentinels (usually war chiefs), were invariably posted by the threatened group. It was recognized that alert guards were the best possible protection against the night raid. The trouble with sentinels was that, unless the attack came off soon, they became bored by their vigils, and finally slacked off altogether, so that they were usually sound asleep when the attack did materialize. Everyone seems to have been quite aware of this lamentable habit of sentinels; war chiefs planning a retaliatory mission are said to have held off, frequently, until they felt sure the enemy sentinels had become tired of guard duty. Fortified positions varied from palisades of heavy planks around the village to use of refuge islands—easily defended by a few resolute warriors commanding points of access, but little more than traps in case of a siege. Sieges are spoken of in traditions of ancient wars, but must have been very rare for the attackers would ordinarily starve out before the besieged. No such sustained effort is described in any of the matter-of-fact and accurate accounts of recent wars. At the end of the Muchalat wars, the Muchalat built a house on a little knoll at a'aminqȧs, surrounding it with a double palisade consisting of a high inner wall, and a lower curtain around it. Simple palisades, provided with loopholes, seem to have been more usual. The use of deadfalls along trails was not very common, but was practiced where there were well-defined trails through the woods that the enemy might be expected to know and use.

On the level of strategy rather than tactics was such a practice as that of deliberately leaving families or groups of the enemy unmolested, if it were known that they were inclined to be friendly to the attackers (because, for example, of close kinship). It was hoped that this would cause internal dissension among the enemy, and might lead them to abandon their war projects.

In the literature one often meets with references to naval warfare among Northwest Coast groups, as though enemy forces habitually met in their war canoes. This was not true of the Nootkans, nor, I believe, of any of their neighbors. They preferred to do their actual fighting on land, using the "war canoes" only for the approach to the objective, and for the withdrawal. The chief afloat operations consisted in one or more war canoes cutting off single small canoes of fishermen, either overhauling them by sheer number of paddles, or encircling them. The nearest thing to a sea engagement of which I heard was the over-elaborate Otsosat plan to draw off the Ahousat war canoes, cut off one or two of them while the rest were disorganized by a diversionary action on shore, and then attack the beach. The plan miscarried, but the Ahousat counterattack dwindled out into an ineffectual chase, except for that of the chief haiyūpinūł, who was able to overtake one canoe because he had enough guns to pour a steady fire into it till he could overhaul it.

Various war tales give good pictures of the carrying out of an attack. For a night raid, a dark stormy night was preferred. The raiders put ashore around the point from the village that was their objective, as a rule, and sent scouts forward to report back when all was still and the fires had died down. If a ceremonial were being held, a Shamans' Dance, for example, they waited till the scouts reported the affair was at a climax at which all the people would be occupied singing and dancing. By preference, however, they waited until even later—if necessary, until everyone had turned in for the night. Some men were told off as canoe guards, to keep the canoes from being stranded by the tide, and to hold them ready for a rapid withdrawal. Some chiefs stayed with the canoes instead of accompanying the warriors. The warriors set out for the houses assigned them. On black stormy nights they might form a line, holding hands to avoid getting lost going through the woods and along the beach. They crept into the houses, each to his designated place, to wait for the signal. Companions were posted by the doors to kill foes who ran out. Usually the commander of the forces gave the signal by opening fire on his selected victim. In an instant, pandemonium reigned. The firing, slashing, and clubbing began, victims screamed, and warriors gave their beheading cries of "hap! hap!" The victims ran wildly about in the darkness, as often as not falling into the hands of the enemy, who killed them or took them captive. Women and children tried to escape through small escapeways in the rear wall of the house, to hide in the woods. Some men followed them; others tried to make a stand. There was usually a group of aides, young men and youths, who had not been specifically assigned tasks in the raid, and who in many cases had not been chosen to go on the attack but had come of their own volition, who ran about pillaging, taking slaves, and so on. When the victims were dead, enslaved, or escaped, the houses were looted and fired, the attackers took their booty to the beach and loaded it into the canoes, which meanwhile had been brought around. Usually the raiders made a conscientious effort to destroy all the canoes and other property they could not take, then shoved off before the enemy could muster forces for a counterattack, if there were enough of them left. In attacks on small isolated groups, the attackers tried to hunt out and kill all the members of their enemy, so none remained to go to a related group for help. With the factor of surprise in their favor, and the thoroughness of their plans, it was rare indeed that one of these attacks failed.

A famous attack made by the Clayoquot on the Kyuquot about 1855 was one of those that failed, at least in one sense, for the Clayoquot did not inflict nearly as heavy losses as they had planned. The affair has been described in considerable detail by Sproat;[84] I shall merely summarize it here. The Clayoquot had recruited allies from most of the other groups north of Barkley Sound except the Ahousat. They had also made a deal with a white trader who owned a schooner armed with "some kind of cannon" to transport part of their force and munitions; he was to bring this supporting force at the proper time so that they could be lightered to the beach by canoes while he fired his deck gun for cover. The remainder of the force proceeded by canoe. They waited in the shelter of an island till night before proceeding to the summer site of aqtīs. The schooner failed to arrive in time, so when all was still, they attacked anyhow. The Kyuquot had been expecting the attack for some time, but their sentinels had given up their guard duty, and one tribe had moved up to a site in the sound for some reason. One part of the Clayoquot force was to begin at the west end of the village, and a force of allies at the other, striking simultaneously; a mixed force of the Clayoquot and their allies were to go ashore at the center of the beach as a second wave and strike the people running in confusion out of the houses. The plan, which would have reduced the Kyuquot to a bare handful, fell down because the allies on one flank, fearing Kyuquot revenge, did not attack. The Clayoquot force killed a number of people in the houses at the west end of the village and set the houses on fire, but the rest of the Kyuquot had time to form a counterattack, containing the flank group, and met the central element on the beach and drove them off before they could land. The Clayoquot withdrew to nearby Mission Island, to dance with the heads they had taken, and taunt the Kyuquot while waiting for the schooner to arrive. The Kuyquot sent a canoe by a roundabout route to bring the people from up the inlet. The Clayoquot waited 3 days, but the schooner did not arrive. It is told that the skipper had put in at Hesquiat Harbor for water, and by chance had engaged a part-Ahousat man to pilot him over the bar to the Inner Basin. The pilot, who had learned that his maternal kin had refused to aid the war party, deliberately put the vessel on the bar. Meanwhile between 80 and 100 warriors came down from the inlets to aqtīs, so the Clayoquot left. Accounts of losses vary considerably; Sproat (1868), who probably had the most accurate and impartial information, credits the Clayoquot with 35 heads and 13 slaves, against casualties of 11 dead and 17 wounded. About half the houses on aqtīs are said to have been burned, in addition. The Kyuquot later on raided the Nuchatlet, Ehetisat, and other allies of the Clayoquot in revenge, but never made a major attack on the Clayoquot.

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[84] Sproat, 1868, pp. 188 ff. Moser (1926) gives a somewhat garbled version of the affair.

If we evaluate Nootkan warfare on the basis of effectiveness, we must grant it considerable efficiency. The hisau'isȧth and the Otsosat were exterminated within recent times; the groups inhabiting Muchalat Arm were reduced from several hundred to less than forty persons, and other groups are said to have been wiped out completely in ancient days, all by the type of warfare described. Yet the complex had serious deficiencies too. One of the most noteworthy was the poor discipline and lack of succession of command that caused attacking forces to withdraw when on the verge of victory because of the loss of their commander. It was not customary to give up readily at the first casualty, as did many of the putatively warlike Plains tribes and others, but the death of the leading war chief tended to demoralize the force. They did not necessarily give up the campaign on this account, for the chief of the war chiefs always had a successor who generally carried on, but excellent opportunities were often lost in these withdrawals. Poor discipline was also responsible for the careless watch stood by the sentinels.

While the war party was away, the warriors' wives assembled in one house to sing all night long. They had no magical tokens to indicate the fate of their husbands, as did Kwakiutl warriors' wives. They simply sang, beating on boards with sticks. Their songs were of "killing" and "cutting off heads." When day came, they went quietly home to await news.

Warriors beheaded their victims—not just war chiefs, but all men, women, and children that they killed. The heads were taken home, to display and rejoice over; they were out on a rock at one end of the beach for 4 days, after which they were hidden in the woods. The custom of setting them up on poles is said to have been practiced only by the tribes of the Barkley Sound district. The Chicklisct had a special method of stringing heads like beads on a long cedar withe (apparently punching holes through the cranium to insert it), and hanging them up on a tree near the village. The body of an enemy, usually that of an attacker who was not carried off but remained in the hands of his foe, was often mutilated. Several tales describe such bodies being set up on poles, and subjected to various indignities. Only women and children were taken as slaves. Sometimes they were sold, sometimes they were taken to the home of the raiders and clubbed to death. Men were not ordinarily enslaved, for they would be too likely to seize an opportunity to avenge themselves. They were sometimes taken captive, however, to be killed at leisure. It was considered highly amusing to make a captive plead for his life, especially were he a chief of high rank, or a war chief. With a refined cruelty, his captors would promise to spare him if he performed some debasing act. If he refused, they killed him; if he demeaned himself, they mocked him for his cowardice, and killed him just the same. A brave man was one who stood singing his war song, or his spirit song, disregarding his captors' taunts, until he died. So died a young Kyuquot chief (kidnaped by a white man and turned over to the Clayoquot for a reward some years after the attack just described). He sang while they jabbed him with the pikes, "in the arms and legs first, so he wouldn't die too quick." Finally one of them drove a pike through his belly.

A war party returned singing, with the heads they had taken held aloft on sticks. When they landed the war chiefs danced on the beach with the heads and sang their victory songs, and boasted of their prowess. Some would hold a head up to lick the blood from the severed neck to show their savagery. Even though the party had suffered losses they celebrated. The bereaved kin took no part in the proceedings. None of the members of the war party were subject to any restrictions, except that they refrained from handling their small children for fear of making them ill. If there was much loot, the chiefs gave it away in potlatches. The situation as to ceremonial cannibalism is not clear; it may have been practiced after successful raids, although modern informants deny it unanimously. If it ever was customary, as so many of the early explorers maintain, it went out of use early in the historic period.

War created many difficult social situations, aside from the discomforting knowledge that an attack was impending. A single local group or tribe contained at any time women from and individuals closely related to the various neighboring groups, so that many people were torn between two sets of loyalties. Women tended to favor their blood kin, rather than their husbands and in-laws at these times, and thus it was that plans were often betrayed, and information was given to attackers. Some men wavered in the balance for a long time.

The property—lands, fishing rights, and even ceremonial privileges—of a group that was completely liquidated could be claimed by the victors. It is said that as long as any of them remained, except as slaves, such properties could not be claimed. However, in cases where the few survivors fled to relatives in other groups, as did the last of the Sidney Inlet people, they obviously could not do much to enforce their claim. Rights obtained by conquest were regarded as "having a bad name," i. e., not so noble as those obtained by inheritance or in marriage. Captured rights were called tcinōkt (as opposed to tcimōkt, "patrilineally inherited," and łutchaōkt, "obtained in marriage"). "In quarrels a man will say, 'Those rights you claim are not good, they are something stolen. They are just tcinōkt.' His opponent can make no reply, even if it was his ancestors way back who got them in war."

I have dwelt at some length on the ruthlessness and the savagery of Nootkan warfare because everything about it runs counter to the attitudes esteemed in ordinary intragroup social life. In distinction to areas such as the Plains, where ineffectual war colored normal social patterns, among the Nootkans the two fields of activity and the attitudes and values that went with them were sharply compartmented off from each other. There were only slight overlaps: The fact that the war chiefs retained their identity and functioned ceremonially at feasts and Shamans' Dances was one of these. Yet it is worth noting that the war chiefs seldom carried their traditional savagery and brutality over into intragroup social contacts. Informants agree that the herculean war chief tuckai'iłȧm of a'aminqȧs, who battered Chief cīwuc to death on the rocks of the beach with his bare hands, was otherwise a mild-mannered kindly individual who never quarreled with his housemates and neighbors. One informant described how, as a small boy, he and his playmates constantly tagged about after tuckai'iłȧm. They liked him because he would always tell them stories—he spent hours spinning yarns about his exploits at hunting and trapping. The informant affirmed he could not recall a single time the war chief had told of his war deeds. And so with most of the others. They did not use their strength nor their reputations as killers to bully their fellows.

The other point of overlap lay in situations of violent personal conflict passing, or about to pass, the normal verbal quarrels and minor scuffles. When someone committed one of the infrequent ingroup murders, or was threatening to commit one (as happened far more often), he painted and tied up his hair for war, and appealed to his war chief kin to stand by him. He was thus making war, or threatening war, and making an appeal to his lineage or tribe to back him up in opposition to the adversary's group, so it was no longer a matter of an individual squabble. The fact that he threatened to put the affair on the war level was the real danger that made the more level-headed tribesmen exert every effort to smooth over the matter, even if it meant overlooking slights and injuries.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that war did not provide an *essential* outlet for sadistic and violent tendencies. Had it done so, we should find some other manifestations of aggression and brutality in social relationships since the wars have stopped, but the modern Nootkans are as little given to violence in ordinary social situations as were their forefathers who could vent their spleen by waging war on some other tribe.

To depict the Nootkan war complex in its full color and vigor, I present in the following paragraphs accounts of some specific campaigns. One of them tells of the Ahousat conquest, that changed them from a small poor group to a dominant tribe on the coast; the other relates the adventures, or misadventures, of the various local groups of Muchalat Arm, who received one drubbing after another for a couple of generations, and who would undoubtedly be extinct today had not gunboats, missionaries, and other outside influences called a halt to the wars. In the accounts many of the features described in general terms in the preceding discussion will be noted.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE AHOUSAT AND THE OTSOSAT

Up to the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Ahousat were a local group who owned only the outside beaches and foreshore of Vargas Island and a small area across Hecate Pass below Catface Mountain. They owned no important dog salmon streams, and, it is said, often suffered privations on this account. They resolved to obtain a wife for the chief second to the head chief in rank, from the Otsosat, whose winter village was maktūsīs, the site of modern Ahousat. The Otsosat were a powerful tribe whose chiefs owned rich fishing grounds not only on Flores Island, but also up Herbert, North, and Shelter Arms and Sidney Inlet. It would appear that they were probably a tribe—a confederation of several local groups who assembled at maktūsīs in the winter. The Sidney Inlet people are often referred to as a separate group, the Manoisat (manō'i'sáth). At length a marriage was arranged for the second chief, haiyūpinūł, with the daughter of an Otsosat chief. Despite this formal alliance, the Otsosat did not let the Ahousat fish dog salmon (I presume this means that the bride's father, in giving the dowry, did not include any fishing rights in his dog salmon streams). haiyūpinūł quarreled with his wife that fall, and she returned to her home. The following spring the chief sent some young men to bring his wife back. Her father refused to let her return. The young men, offended, broke the tips of their paddles on the way home, and reported on arrival that the Otsosat had not only refused to send the woman back, but had broken their paddles (i. e., had treated them roughly). haiyūpinūł was much angered. He chanced to find two Otsosat men on Twins Islet, and killed them both. Their kin, when their canoe drifted in, knew at once on whom to lay the blame. The head chief of the Otsosat sent six war chiefs out to seek revenge. They found seven Ahousat men cutting cedar poles for drying racks for herring eggs, killed and beheaded them, then displayed the heads from their canoe while paddling back and forth in front of the Ahousat village. All the Ahousat assembled in their chief's house. Only haiyūpinūł, of all the chiefs, still wanted to wage war. The first chief, mōqwinȧ (who was against war at any cost because his mother was Otsosat) prevailed, insisting on the tribe's moving to kwatsūwis (on Deep Pass), and sending word to the Otsosat that his people wanted peace. To insure the peace, arrangements were begun to obtain wives for the Ahousat war chiefs from the Otsosat. There was one Ahousat war chief who was, or who fancied himself, slighted in these arrangements, and during a visit to the Otsosat slipped off into the woods near the village, circled around to the back of the houses, and was just lining up his sights on an Otsosat chief when two Otsosat warriors who had seen his stealthy departure shot and killed him. They were enraged at his attempt at treachery, and dragged his body down to the beach. There, before the Ahousat visitors, who, knowing nothing of the dead war chief's plans, were quite unprepared, the Otsosat set the corpse up by driving a yew stake up its anus, slashed the belly open so that the guts fell out onto the sand, and cut off the private parts and tied them to the corpse's nose (through the perforation in the septum). The Ahousat first chief, mōqwinȧ, forbade his people to fight (and of course they were for the most part unarmed). They returned to their village and held another meeting. Some chiefs still spoke against war—it would cause hard times (for fishermen would not dare go out often). haiyūpinūł lay on the floor covering his head with his blanket. When the others had finished speaking, he rose to his feet and addressed mōqwinȧ. "Where is your 'younger brother'? [The Ahousat, being a single local group, were all closely related, and their chiefs addressed each other as siblings.] Did he have a decent burial when he died? No, he's still out there on the beach, propped up on a stake, with his guts all over the beach. You can do what you want to; I am going to make war if I have to do it alone, hiding by myself in the bush like a wild dog to kill every Otsosat I can catch." Then the war chiefs ʟɛhaisim and qanīmȧ stood up singing their war songs, and calling for others to go with them. All but mōqwinȧ's immediate family offered to go. So they sent word to the Otsosat that they were coming to fight. In reply, the Otsosat sent a war party out in their war canoes, who cut off a party of seven Ahousat fishermen, killed them, and displayed their heads to their relatives. (The informant insisted that this was a second party of seven killed by the Otsosat, making a score of 14 to 2, a rather inauspicious beginning for the Ahousat after their declaration of war.) The Otsosat considered attacking their enemy by a mass landing on the beach, while displaying the latest collection of heads, but deferred it because the racks for drying herring roe formed an obstacle which would give the Ahousat time to establish a defense. They never got another chance quite as good. haiyūpinūł selected 40 young men, and began a period of ritual training which was to last 8 months. They remained continent this whole time. During the waxing of the moon, they climbed Catface Mountain, where they sang war songs and prayed for success. haiyūpinūł would stand singing while the young men threw dried leaves and gravel (representing buckshot) at him. They also did more practical sorts of training, practicing landings on hostile beaches, and going through maneuvers in which they shot at each other with blunt, untipped arrows. One version of the war states that during these mock skirmishes one of the young men was unsuccessful in dodging an arrow, which came at him with enough force to go clear through his cheek and into his mouth. His comrades in arms laughed hilariously, and a Clayoquot who was watching shook his head and said, dourly, that it was a poor way to prepare for war. (Obviously, he was wrong.) haiyūpinūł's mother, a Nuchatlet woman, seems to have been the party's chief advisor in magical protection, for she gave them numerous medicines to make them invulnerable. When they were ready, she had them send a half-Otsosat messenger with the false news that the Ahousat were giving up the war, and were moving away from their village at tsatikwīs. The tribe moved instead to the site on Deep Pass (tcītapī). Some Otsosat scouted tsatikwīs, and found it abandoned. The entire Otsosat tribe moved to their sites along the outside of Flores Island, to begin fishing for halibut. An Ehetisat relative of the Ahousat came by and saw them there, and carried the word to the Ahousat. haiyūpinūł himself is said to have scouted the foe, and found a large camp of them on Bartlett Island. He assembled his men for a last dry run, and that night they launched their war canoes. Off the southeast tip of Bartlett Island, the canoes drew up in a line, and haiyūpinūł called on the other chiefs to follow him around to the eastward of the island (the Otsosat camp was on the northwest tip of the islet), and for qanīmå to proceed up the west side and attack. His plan was to capture many women and children as slaves. qanīmå was put out, for he felt that he would have to carry the brunt of the attack, but he went anyhow. (The maneuver actually would seem to have been the proper one, though it did not turn out as well as it should have. One may guess, though we have no information on the point, that there was a lack of coordination, haiyūpinūł's group not having established contact when qanīmå staged the attack.) The latter led his party through the channels, and found the Otsosat men sleeping in their canoes (to make an early start for the fishing grounds). The war canoes laid alongside the fishing craft and began killing and beheading the sleepers. One fisherman awoke as his companion was being slain, and seeing no escape possible, said, "Be careful, don't kill me. I'm tsiłtsihauk, of the Clayoquot." The warriors called one of their party who was half-Clayoquot. He looked at the man in the canoe and said, "He is tsiłtsihauk, the Otsosat." So they killed him. They caught another young man, who told them, "Now you don't have to worry, for you have got the principal Otsosat war chief. I am qɛmictup." He was really qɛmictup's younger brother, who by stalling for time hoped to enable the real qɛmictup to escape. While they killed him, his brother the war chief dove into the water and began to swim to Flores Island. One of the war party canoes saw or heard him, overtook him, and speared him in the water as though he were a seal. (These attempts to conceal one's identity, the one poltroonish, the other heroic, seem puerile since these people all knew each other well, but it must be remembered the attack was made in the dark of night.) Only one of the fishermen escaped; he swam to Flores Island (a mile and a half or so at the nearest point), and ran along the beaches warning the rest of the Otsosat, who all assembled at autsōs, near Rafael Point. qanīmå's party seems to have spent some time pursuing Otsosat who took to the water. Finally they assembled at the camp with 78 heads. The chief's party came down from the woods back of the camp with only two slaves—two women, whom they killed on the beach. Only one of the force was wounded: one of qanīmå's men who got a spear through the throat. qanīmå pulled the spear out, and they tried to stop the bleeding with herbs and "medicines." The wounded man's brother fainted, watching him, and qanīmå stood over him and said, "Don't faint, sit up like a man. We're fighting the Otsosat now." At daybreak the war party displayed the 80 heads to the Otsosat. War chiefs of the latter tribe danced on the beach to show they were not afraid. (Both forces were apparently careful to keep out of range.) On their way home the Ahousat encountered a Clayoquot chief returning from

Nootka Sound. He seems to have thought the Ahousat were on one of their practice runs for he said to them, mockingly, "Let's see what you caught last night." qanīmȧ stood up holding a head in either hand, and one in his mouth, and the Ahousat chiefs held up heads and spat on them. The Clayoquot sat down in his canoe and covered his face with his blanket for shame. He was friendly to the Otsosat, and was sure the Ahousat could not win the war. He turned back to the Otsosat village. There, lying to off shore, he had his war chief call out, "Otsosat, show me how many fighting men you have left." The Otsosat warriors came down to the beach; there were still many of them—"some people say 400, some say 600, some say there were 800 left," said the informant. The Clayoquot went ashore and assembled the Otsosat chiefs. He hated the Ahousat. He said to the Otsosat chiefs, "I'll give you my place on a'a'iʟis (Wikennanish Island) to hide your war canoes." He anticipated an Ahousat move from tcītapī; he was right, for on the return of the war party, the Ahousat moved to ahaus, outside Vargas Island (expecting a retaliatory attack to be aimed immediately at tcītapī). The Otsosat made their plans, and moved a large force stealthily to Wikennanish Island, where they hid. They selected four young men, gave them pitch torches, and landed them on the southeast tip of Vargas Island. The four were to cut through the woods, and watch till the Ahousat men set out in their canoes, then rush the village to fire the houses. The Otsosat war party after a time left their hiding place. Nearing ahaus in their canoes, they first tried to cut off some Ahousat fishermen who had shoved off just before they came around the point. This seems to have been another good opportunity they slighted, for the Ahousat apparently did not expect an attack so soon at ahaus, and were unprepared. According to the principal informant, several of them saw the Otsosat canoes, but thought they were a Clayoquot whaling party, and stood idly watching them for some time in the dim early morning light till they realized the canoes were in pursuit of the fishermen, who were frantically paddling for their lives. haiyūpinūł had eight loaded muskets in his canoe; as he was launching it to go to the rescue, mōqwinȧ tipped it over. But haiyūpinūł recovered his muskets and set out, drying them as his crew overhauled the Otsosat. Meanwhile, the Otsosat had overtaken one or more canoes, killing several men, and transferring two women to the war chief's craft. The Ahousat pursuit came up. haiyūpinūł opened fire (he had someone to reload for him). He followed the big canoe with the captive women, picking off the occupants one by one. By mischance he killed one of the women. The other was ordered by the Otsosat to plug the shot holes in the canoe, which she pretended to do, but really let the canoe make water. Meanwhile, the four young men with the torches, who were supposed to create a diversion and demoralize the counterattack, had got lost in the woods, so the Otsosat force gave up the attack and, scattering, took flight in earnest. (The Otsosat had obviously planned a complex operation, and one that might have worked had the young men not "got lost," or whatever happened to them. The main force was to make a feint to draw a counterattack, incidentally knocking off the fishermen, then when the houses were fired they expected that the counterattack would waver, some canoes would turn back, and in confusion the Otsosat would be able to strike decisively.) haiyūpinūł continued pursuit of the crippled canoe; when there were but four men left he shouted to the captive woman to jump into the water. She did so, and haiyūpinūł passed her, calling to the canoe following him to pick her up. Then haiyūpinūł closed the canoe, finishing off its occupants. All but one were dead as he laid alongside; this man lay feigning death, then leaped up with a spear and hurled it pointblank at haiyūpinūł. The latter's uncle interposed an elkhide cuirass shield-fashion, deflecting the spear. Then haiyūpinūł killed the survivor.

The other Ahousat were pursuing the remaining Otsosat canoes with no success. The latter swung outside the islets, and in trying to cut them off, the Ahousat lost ground among the reefs and islets flanking Flores Island, so their foe escaped, beached their canoes, and ran along the beach to warn their people. The Ahousat made a fire on the beach to dry their guns, and made plans. They resolved on an all-out frontal attack on the Otsosat to press the advantage of their victory. They knew the Otsosat would be assembled expecting them. The war chiefs told them not to falter under any circumstances; "If you see your elder brother die, don't stop or go back; leave him and close the enemy. Don't run straight; run up the beach dodging and zigzagging." So the force proceeded by canoe to the village where the Otsosat were gathered, a place called wo'aihsī. They beached. An Otsosat sharpshooter began to pick them off from a hiding place in a tree, and the rest of the tribe, in the houses, were holding their fire, so the charge bogged down. Someone suggested sending a party around behind the houses, where they fired, shouted, and blew Wolf whistles, but the Otsosat refused to be stampeded.

The Ahousat chiefs devised a new scheme; two volunteers were to run along the beach to draw the enemy fire, and others were to be ready to dash up to each house before the defenders could reload, squat with their backs to the walls and lift, wrenching the boards loose to expose the defenders. A fire party was told off to open fire as soon as the boards came away. The men who ripped the boards loose would be shielded, it was believed, by the boards, which would probably fall on top of them. The plan worked as scheduled, the Otsosat letting themselves be duped into wasting their shots, the boards were ripped off, and the Ahousat shot all the people they could see in the houses. The Otsosat were not done yet, though, and began to rally. Chief mōqwiná, of the Ahousat, broke from cover and ran the length of the beach to a vantage point on the far end, where he threw himself down happy to find himself intact. A young slave he had brought with him flopped down beside him, having followed him under the enemy guns, to the chief's surprise. When he inquired why, the slave replied he took the chance "because if you had been killed, your people would have killed me anyhow." A group of Otsosat now counterattacked, trying to drive the Ahousat off the beach. mōqwiná shot three of them, breaking up the attempt. (The pressure of Ahousat public opinion seems to have impelled him to take an active part, finally.) Finally the Otsosat burst out of the backs of the houses and fled into the woods. The Ahousat looted and then burned the houses. They had lost four men killed, and had a number of wounded. Then they departed.

The Otsosat held a meeting. Some were in favor of abandoning their territory on the outer coast, which they thought would stop the fighting. Those who had lost close relatives, however, insisted on carrying on. They moved to nahwáksīs, around on the west shore of Flores Island. From there after a time they sent a war party to tsatikwīs, where they found a few Ahousat; they killed eight men and one woman. The Ahousat resolved on immediate retaliation. They sent scouts to nahwáksīs, who returned reporting the Otsosat were all there, and had set deadfalls along all the trails leading to the site through the bush, so the beach was the only possible approach. A sizable party landed on the beach one morning at dawn. No mention was made of it, but the Otsosat must have had sentinels out who gave warning, for the attack was met and driven off. The Ahousat had no one killed but a considerable number wounded. I was not told what damage they inflicted. Meanwhile ʟϵhōmáłnī, the Otsosat war chief who had killed the Ahousat whom they had set up on a stake and disfigured, died of a wound received in the fight at wɔ'aihsi (he seems to have been the sniper in the tree there). The Ahousat found the body, being informed of its burial through relatives at Clayoquot. They brought it home, announcing that ʟϵhōmáłnī was coming to visit, set it up on the beach on a stake driven up its anus, and disfigured it amid a general feeling of satisfaction. The Otsosat had retreated to a place called ōpnit, whose location I do not know. Ahousat scouts reported it was palisaded and surrounded with deadfalls. The Ahousat did not relish the idea of another frontal attack, so they carried on a war of attrition, watching for and picking off fishermen from time to time. Meanwhile, they laid claim to and began utilizing the various fishing stations of the Otsosat. It is not clear just how these were parceled out among the Ahousat chiefs; haiyūpinūł got the places on Herbert Arm because he had personally killed the entire family of chiefs who had owned it, but it also seems that the first chief, mōqwinȧ, got a lion's share of the remainder because of his rank (although he had been opposed to the war in the first place, and had taken little part in it, except, apparently, for the affair at wɔ'aihsi). It may have been, too, that he claimed these places by virtue of his kinship to the Otsosat chiefs.

After some time, the Ahousat seem to have become careless. The Otsosat survivors, who were still numerous, were living up at the head of Shelter Arm and on the Megin River. They fitted out four big canoes. But three or four men paddled in each canoe; the rest hid in case they met any foe. They did meet a Clayoquot, and told him they were going outside after clams. That night they attacked an Ahousat village or camp, killing many, among them the third chief, kwatyiłmȧłnī, and they made the grievous error of hacking this chief's wife, a Clayoquot woman, to bits. They did not enter the house of mōqwinȧ, however. The son of kwatyiłmȧłnī fled to tsatikwīs, where he informed haiyūpinūł of the raid. haiyūpinūł was as eager for trouble as ever; he and qanīmȧ assembled a force and proceeded directly to the Otsosat village on Megin Lake. In a surprise attack they killed many of the enemy, and took alive a chief of rank equal to that of the slain kwatyiłmȧłnī. They told him they would spare his life if he would perform certain degrading actions, which they dictated. He did so, and after ridiculing him, they clubbed him to death.

In the fall both tribes got ready to dry salmon. The Otsosat began to come out of their refuges, and the Ahousat caught and slew a number of large parties of fishermen. And now new troubles were in store for the Otsosat. The Clayoquot relatives of the wife of the chief kwatyiłmȧłnī resolved to avenge her slaying. In the spring a large party of them proceeded, in small canoes, with their womenfolk, to ōpnit, where they found a large camp of Otsosat. The Clayoquot said they were on the way to Hesquiat to purchase dried fish—their stores had run short. They spent the night feasting and visiting with the Otsosat. Early in the morning, the leader of the Clayoquot party climbed on the roof of one of the houses and shouted, "Clayoquot women, get up now to cook our breakfast!" This was the signal that had been arranged, and the warriors fell on their unsuspecting hosts. They butchered the entire camp. On their way home, the avengers passed the Ahousat village, and displaying the heads they had taken, they shouted, "Look, qanīmȧ, here are some of the wild ones you couldn't catch!" qanīmȧ came down to the beach to reply, "I haven't given up pursuing them; I am just resting a bit. I'm going to war again and will kill all the rest of them." qanīmȧ now seems to have taken the initiative and organized a war party (we may suppose that the vengeful haiyūpinūł, if he did not aid, at least put no obstacle in the war chief's way). They found a group of Otsosat at a place called qicnehqōs, up Sidney Inlet. The war party crept up close to the houses under cover of darkness, and as they lay peering in through the cracks in the walls, scouting the situation, they heard a young Otsosat say, as he hefted a spear he was making, "I'd like to see that great qanīmȧ—I'd run this into his guts and take his head." qanīmȧ's people were in position, and this was too good a cue to miss: he bounded in the doorway shouting, "Here I am! Now go ahead and kill me!" The young man dropped his spear in his fright, and qanīmȧ killed him, while his force swarmed into the house and killed all the Otsosat except a few who bolted into the woods. They took some captives, among them a young chief who owned the west shore of Flores Island from Rafael Point to nawȧksis. Returning to Ahousat, they brought the young chief out on the beach, and called on mōqwinȧ to come down and kill him, so that he would be the owner of this territory. mōqwinȧ refused, for the young chief was a kinsman of his. qanīmȧ sang his war song, then brained the young Otsosat. Subsequently he claimed the beach line. However, the Ahousat met with the Clayoquot, and gave them the salvage and sealing rights to this area (i. e., the rights must have been given to the Clayoquot chiefs who instigated the treacherous attack on the Otsosat).

By now there were but few Otsosat left. Some of them moved out, going to live with kin, either at Hesquiat, or down around Barkley Sound (they no longer dared go to Clayoquot). A few assembled in a fortified site on a knoll, and let it be known they were in an impregnable position, and that they planned to assemble the scattered warriors (those who had moved elsewhere), and then attack the Ahousat. haiyūpinūł looked the situation over. He seems to have profited by past experience. He mapped an operation with alternative plans of attack. The primary plan, which they tried first, was the obvious one of landing on the beach and rushing the position. This did not come off, for the Otsosat fort commanded the beach too efficiently, and the slope was too steep for an effective charge. The Ahousat were unable to establish a beachhead. haiyūpinūł withdrew his forces, then proceeded with the alternative plan. He sent marksmen to places some distance on either side of the fort on the high hill behind it. Then he detailed a party of axmen to fell the biggest trees on the hill back of the fort. Several trees fell, doing but minor damage to the fort, which the defenders were able to repair, but finally one huge tree came crashing down and stove in the whole rear wall. The tree itself is said to have killed a considerable number of the Otsosat; others were killed by the sharpshooters. mōqwinȧ, who once more was taking an active part in the war, most likely to vindicate himself in his people's eyes after his refusal to murder his kinsman, distinguished himself by picking off an Otsosat chief at 100 yards—remarkably long range for the weapons of the time, cheap trade muskets crammed full of buckshot. Only a few of the Otsosat managed to escape through the woods.

This was the end of the war. The Otsosat were practically exterminated; the few survivors were scattered among other tribes, and no longer offered even a threat to the Ahousat, who took the territory, and soon came to be one of the important tribes of the coast. The last incident, some time after, occurred when qanīmȧ while on a visit to Barkley Sound encountered a man named anīs, who had been one of the four who had been sent to burn the village at ahaus (on the occasion on which four men were sent through the woods, and failed to arrive). qanīmȧ seized the man and brought him to Ahousat. In the morning, he had some men bring the captive to the beach, while he himself stood on a house roof and sang. He called, "Ahousat, come out, I have something to show you." When the people turned out, qanīmȧ told them they had a visitor, anīs, who once had planned to burn their houses. They began to mock anīs, but he stood silent, refusing to plead, or to perform degrading antics for his life. An Ahousat threw a stone hitting him in the head, and he died. The Ahousat spread the story that he had died of shame and fright.

The Ahousat informants, doing injustice perhaps to the war chief qanīmȧ's energy and haiyūpinūł's military genius, attribute their victory to the fact that although they were a much smaller group at the beginning, they had more firearms and ammunition, which they obtained through their relatives the Moachat. They were reinforced on several occasions, too, by Nuchatlet kinsmen of haiyūpinūł.

THE MUCHALAT WARS

Chief tsaxhwɔsip, successor to the Moachat chief mōqwinȧ of Cook's and Jewitt's day, married a daughter of the chief of the mȧtcłīȧth. She bore him two sons, the elder of whom took his father's name, tsaxhwɔsip, when he succeeded to the chieftainship, and the younger eventually took, and is most commonly remembered by the name of cīwuc. The elder brother acted as chief for but a few years, when he died, leaving no sons. His brother cīwuc succeeded him. It is related that the elder brother's body was wrapped in several prime sea otter skins and lashed high in a tree, whose branches were then lopped off, on Hecate Channel, where all the tribes might see the burial and mourn. Soon after, it was noted that the lashings of the gravebox were changed. A man climbed the tree to investigate, and discovered that the furs had been stolen. Word got about that a man from tcϵcis had passed by not long before, on his way home from Ehetisat, so he was accused of the deed.

Chief cīwuc assembled the Moachat men telling them they must avenge the outrage. He sent two canoes, under his leading war chiefs, to Muchalat Arm. They found no one at tcϵcis, but came on a mȧtcłīȧth man and his son out fishing, so they beheaded them and left their canoe adrift. The kinsmen, when they found the bodies, assembled at mȧtcłī demanding vengeance. Their chief did not speak for a long time. After all, Chief cīwuc was his grandson. At last he said they should let the matter go unavenged. If a war began it would not stop.

Not long after, a Nimkish war party made a surprise daylight attack on tsaxana, up Gold River. They killed a dozen or so men and captured a number of women and children. The rest took to the woods; one man ran down the trail to a'aminqȧs with the news, and requested aid. He had kin among the mȧtcłīȧth, so he went on to recruit help from them too. A joint force was made up, but by the time they got to tsaxana the Nimkish had too much of a lead to be overtaken. A wounded man they found hiding told them the enemy had seen the runner start down the trail, and had wasted no time assembling their loot and slaves and starting back over the mountains.

The mȧtcłī warriors stayed at a'aminqȧs visiting. Meanwhile a mȧtcłī man, hatsūtamuł, who had been camping down the inlet at a'ōs encountered a Moachat war party coming up the channel. It is said that he had climbed a tree for a look before setting out, but they were hugging the shore and he failed to see them. He was in a canoe with his wife and a kinswoman when the war canoes rounded the point. He snatched up an old paddle, holding it like a gun, and held the enemy off while the women paddled for shore. All three ran into the woods. The Moachat caught and killed the wife. hatsūtamuł, unaware of her fate, climbed a little knoll from which he could see up the channel. To his dismay, he saw a group of his tribesmen in a cove preparing to lash fir boughs to their canoes to make a drive of shiners and small perch. The Moachat also spied them, and from his vantage point hatsūtamuł saw the Moachat land a group of warriors below the down-channel point of the cove, out of sight of the fishermen. The Moachat canoes begin to round the point and disappeared from his view. He knew what they were doing, of course. As soon as sufficient time had passed for the landing party to work into position along the shore of the cove, the canoes would dart out to take stations across the mouth of the cove, then close in. If the fishermen attempted to escape by water, they would be overhauled; if they made for the beach to escape through the woods, they would fall into the clutches of the landing party. The watcher ran down closer to the water's edge, and then began to shout, "Enemy, enemy! (wīna, wīna!)," at the top of his lungs. It seemed to take a long time before his tribesmen heard him, but the moment they did, they slashed the branches loose from their canoes and made best speed up the channel. The war canoes were too far below the point to head them off; they made a brief vain attempt, then turned back. The landing party seeing their quarry escape set out through the woods to catch the one who had given the warning, but he easily eluded them.

The Moachat warriors expected the fishermen to carry the news, and assumed that a large force would soon be mustered to oppose their raiding party. They did not know that many of the war chiefs and able-bodied warriors were at a'aminqȧs. Some of them wanted to turn back. Chief cīwuc's leading war chief, wai'enȧq, who was in command, said, "No, we shall not go back yet. We are going to play with these people. But now we shall go to ō'is instead of mȧtcłi." So they turned toward ō'is. As they approached that village, wai'enȧq began to sing his war song. One of the local war chiefs, a man named kwɔwic, went out to meet them in a small canoe, accompanied by two other men, to see if they came in peace or in war. He found out soon enough, for the moment they came in range the Moachat opened fire. One of them broke his arm with a musket ball. He dropped in the canoe and his companions turned back, paddling for their lives. Some other men in the houses snatched up arms and ran down to the beach. Four ran to a little bight above the village toward which the war canoes were heading. As the enemy neared they opened fire, but the Moachat paddled on, beached their canoe and went into the woods before they could reload. By that time the other men had come down from the houses, and they established a line of sorts along that end of the village. They had only a few guns among the lot of them. The Moachat began to close in, keeping up a steady fire. The defenders tried all the old tricks to make them exhaust their ammunition—tossing pebbles into the bush, moving branches to one side of themselves, and so on—but to no avail. The foe had plenty of powder and ball. Several of the defenders were killed and some others were wounded. Meanwhile one of the principal ō'is war chiefs, a man named tcєha, was waiting in a house at the lower end of the village. He expected an attack from that flank, and intended to contain it by himself (!). A man wounded in the leg came hobbling in, beside himself with pain and rage. "This is a fine time for the great war chief to be sitting in the house," he snarled. "Why aren't you out helping us? They just killed your younger brother." The younger man had crept around a windfall near the beach where the Moachat canoes were, and had been shot at point-blank range (by one of the canoe guards ?). tcєha ran out of the house and along the beach, then turned into the brush not far from the Moachat canoes. He saw a figure move, and fired. The man fell, and tcɛha saw it was the enemy war chief wai'enáq. A shout went up that the war chief had been killed, and the Moachat warriors abandoned their attack, making for their canoes. They had lost two other men by this time, who had been killed while attempting to behead fallen ō'is men, but were not deterred until the war chief was killed. As they shoved off, the defenders dragged wai'enáq's body to the beach, and called to the Moachat to ask why they were leaving him behind. They did not behead the war chief, but drove a stake into his body and propped it up on the beach. They had lost a number of men, but they were happy that they had killed wai'enáq.

The failure of the raid enraged Chief cīwuc, but he resolved to bide his time. He knew that all the Muchalat Arm villages would be expecting attacks, and would have their sentinels out. About a year later he sent a party out to attack the fishing camp at a'ōs. They crept into the houses at night, then began to shoot and club their victims. More than 20 mátcłī men who had come there for the fishing were killed, and a considerable number of women and children were taken captive.

Following this attack the chief carried out a war of attrition, sending small parties of warriors to haunt Muchalat Arm, picking off lone fishermen. It was on one of these forays that hatsūtamuł, the man who had warned the mátcłī fishermen of the ambush, was killed. One day he came on a Moachat in a small canoe. hatsūtamuł stalked the enemy, keeping close inshore behind some rocks. At last he darted out from behind the shelter, driving down on the Moachat to kill him with his sealing harpoon. hatsūtamuł had failed to see another Moachat canoe close to the beach, however, and as he emerged from concealment he was shot through the head by a man in the other canoe.

With the waters unsafe for small parties, and fearing a major attack at any time, the sites on lower Muchalat Arm were abandoned. The people moved up to mátcłī and a'aminqás. At about this time the tsaxana people, up Gold River, were attacked by the hōpátcisáth, who came overland from Sproat Lake to avenge the slaying of five of their men during a visit some years before. The men had come to visit kinsmen at tsaxana, and were camped on Gold River, about halfway between that place and a'aminqás. The a'aminqás people had killed them from ambush "because the strangers might frighten away the salmon." The news eventually reached the hōpátcisáth. It is not known whether they held the tsaxana people responsible, or whether the information had been distorted so that they thought those people had done the killing, but at any rate, it was tsaxana they attacked. They killed a number of men, and looted the houses. Then they set out overland with many captives. A large party consisting of tsaxana survivors and relatives from a'aminqás set out in pursuit. The war chief sent scouts ahead, accompanied by young men who were noted as swift runners to maintain contact between the scouts and the main body. As soon as the scouts picked up the trail the runners came back, and the force went directly to the spot. The scouts went on, and soon sent back word they had come on very fresh tracks; in other words they were overtaking the enemy. The latter camped, to feast on some of the looted sockeye, then slept, leaving a few sentinels to watch over the captives and to give warning in case of attack. The a'aminqás war chief sent half his force on a wide detour around the camp to form a line across the hōpàtcisàth line of retreat. After a time, he sent two of his swiftest runners around to make sure this group was in position. By the time the runners returned dawn was not far off. The enemy sentinels were asleep. The war chief moved his group in close, then gave the signal, a wolf call, and opened fire. The hōpàtcisàth leaped to their feet and ran right into the jaws of the trap. About half the raiding party was slain, the rest escaped. The tsaxana captives, realizing they were being rescued, scattered like quail at the first shots, and came out of the woods to rejoin their kinsmen when the affray was over. However, the two raids, that of the Nimkish and this one, had so reduced the number of tsaxana effectives that they moved down with their kinsmen at a'aminqás, rather than remain in their isolated site.

Chief cīwuc now devised a new plan. He called the Moachat to a feast, to announce to them that he wanted to put an end to the wars, and to do so, he wanted to marry a daughter of one of the ranking màtclī chiefs. He sent a small party as messengers to màtclī to announce this. Meanwhile, he assembled his war chiefs to tell them his real plan, which was for a treacherous attack to wipe out the màtclīath. The marriage was simply a blind for this scheme. There were two young men whose mothers were from màtclī. When they learned of the scheme they set out to Ahousat, for they knew the war chief qanīmà would take steps to prevent the attack, for his daughter was married to a màtclī man and he had other relatives among the group. The two young men went to him, for they feared they might be observed should they go up Muchalat Arm, and would be killed. qanīmà sent a party to warn the màtclī people, but they committed either a blunder or an act of treachery, for they let their big canoe be stranded at a high spring tide so that they had to wait till next day to launch it. Meanwhile cīwuc had gone by with his party.

Many people at màtclī were opposed to the idea of letting their chief’s daughter marry cīwuc, for they did not trust the Moachat. The mȧtcłī chief insisted, however, and when the Moachat proposal party came he soon assented. The Moachat, who had camped around the point meanwhile, came immediately to perform the marriage privileges of the groom, while blankets were carried up to the chief’s house. The girl’s father gave his formal assent by beginning the performance of the bridal privileges. He used only the two privileges concluding the formal wedding, then invited the Moachat chiefs to a feast. Other local chiefs invited other members of the large Moachat party. The son of the slain wai’enȧq had arranged that he should be called into the house in which tcɛha was staying, for none of the Moachat knew exactly in which houses the mȧtcłī people were living at the time. When he went into the house, he contrived to walk behind tcɛha, and, whipping out a whale-bone club from beneath his blanket, struck him down. At the same time he gave his war cry. This was the signal: each Moachat in the house, who had managed to sit next to a mȧtcłī man (on the latter’s right, if possible, to strike with more facility) drew a knife or a club and killed his unprepared victim. The men in the other houses began to do likewise the moment they heard the war cry. The losses of the mȧtcłī were heavy; one Muchalat informant said they lost more than 60 men, another had heard a figure of nearly 100. Some men, and a number of women and children, escaped into the woods. Many women and children were taken as slaves. The Moachat looted and burned the houses, then departed with their captives. Shortly after daybreak they passed the Ahousat warning party, who had just launched their canoe.

The Ahousat war chief’s daughter and her child were among the captives. qanīmȧ set out immediately for kūptī, with a large party. There he had men carry blankets and other goods up to Chief cīwuc, while he himself announced he had come to buy his daughter’s freedom. After a time, Chief cīwuc himself brought the woman and her child down to qanīmȧ’s canoe.

The mȧtcłī survivors, augmented by a few families who had remained up to this time in outlying sites, moved to a’aminqȧs. The need for a united defense was becoming clear to them now, although it was nearly too late. After a year or two, however, during which they seldom if ever went down to the lower end of the inlet, and were almost unmolested, they split again, the mȧtcłīȧth and the survivors of groups down the inlet going back to mȧtcłī. More time passed, and then another of cīwuc’s war parties struck at a’aminqȧs in a night raid. They succeeded in killing only a few men, however, and took few slaves. About the same time the Ahousat war chief qanīmȧ died. His influence had sufficed to restrain the Ahousat chiefs who coveted the rich holdings of Muchalat Arm, but no sooner was he dead than they planned a blow to capture it practically from under the noses of the Moachat. They made a plan. Messengers were sent to mȧtcłī to tell qanīmȧ's kin that he was ill and wished to see them (news of this death had not reached the isolated group). Fifteen or twenty mȧtcłī men returned to Ahousat with the messengers. The chief met them at the beach, and asked about the rest of the people. He was told that mȧtcłī and a'aminqȧs were the only sites occupied. This was the information he had wanted. He drew his war club as a signal to his warriors, and he himself killed the man who had given him the news. His warriors made short work of the rest. The war canoes were ready. The party delayed only long enough to behead their victims, then set out. Early the following day they reached the lower end of Muchalat Arm. In a sheltered cove, they beached their canoes under the overhanging branches of trees at the water's edge. A few branches were cut to complete the camouflage, and their craft were effectively hidden. The warriors rested until nightfall. In the shelter of the night they set out, dividing, according to plan, into two units, one to strike at mȧtcłī and the other at a'aminqȧs.

One man was awake at mȧtcłī when the Ahousats arrived. He heard someone fumbling at the door of planks near his sleeping place, so he got his gun and waited. The planks were pushed aside as he listened in the darkness. He heard someone move cautiously through the opening, so he aimed as best as he could in the dark and fired. Then he ran for another gun which he had loaded near his bed. By the time he found it war cries and sounds of strife filled the house. The attackers had all the advantage; the best maneuver for the mȧtcłī people was to escape if they could. Eighteen men were killed, as against one Ahousat. A considerable number of women and children were captured. At first light the Ahousats left, after looting and firing the houses. In the strike at a'aminqȧs a dozen or so men were killed. The only Ahousat to die was slain by an old man who drove the blade of an old wornout knife he carried on a string about his neck through the leg of the warrior who stepped over him. As the latter fell, the old man stabbed him to death. Then someone smashed in the old man's skull with a war club. The striking force looted and set fire to the houses, then set out with their many captives to rendezvous with their companion unit.

The news soon spread that one of the captives taken at a'aminqȧs was a relative (a classificatory nephew) of cīwuc. The latter sent a party immediately to ransom the boy; he did not want it said that any kinsman of his was a slave. The Ahousat captor gave him up readily enough and cīwuc himself took the boy to mȧtcłī, where he turned him over to kinsmen, announcing as he did so that he would never again make war on the Muchalat tribes. But while he promised peace, he still plotted for war. He believed there were too few people left for any retaliatory measures against him. A short time afterward cīwuc and a party of his warriors encountered a lone fisherman, nīnīqàc, down on Nootka Sound, so they came alongside his canoe and killed him. On their return to yūkwɔt they found another Muchalat, a man called tatcwɔhai who had come visiting. cīwuc told his warriors to kill him, and they did. Then he assembled the Moachat men, to tell them he had a new plan. It was taking a long time to exterminate the Muchalat Arm people. He intended to kill the a'aminqȧs chiefs. Then he would seize Gold River and its rich fishing rights, and enslave or kill off the people of less consequence at his leisure. He himself would do the slaying of the first chief. Many men volunteered to go with him, but cīwuc said he wanted only a few. A large party would frighten the victims, or at least put them on the alert. He chose three warriors as his companions. His plan was bold enough to seem likely to succeed. For four men to walk into a group of several times that number (there were not, of course, many men left at a'aminqȧs), kill their leading chiefs, and face down, or frighten off the rest, required daring and imagination. The principal flaw would seem to be that cīwuc failed to provide himself with a supporting party, but presumably he feared they might be seen and thus give the plan away.

There was a man at the meeting whose wife was from a'aminqȧs. On his return he told his daughter of the plan or she overheard him telling of it, so she found two other women who had relatives among the Muchalats, and the three went to mȧtcłī to bring the news, under the pretext of going to pick salmonberries. Despite their haste, cīwuc passed them (but they hid in time, and were not seen). When the mȧtcłī people heard the plot, they sent five young men to a'aminqȧs. The five arrived, and found the Moachat chief there. The tsaxana chief asked them what they had come for. "To bring bad news," was the reply. "We have learned that cīwuc has come to kill the chiefs tītsqɛnuqe and amī'ʟac." cīwuc was at a feast given him by one of his intended victims, and did not even note the arrival of the young men. After the feast, cīwuc told his men, "Get ready, for now we must go." Then an old man, the grandfather of the boy cīwuc had ransomed, spoke, "Chief cīwuc, I give you these four sticks. Each one is one hundred dried sockeye. They are for you to take home to your people, as a present from their friends the a'aminqȧsȧth. My people are packing the fish now to be taken down to your canoe." cīwuc requested that the sockeye be packed in four bales, and, as one who graciously returns a gift, he gave four men sticks representing blankets for carrying the bales to his canoe. Among the four were the chiefs tītsqɛnuqe and amī'ʟac. The two had no inkling of their fate. The people were not living at a'aminqȧs itself, but at an old site just across the river which they considered more defensible, so it was necessary to ferry cīwuc and his party across to the village beach where they had left their canoe. Meanwhile, one of the young men from mȧtcłī went to the a'aminqȧs war chief, anapinūł, telling him that the mȧtcłī war chief stasaxsos had sent word for him to kill cīwuc. This was not quite true, but anapinūł believed the young man, and got himself ready. Two of the warriors with cīwuc went ahead to launch his canoe. He intended to kill the two a'aminqȧs chiefs the moment he had boarded his canoe and was ready to start down river. When cīwuc with his henchman and the intended victims were in midstream, one of the mȧtcłī messengers fired. He had aimed at the companion of the Moachat chief, but missed, merely breaking his arm. At the shot, cīwuc tipped the canoe over and dove under water. The wounded man tried to swim to the opposite bank. The two by the big canoe dove into the river, swam downstream, and made their escape through the woods. cīwuc came up, then tried to wade to a small island in the river. He did not discard his blanket although it impeded him. The war chief anapinūł ran from his hiding place. He was stripped, and carried his war club. Throwing himself into the water he soon overtook cīwuc. anapinūł caught the Moachat by the blanket as the latter reached the edge of the islet, yanking him back. cīwuc had a gun concealed under his blanket; it fell into the river. anapinūł tossed his war club aside, grasped cīwuc about the body, lifted him high in the air, and then slammed him down on the rocky beach. anapinūł was a big man, and tremendously powerful. cīwuc's struggles were in vain. He did not plead for mercy, but gasped, "I thought no one would dare kill so great a chief as I." The war chief answered, so the story goes, "You killed many of our people. This is the revenge of the Muchalat." Time after time he picked the chief up bodily and dashed him on the rocks, until he battered him to death. (It was for this deed that he took the name of tuckai'iłȧm, which referred to the Sky Cod Fish that caused an eclipse by swallowing the Sun.) Meanwhile, the mȧtcłī men caught and killed the wounded man.

The five young men returned to their village with the news. The second chief, to whom the three women who had brought the warning were related, told them that they had best leave right away. He gave no reason, but the women suspected that cīwuc had been killed. When they arrived at Friendly Cove, most of the men were on the beach to meet them. A volley of questions was fired at them—where had they been, had they seen Chief cīwuc, or did they have news of him. The women were frightened, but tried to laugh the matter off—one of them said she did not know where Chief cīwuc was, "for he hardly ever tells me where he is going." They managed to maintain their pose of ignorance of the whole matter, and were left alone.

The two men who escaped through the woods came out on the shores of Muchalat Arm, at a camp site. They found an old canoe and one paddle. One found a piece of board to paddle with, and they set out. As they rounded the point in Friendly Cove, they signaled by waving their paddles overhead that they brought bad news. The people gathered on the beach: They knew now that the chief must have been killed. The two men shouted the tidings as they neared the beach. The Moachat war chiefs began to mutter, "Let's send these two along with our dead chief. Let them accompany him." Someone gave the two a warning sign, so they jumped from their canoe and ran into the woods. Later on they returned, but by then the war chiefs no longer wanted to kill them.

All the survivors of the Muchalat Arm tribes who had moved in to mȧtcłī now moved to a'aminqȧs. The confederation of all the groups could muster less than 40 able-bodied men. There was not a family that did not mourn its dead, and hope for the return of its enslaved members. They dared not go down Nootka Sound to go to other tribes to ransom back their kin, nor, truth to tell, did they have anything to ransom them with. They built a house, a makeshift affair for the time being, in which the whole group lived. They kept lookouts stationed to watch for the Moachat, whom they expected at any time.

The Moachat, meanwhile were in a state of turmoil. cīwuc had died without an heir, so for the time being the second chief acted in his place, until a proper successor could be designated. There was assembly after assembly, to make plans to avenge the death of the chief. Some men wanted to attack the Muchalat right away, but it was decided to suspend the operation for a while. Sager heads pointed out that it would be useless to try to attack soon, for the Muchalat were sure to have lookouts, and it would be impossible to surprise them and prevent their escape. They would make war on the Muchalat, yes, but later. In the meantime, they resolved to kill the first people who came to the village, and then go make war on their tribe, whoever they might be. This was tcitcmeyȧ (or tcitcmō), "for company for the dead chief." The first arrivals were a group of unsuspecting Ehetisat. They were set upon without warning as they stepped on the beach, and slain to a man. The Moachat warriors launched their canoes to go to Ehetisat, and there they attacked immediately, killing many men and taking many slaves.

After a time, as the Moachat expected, some of the Muchalat became restless. Several families made short visits to camping places along the salt water, to fish cod and gather shellfish for a change in diet. Parties of Moachat were already beginning to come up to fish at the mouths of rivers in Muchalat Arm, and one group of two Muchalat families was discovered and promptly attacked. The men were killed, and a woman and her two children were captured to be taken to Yūkwɔt. (The two children, a boy and a girl, were still alive when these data were collected.) A Moachat relative of the woman secretly aided her to escape a few days later, providing her with a canoe. When she arrived at the Muchalat village the men questioned her as to what the Moachat were doing. She reported that many of them were going up Tasis Canal to pick salmonberries. The Muchalat men set out in four canoes, three small ones, with three men in each, and one big canoe with eight men. The big canoe put in at a cove called tsawun, where its crew concealed it and themselves with a screen of branches. The three small canoes crossed the channel and were concealed on the far side. After a time, two canoes, one large one and one small one, were seen coming up the channel under sail. The three canoes put out to cut them off, forcing them to turn into tsawun cove. Once the Moachat entered the cove, the trap was sprung—the eight men threw aside their camouflage of branches and put out to meet them. There were three men in the small canoe, and the warriors killed them all and cut off their heads. In the large canoe were a number of women, and ha’iyah, the war chief who had killed tcϵha. He, in a fashion most unbecoming to a war chief, plead for his life. The Muchalat mocked him for a short while. "You're not worth killing," they told him. "You like to talk like a brave man, but all you do is talk. You are weak, worthless. You know you have relatives among the Muchalat, yet you let the Moachat come kill them."

Since there were no more attacks for some time, the Muchalat moved back down to a’aminqȧs, which was a more comfortable, if less defensible, site. To remedy the matter of defense, they set about fortifying the place. They had only one house there: a makeshift, like that at their emergency site. They cut cedar trees, and split out timbers half a foot to a foot thick, which they set up to form a double palisade. The inner wall was between 8 and 10 feet high, the outer one 5 or 6 feet high. (This was in the early 1870's; the informant MP was a small child at the time.) After it was finished, some men surprised a group of three Moachat kinswomen at a berry-picking place down the Arm. They brought the three back to their fort, and the chief gave them a feast. The women were surprised at the place, and perhaps at the savage spirit of their kinsmen—this was the first time anyone had seen the Muchalat since the incident at tsawun several years before. The chief stood up to make a speech. "Now you women have seen our place here. When you go home, tell the Moachat we are ready for them. Tell them to come and make war on us—we are ready to die. They are many, and we are few, so let them come exterminate the Muchalat tribes. We will not run away into the woods again; they may come by day to make war on us. So tell them this." When the women returned, they told their husbands, and when the chief heard of it, he gave a feast, to have the news announced. Whether the Moachat feared some trick, or, as the informant suggested, some supernatural power that the Muchalat had acquired, or whether they too were tired of the long-drawn-out war, is anyone's guess. In any event, they did not accept the challenge, and the Muchalat were left unmolested. After a time, some of the warriors decided to "go see what the Moachat were doing," so six men, tuckai'iłȧm among them, shoved off on a scouting trip. At łīptī they saw two fires on the beach. There were a number of women there, and one man. Leaving a canoe guard, the warriors stalked the group, and suddenly pounced on the man. He was frightened, the more so when he found himself in the clutches of the great tuckai'iłȧm. The war chief made him tell whether the Moachat still talked of war against the Muchalat. The prisoner told him they talked of war, but always put it off—they had finished the war with the Ehetisat and made peace with them—he did not believe they would come to attack the Muchalat. The scouts let him go. They reported to the chief, who assembled the group to announce that the Moachat were using Muchalat fishing places on the Arm. Meanwhile, since no attack came, the Muchalat became more and more confident. The Chief ūma'ʟa'a decided he would build a big house at a'aminqȧs. It took him 2 years to complete it. When he finished, he gave a Shamans' Dance. In his potlatch he announced that the Wolves had told him to invite the Moachat and the Ahousat. The following year he sent canoes to invite the former foes. About 60 Ahousat and nearly 80 Moachat came. The Muchalat greeted them formally—everyone was careful to avoid any remark that might be taken amiss. The Muchalat were not wholly confident of their guests' good faith, it appears, for they sent all the children (the informant MP among them) out to hiding places in the woods, and did not bring them in until the Moachat and Ahousat had shown themselves friendly. There were dances and feasts for 4 days, and then before the chief gave his potlatch, tuckai'iłȧm danced. He had a blanket filled with eagle down, which he released as he danced. Then ūma'ʟa'a spoke, saying, "Now you see the sacred eagle down he is scattering over the tribes. That is good sign. It means he is putting away all the evil things the warriors used to do. He covers with the eagle down the old hates and desires for revenge. He wants no more war."

The Moachat chief (the second chief, for they still did not have a successor for cīwuc), and the Ahousat chief each replied, pledging themselves for peace. Then the chief gave his potlatch, and the guests went home. There were no wars after that.

FESTIVALS AND DIVERSIONS

FESTIVALS

There were three major ceremonial forms in Nootkan culture whose significance was social rather than religious. These were: Feasts, potlatches, and the Shamans' Dance. The bare theme of each of these was most simple. Feasts and potlatches were gathered assemblages of people for distribution of food or wealth goods. The Shamans' Dance was the dramatization of a legendary abduction of children by Supernatural Wolves, who brought them back endowed with various gifts. The Nootkan talent was not for devising quantities of new rituals, but rather busied itself with adding to the minutiae of the small stock in trade of rites. For example, to the simple basic theme of feasts and potlatches were added complicated sets of rules for inviting the guests, conducting them to their proper places, and entertaining them. Each chief had his own set of feast and potlatch songs, dances, and names.

The societal importance of these ceremonials is that they were group performances in every sense of the word. One person was the nominal giver, and actually provided most of the wealth and privileges to be used, but all his people—local group, tribe, or confederacy (depending on whether the guests were from the giver's confederacy or were outsiders)—aided in the preparations, in the singing and dancing, and whatever else was to be done. There was no such thing as exclusion of a group or class. Even slaves could attend Shamans' Dances, if initiated, and might sing and dance if they liked. Group cooperation in the actual performances was essential to stage the affair. This is the reason why every ceremony was inaugurated by a formal public announcement of one's plans to one's group.

ANNOUNCING INTENT

In tacit recognition of the strength of public opinion and the need of having the solid backing of one's group there was the feeling that before one did anything of importance it was necessary to "let his people know what he was planning." Chiefs and commoners equally observed this rule. It was invariably the first step in the proceedings, whether one planned a marriage, a potlatch, or a war party. Informants' descriptions of the routines of ceremonies always begin: "When a chief wants to give a Shamans' Dance, he calls the other chiefs together to announce his plan." These meetings to state one's intentions were the nearest approach to formal councils the Nootkans had. It may seem at first blush a minor point to stress, but this announcing of intent was a very important aspect of social life. From the social standpoint, it was a sensible procedure. In any affair of moment one needed the assistance of housemates or tribesmen; even though a man had enough wealth to finance a potlatch alone, he had to have "help" for songs and dances, and the like. The assemblage usually assented as a matter of form whatever the scheme. What mattered was that they, representing public opinion, formally approved the ceremony, marriage, or war. The principal knew he could count on their support. If the group disapproved, they would express themselves to that effect, trying to dissuade him. Again the initiator of the scheme knew just where he stood. They could not prevent his enterprise, for example, a war expedition. But he would clearly understand that they would neither assist him nor defend him from a return attack. If he wanted to go on a raid by himself, that was his affair. Usually he desisted.

This feeling was so strongly developed that it carried over to quite personal matters. It is constantly expressed in accounts and legends; a man would not even disappear into the woods to seek supernatural power without telling someone (usually a close kinsman) beforehand. The latter would then allay the anxiety of the rest of the group when the person's absence was noted. One should tell someone before he set out on a journey, or engaged in an illicit love affair. In a sense, it was an affront to one's relatives not to do this. The implication was that one did not value his people's opinion, did not want their aid, and did not care about their anguish if some misfortune befell him.

The procedure for announcing one's intentions naturally varied considerably depending on what those plans were. When a man intended to give a small feast on an occasion of minor importance he naturally did not stage an elaborate performance to make the announcement. He might call in a few of his close relatives and friends to eat with him, and tell them then. Men of low rank ordinarily included one or more of their house chiefs at such gatherings. If, on the other hand, some major festival was being planned, the announcement was more formally made. There were a number of devices or methods for doing this. The simplest was to give a formal (though not necessarily a large) feast, to which the principal chiefs were asked, or the lineage chiefs, if one intended to invite other divisions of his tribe or confederacy. At the feast the host would rise to make a speech, relating his plans in some detail. Another method, used principally in connection with potlatch invitations to other tribes, was to give a feast to the leading tribal or confederacy chiefs, and before them, to "send a Supernatural Quartz Crystal" to the intended guests. Supernatural Quartz Crystals (hai'na), possessed of various miraculous powers, were believed to "grow" in caves on mountain tops.

They made weird humming noises, and had the power of movement. Men sometimes were able to take them from such places, at least in the ancient heroic epochs. Other men were given crystals in supernatural encounters with Wolves and other powerful spirits. To possess one of the objects brought great good fortune and wealth. However obtained, the crystals were guarded in the chief's treasure chest for special occasions.

The only public display of the crystals was to invite other tribes to potlatches and/or to Shamans' Dances. When a chief began his plans to give a major festival invariably a year or two or even longer in advance, one of the important steps was to assemble his own group (usually tribe or confederacy), announce his intent, then dance before them displaying his Supernatural Crystal (or as informants insist, a replica of it, for "the real Crystal would be too strong, and might harm the people"). At the climax of the dance, he "threw the Crystal" or "sent it" to the guest tribe. As well as can be made out from the descriptions he did this by pointing the crystal in the direction of the guests, gesturing as shamans were supposed to do to "send" supernatural missiles, then palmed it so that it disappeared. He or his speaker would announce that the Supernatural Crystal obtained by such-and-such an ancestor on a certain occasion had gone flying to such-and-such a tribe. It must be emphasized that there was no notion that the chief had shamanistic power. The power of miraculous travel, insofar as any was believed involved, was that of the Crystal itself, or rather would have been had the real crystal been used. People realized that the performance was a form only. Several informants were explicit on the point, saying that the chief only pretended to throw the imitation crystal.[85]

A variant method of using one of these objects was to have the chief's child appear with one after his return from the Wolves, in the Shamans' Dance. It would be announced to the people that the Wolves had instructed the novice to invite such and such a tribe, and had given him the Supernatural Crystal to "send" to them, whereupon the novice, or some dance official would take the Crystal, dance with it, and "send" it to the guests.

The sending of the Supernatural Crystal constituted a formal invitation, in a sense; at least, it was a commitment. When the time came for the festival, an invitation party was sent to the guests. When these guests arrived at the village of their hosts they were received with songs and dances, and, where a crystal had been used, there was always a performance to represent its return to its owners.

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[85] The crystals never represented the "spirit of the ceremonial" nor had any other connection with the Shamans' Dance than that described here, although Sapir (1911, pp. 23, 24) interpreted them as representing the ceremony itself.

The guest chief of highest rank danced in his canoe, displayed a crystal, then "threw" it to his host, who made a gesture as though catching an object in the air, then in turn displayed a crystal. Usually he "sent" it back, and had it returned to him several times (four as a rule), then kept it. Then the guest chief came ashore, or was carried up, canoe and all.

These performances with the supernatural crystals had their counterpart among various Kwakiutl divisions, where small doll-like figures representing spirits were "sent" to guests, and returned by the latter on arrival. (See Boas, 1897, figs. 156–158; also Drucker, 1940, p. 215.) While at first glance this "sending" seems pointless, it really had a very practical function. Each winter various chiefs (and their groups) gave festivals, inviting neighboring groups. Attendance at a Shamans' Dance and the potlatch following it meant a stay of 2 or 3 weeks, and often more, so there was a limit to the number of festivals a group could attend. By giving notice in a dramatic unequivocal manner a year or two beforehand a chief made sure that his prospective guests would be expecting the visit of a formal invitation party—that they would be at their winter village, and not 40 miles down the coast attending the ritual of some other chief. It was a way of capitalizing on the amorphous but effective gossip channels through which news was disseminated up and down the coast. The crystals obviously went nowhere on being "sent" except, after a bit, back to the box in which the chief kept his ritual paraphernalia. Nor did the chief send messengers to his prospective guests. He knew that before many days, as people visited kin from one tribe to the next, word would reach the guests, and everyone else on the coast, that, for example, "Chief mōqwinȧ sent his Supernatural Crystal to the Clayoquot and the Kyuquot to invite them two winters hence." Also the fact that such news became common knowledge enabled a chief to make plans that would not conflict with those of other chiefs. Two invitation parties arriving simultaneously would create an embarrassing situation. Thanks to the Supernatural Crystals such things did not happen.

Obviously the same result could have been attained by simpler means, say by a simple formal announcement. But that would have deprived the chief of an opportunity to display a hereditary treasure, and would have robbed his audience of a dramatic spectacle.

Another method of making formal announcements was the use of two masks representing "ancients" (ma'ixtuq). There appear to have been more of these owned by chiefs of the Northern Division than by those of the Central group (of course only a chief who owned a set of these masks might use them). At a feast or minor festival given for the purpose, the two "ancients" came into the house, wearing the masks, and dressed and acting like a very old man and woman. They spoke unintelligible phrases in low tones; the chief had to call on several men before he found one who could understand them and serve as their speaker (of course, the whole performance, including who was to be called on, had been arranged beforehand). The ancients proclaimed themselves to be the chief's ancestors, naming some ancient chief and his wife among his forebears. Then they would describe some festival they had given, asking their "descendant" if he could do as well—they hoped he "would be a real chief, and keep their high name up." The chief would ponder awhile, and perhaps confer with his guests, before accepting the burden the ancients were putting upon him. Finally he would agree to attempt to invite certain tribes to a potlatch, or Shamans' Dance (or whatever he had intended announcing).

The Shamans' Dance itself provided techniques for making announcements: a chief could arrange to have his heir abducted by the Wolves during a performance that one of his fellow chiefs was putting on, and have him announce on his return (with or without use of a Supernatural Crystal, as described above), that "the Wolves had told him to do thus and so [give a potlatch, or whatever it might be]." Finally, there was an abbreviated version of the Shamans' Dance, in which the "novice" (atsa) was not kidnaped but struck unconscious, and when revived could announce that the Wolves had instructed him to give a certain festival. This could be telescoped to a single night's performance, and was a frequent device for making one's plans known.

FEASTS

"Every time the chief got a lot of food of any kind, he gave a feast (ʟītsū) to give it away to the people." Thus one informant summarized the occasions for feast giving. If there is a flaw in his generalization it is that the statement is not quite sweeping enough. Sometimes feasts were given as a preliminary step in making plans, or announcing them, as described above, in addition to the many given simply to celebrate a rich haul. A chief gave a feast to announce, for example, that he was going to give a potlatch, that he was going to build a house, or get another wife. Depending on the circumstances, and no doubt the state of the larder also, a man might invite any number of guests from the whole tribe to only the four head chiefs. This was true for any kind of a feast.

For the sake of brevity some of the more common occasions for feasts other than to announce one's intentions will be listed. The first class may be called feasts of rights. When a chief obtained foodstuffs from any of his territorial possessions, he had to use it in a feast.

Thus the first catch of salmon in his traps, the tribute taken once or twice a season from fishermen on his fishing grounds, the first pick of berries in his berry patches, and the owned shares of blubber of stranded whales were all so used. The purpose of such a feast was to recount his claim to the territory from which the food came. Another sort were those in which the chief obtained the food as a gift. It might be a gift of food from affinal kin, or extra food given at a feast to be taken home and distributed, or it might be a gift from one of the people in his house (e. g., from a sealer or a deer or bear hunter). Feasts were also given at various periods in his child's life—at teething, at weaning ("when the child ate its first real food its father would call the people to eat with the child"), at a child's first successful hunt, etc. Commoners might substitute feasts for the more elaborate and expensive potlatches at major crises of their children's lives (birth, puberty, death). A chief might do the same for the sake of variety. In addition, numerous feasts were given during the various stages of a potlatch, and during the Shamans' Dance.

When a man gave a feast to celebrate his wife's pregnancy, the occasion was called "becoming an elder sibling" (mama'mitsic). People would tell each other, "Eat lots; we have to eat lots. We're mama'mits." When a child is "ma'mits" it is "cranky" and hungry all the time, and must be given much food to keep it quiet.

When a man was giving a feast he sent two men to call those he wanted to invite. The important guests entered and were taken to their proper seats. At a large feast, the chiefs sat along the back wall, usually on both sides of the central post; people without seats were divided, men on the right, women on the left. War chiefs were seated in a double row down the center. Long narrow cedar-bark mats the length of the house were unrolled before the guests. The host would sing one of his feast songs, announcing through his speaker what the feast was for (an event in his child's life, to demonstrate certain ownership rights, etc.), how he had obtained the food (from his own lands, from a brother-in-law, or as "left-overs" from the feast of another chief). If it were an important occasion, he might use his two great named feast dishes, singing their songs, and reciting how they had come to him. Two chiefs or war chiefs would be designated to eat from the dishes and others to eat with them. The recipients arose to give thanks and a payment, called "for putting his hands in [the dish]" (ʟūłasit). The food was served from the large dishes to the smaller ones from which two or three men ate. These smaller dishes were distributed among all the guests. War chiefs and speakers were supposed to eat enormous quantities.

After each course the waiters, young men of the host's group, served cups of fresh water for rinsing out the mouth, and larger wooden vessels with water for washing the hands. Napkins consisting of bundles of finely shredded yellow cedar bark were provided to dry one's hands with. If the amount of food was large, additional portions were given to be taken home, the larger ones to the chiefs. This was the "left-overs" (mamutskwīunł, literally "for carrying under the arm"), with which the recipient was obliged to give a feast to his people at home. The host's group might perform some dances, receiving presents from the guests. Any talented person, one of the speakers or clowns, might dance or sing an amusing song, for which he would get gifts. All these payments (for the dishes, to dancers), had to be refunded by the host. Otherwise there was no property given away. In recent times there has been a tendency to give money and gifts at feasts, but that is not the old style; informants distinguish sharply between feasts, at which only food is given (the "payments" do not count), and potlatches, where wealth is distributed. At the conclusion, the host spoke again, thanking the people for coming, and "asking them to remember his words" (i. e., if it had been a feast from property right, "to remember that such-and-such belonged to him"). Then one of the guest chiefs replied, thanking the chief in the name of all the guests.

There were other important types of feasts. One was that in which people asked that they be feasted by a certain person. To request a feast was called kwisi'ī. Usually the speakers, clowns or war chiefs, would make such a request; other men might suggest it to them. "They would ask for a feast when they knew the chief had a lot of some kind of food." A favorite occasion was when a chief's child was seen carrying or eating something. Someone would shout, "I wish the young Chief so-and-so [naming the child] would ask me to a feast of what he is eating." Then the child's parents, hearing of it, would invite him. Other men, or sometimes the whole tribe, would be asked to come with him. Chiefs would not always be included in such feasts—sometimes just the warriors, or just the old men, etc., would be asked.

It is related that once the Kyuquot war chiefs began to remark that they wanted to be invited to a sockeye feast by the owner of the first sockeye rights at Queen's Cove, the Ehetisat-Moachat chief mōqwinȧ. (The Queen's Cove group was independent, not belonging to either the Ehetisat or the Moachat confederacy; Chief mōqwinȧ held rights there for a time following a marriage to the daughter of a Queen's Cove chief). Chief mōqwinȧ heard the news. This occurred long after his previous troubles caused by his antisocial behavior, and he was again well-regarded by his people. He announced that he intended to bathe ritually to bring a good sockeye run, and delegated 4 men to make 200 bundles of nettles to rub his body with. He began his ritual bathing, and as a result the sockeye were soon jumping all over Queen's Cove. His next step was to set his 4 traps, and to have some women cut and dry 400 of the sockeye for him. He sent a party to Kyuquot to invite the war chiefs. Meanwhile he readied his feast dishes wi'ta'aik and wɔłwɔłwɔhai. In a few days the Kyuquot arrived in three large canoes. The combined Ehetisat and Queen's Cove people assembled on the beach to meet them. The war chiefs, with faces painted black, danced, flourishing guns and knives. Chief mōqwinȧ gave his guests a small feast of sockeye and dried herring eggs announcing that the real sockeye feast would be on the following day. In the morning the war chiefs assembled in the house of the ʟitcyaȧth chief to break their fast, and to practice their songs. Then they were called to Chief mōqwinȧ's feast. The two great dishes were brought in, one filled with rice and molasses, the other with herring eggs and whale oil. The 400 dried sockeye were piled in a great heap nearby. All the Ehetisat had assembled, in the role of hosts; they sang as the Kyuquot entered. Then an Ehetisat chief stood up to speak for the host. "Chief mōqwinȧ was very glad to hear you people wanted to eat dried sockeye from Queen's Cove, because the Kyuquot and Ehetisat tribes are just like one family, and you can ask for anything you want. All Chief mōqwinȧ's tribe, the Ehetisat, have helped him prepare these sockeye for you." Then the Ehetisat sang a chantey. The Kyuquots replied with a song. Then the chief who acted as the host's speaker called on one man for each of the two dishes, and the two named, with half the party to assist each of them, sat at the dishes. They arranged themselves so there were 20 men at each dish (10 on either side). After they had eaten, the two war chiefs to whom the dishes were assigned gave gifts to mōqwinȧ, one giving him a gun, the other a good woolen blanket. They moved back away from the dishes, sitting on long mats. Each man was given 20 dried sockeye, only 2 of which were cooked. They ate the cooked fish, then made ready to leave. mōqwinȧ gave a sealing canoe and an iron kettle to the men who had given him the gifts. In addition to the 18 uncooked sockeye, which each man was to take home, they were given other "left-overs" including baskets of herring eggs. Now they were ready to go home, but it was stormy and raining so they stayed over a couple of days. Other chiefs feasted them. Finally they set out for Kyuquot, and that was the end of the affair, except for the gleefully told sequel that the war chiefs were stormbound for 6 days on the way home, and ate up all the sockeye, reaching Kyuquot at last with nothing but the herring eggs, which they had been unable to clean of the fir needles.

There were many variations of this pattern of asking for feasts, consisting chiefly in special occasions for asking. The following is one example: There is a certain bone in or just behind the head of the spring salmon called "tsikīta." When, at a spring salmon feast, this bone happened to fall to the lot of a war chief, he might hold it aloft shouting, "I have him by the hair!" (as though for beheading), then the name of some chief's son or daughter. The parents of the child named had to invite the war chiefs, or the chiefs and war chiefs, to a feast. People sometimes told war chiefs privately, beforehand, "If you get the tsikīta, name my child. We want to invite the chiefs in his [or her] name." It is also rumored that nowadays some women who are out of sympathy with the old customs remove the tsikīta before serving spring salmon at a feast.

Another method capitalized on local pride in special foods. "The 'rivers' [local groups] used to brag about who had the best kind of food," say informants, referring to the specialties of different places. The qa'opincàth at Kyuquot had the best place in Kyuquot Sound for hunting waterfowl with lights (whether because there was better shelter for the birds, more feed, or just why, I do not know, but the superiority of their place was admitted by all). Tribes of the lower sounds used to twit the Gold River divisions of the Muchalat, accusing them of believing halibut were supernatural (because those people saw halibut so rarely that they were amazed at the fish having both eyes on the same side of the head); the Gold River people claimed to pity the coast groups who had to live through the winter on dead shiners and codfish heads that washed up on the beaches instead of eating good fat deer and elk. For the most part this local pride was a matter for jest and not taken seriously. When a chief heard that someone had maligned his special local food source, however, he pretended to become angry and invited him to a feast of the food he had insulted. It is clear that in most cases both insult and resultant ire were matters of form, and occasionally were even arranged beforehand.

When the qa'opincàth chief got many waterfowl (his right as chief and owner of the inlet gave him as tribute all of the first two catches of his hunters each spring), he ordinarily invited all the Kyuquot chiefs to a feast; there were so many, counting all the house chiefs, that he did not invite the speakers and war chiefs. One spring day, when a storm was brewing (making ideal duck netting weather), a flock of geese passed over aqtīs. A war chief looked at them and called, "Fly away, you birds. We never get a chance to eat you when you go to qa'opinc. I think you're probably nothing but feathers and bones anyhow, not worth eating." When the qa'opincàth chief heard this "insult" (a kinsman promptly came to tell him), he told his people to make a special effort to get many geese. They came down to the village in a few days with 220 of the birds. This time the chief did not invite the chiefs, but instead the war chiefs and speakers. He invited two or three from each house, so they would have more than they could eat. So for once they had their fill of the famous qa'opinc geese.

Long ago there was a young mō'yaáth (Muchalat) man renowned as a hunter of sea mammals. He came on a deer one day at the water's edge, and hurled his sealing harpoon at it. The deer jumped causing him to miss; his harpoon struck a rock, splintering the delicate heads. Angrily he landed to retrieve his harpoon, saying, "All right, jump and run through the woods, deer. You're just a poor lean thing anyhow; not fat like the animals I hunt in the sea. You're not worth bothering with." Some time after, the a'aminqás chief heard the story. Resenting the slur (the a'aminqásáth were noted as deer and bear hunters) he sent some young men to hunt for him, and invited 10 mō'yaáth to a feast. His men got four or five deer. Now he was in a quandary, for it was springtime, and the deer were very poor. He solved it by cooking them with great quantities of deer tallow which he had stored. When the mō'yaáth came they were served venison floating in melted tallow, so rich they could scarcely drink it.

A gruesomely humorous sequel has it that the men wanted to bathe in the river immediately afterward. Their host advised them not to but was ashamed to tell them why, revealing his trick. Only one heeded him; the other nine went into the cold water, the tallow hardened in their stomachs and they died. The survivor had to go home with the sad news.

One summer some relatives of the chief of the tacīsáth, at Kyuquot, came to tell him that one of the ʟa'a'áth war chiefs had made fun of the tacīsáth during a halibut feast. The war chief had held up a juicy morsel called tɔhma (from some part of the head of the halibut), saying, "Too bad the tacīsáth aren't able to have good fat fish like this. Poor things, they're so dry up there up the inlet, with nothing fat to eat. I feel sorry that they should be so hungry." The chief said nothing, but after the dog salmon season, he sent 15 young men secretly over the trail to the Nimkish River to buy olachen oil. The party came back 6 days later, each carrying four kelp bottles of oil. When all the qanōpittakámłáth were assembled in the tribal village of maxqet he told them his plan. He sent a party to invite the ranking tribal chiefs and war chiefs. Meanwhile he had the kelp bottles hidden under the sleeping places along the wall. He selected a group of young men and instructed them in what to do. They were to dance before serving the oil, and were to pour some of it about on the floor. He coached them carefully, however—and this is the revealing part—that they were to be careful not to give serious offense to any of the guests by splashing them with the oil. When the guests arrived and were seated they were served dried salmon. Then oil dishes were set out. They did not know where he had gotten oil; no whales had drifted in for a long time. A few kelp bottles had not been hidden. They were brought out and the guest chiefs were served proper portions. Then the leading tacīsàth war chief stood to call to the young men, "qanōpittakáml, let us play for these people; let us give them a dance." The young men went to the fire to get charcoal for blackening their faces. They formed a line to dance, singing, "Become angry, tacīs; for one shows you a halibut bone." They danced about, then at a signal ran through the rows of guests to bring out the kelp bottles. These they brought to the war chiefs, filling their oil cups to overflowing and spilling oil on the floor. Then they knotted the mouths of the bottles shut, and laid them with the remaining oil at the chiefs' places. The qa'opincàth chief stood telling his people to sing. He took off his blanket and gave it to the tacīsàth chief. Other chiefs did likewise, giving either to the chief or to his war chiefs. Most chiefs had come prepared, wearing two blankets. After they had eaten, the tacīsàth chief sang his feast song, and replaced the blankets of the chiefs.

Instead of inviting another group to a feast, a chief could take the feast to them. This was called ʟīɛs. He would use the house of some kinsman at the guests' village. The procedure was the same as for an ordinary feast, otherwise. When a man did this he was, of course, stressing his relationship to the guest tribe, pretending to be one of them. It became customary in these feasts to distribute small presents afterward, saying that the gifts were napkins (tītinikciɫ, "for wiping one's hands"). It is not clear whether this was an old custom or a fairly recent modification.

POTLATCHES

The potlatch (nūciɫ) was one of the more spectacular aspects of Nootkan socioceremonial life. The general principle was the same as that of the feasts: when a chief accumulated a quantity of property he gave it away. It is likely that in pre-European times potlatches were far less frequent and far less elaborate than in recent years when trade goods abounded. Informants recognize this, remarking, "In old times they had more feasts, and not so many potlatches, because they didn't have much to give away. The 'old-timers' didn't have blankets and money; all they had to give out were canoes and house boards, cedar-bark blankets, and things like that. It took a long time to get enough of these together to give a potlatch." The real heyday of the potlatch was probably during the years to which the present account relates, from 1870 on.

Potlatches were given on numerous occasions. Their prime overt purpose was to transfer a chief's privileges to his children. At various periods of their lives he gave a potlatch in a child's honor to announce that he or she was assuming a new name and new rights (seats, dances, properties). The potlatch thus served as a device for transferring hereditary property. It was an invariable concomitant of the Shamans' Dance, which, as will be seen, served the same end. The commonest reasons for potlatching were as follows: Life crises (birth, puberty, marriage, death), minor critical stages (wife's pregnancy, child's first tooth, first game, when some accident befell the child), or sometimes for no very obvious reason at all, except just to be giving one. There was no competitive potlatching of the Kwakiutl variety: "You couldn't fight or quarrel in a potlatch. That would give a bad name to your child, and be a disgrace to your whole family." All chiefs were expected to give potlatches, and anyone else who was able. Informants say, "It gave a good name to potlatch," that is, it gave one honor and a good reputation. The whole spirit of Nootkan potlatching was very different from that described as typical of their Southern Kwakiutl kin and neighbors.

An intricate system of rules governed potlatching procedure. The first step was to announce one's intentions, as previously described. Then, if the chief were potlatching a different tribe, when he had everything in readiness he gave a feast to his group, calling on various men to paddle him to the territory of the other tribe to actually give the invitation. He usually asked for 8 to 10 men. He did not have to go in person, but often did, and sometimes took along the child for whom he was giving the affair. The invitation party went to the intended guests' village, singing as they arrived. The chief's speaker would announce from the canoe to the first chief of the village that his chief had come inviting. If a Supernatural Crystal had been used, he might say that his chief had come to recover the Crystal he had sent. The guest chief would send down his speaker, or someone who knew the order of seats among the village chiefs, to assist the inviters. As this person named them, the inviter's speaker would call out their names. The latter had two bundles of small cedar splints, one for the chiefs who were to occupy their own seats, one for the other guests (old chiefs, lower-rank chiefs, speakers, commoners). As he called each name, he threw down one stick. After all the chiefs who were to be seated formally had been called, he invited each other person who was to come, calling on them with a phrase meaning each was to "paddle for his chief." Very often after the speeches of invitation the villagers carried the canoe and crew up to, or even into the chief's house. The inviting chief stood erect in his canoe singing his potlatch song.[86]

Now each of the chiefs in turn, beginning with the Owner-of-the-Beach, called the visiting party to a feast, where dances and gifts were given them. The chief who was inviting received the principal gifts, of course. Each man had to remember how much each chief gave him. After all the chiefs had entertained them, they set out for home. There the inviting chief gave a feast, told what each of his hosts (his future guests), had done for him, and made final plans: what they should do when the guests arrived, the songs and dances to be used, and so on.

The approach of the guests was heralded by singing, and in historic times by gunshots. All the local people assembled in front of the houses, singing and dancing. If a Supernatural Crystal had been used for invitation, the first chief of the visitors danced, displaying a Crystal and "sending" it; the host danced and received it. The visitor would give a blanket or two to each of the local chiefs, and the host gave presents to the visitors, in honor of the crystal. "You have to give away some property every time you show any kind of supernatural object." The people of the host's tribe went down to meet their friends and kin, inviting them individually to stay with them, and assisting the guests with their belongings.

If the potlatch was to be in conjunction with a Shamans' Dance, as was usually the case in recent times when outsiders were invited, the Wolves appeared to carry off the first novice as the guests arrived.

After the ceremonial, a few days might be spent in feasting and small potlatches. Various chiefs would invite the guests to give them presents. When the time came for the main event, a man ascended to the roof of the host's house, where he fired two shots (it is said that anciently he drummed on the planks with a stick). Then he shouted the name of the guest of highest rank. (An assistant with a bundle of small sticks usually aided him in checking the names he called out.) Two men went to call the chief whose name had just been shouted, escorting him to the house.[87] These messengers (ha’animȧshsī) each carried a plain staff. When they came for the chief they were given a small present. They escorted him to the house, calling his name at the door as he entered. At the door an announcer met him and repeated his name. Two "ushers" (kwɔkwɔtsa’łuk) took him to his seat, where they wiped his feet with shredded cedar bark. After all the young chiefs had been brought in, the messengers went to get those who had no formal seats (the retired chiefs and commoners). As they named each guest they threw down a stick from a bundle they held. The retired chiefs and commoners (łȧtwī, "the paddlers") went unescorted, by families or houses, usually, to the potlatch house, finding themselves places anywhere. It was customary for men to sit on the right-hand side of the house, women on the left. The host's house or tribe sat on the door end, when they were not dancing, manipulating displays, or handling the gifts.

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[86] They also sometimes carried the canoes of guests to a feast or potlatch, or those of men who came with food gifts to in-laws in the same way.

[87] The guest tribe would ordinarily be assembled in some house at a feast. If the chief was potlatching to his own tribe, the two would naturally go to the chiefs' home.

While the host's young men brought out the blankets and property, the host stood up, announcing through his speaker a number of very important facts: first, in whose honor the potlatch was being given, and the occasion, (having been rescued from the Wolves, taking the potlatch seat, and the like), how much he was giving away, and where this wealth came from. He reported how much "came from his potlatch seat" (had been given to him in potlatches), how much came from various rights he owned such as the "pubescent girls' hair-tie" of the Kyuquot tacīsȧth chief, how much had been contributed as "help" by house and tribemates, how much had been given when he went to invite, etc. Second, he told what display privileges he was going to use, and how he had come by them.

When the privilege had been displayed and its dances danced, the host "thanked his guests for looking at his supernatural treasure." Then he sang his wealth song, and gave out his property. The gifts were distributed in the order of rank of the guests. The host was assisted by his speaker, tally keepers who counted out the blankets, and young men who carried the gifts to the chiefs. The speaker announced to each seated chief in turn, "Here is your present, Chief so-and-so, from Chief — [the host], so many blankets." The recipient had to stand and sing, as the young men brought his gift, then say "Thank you, thank you, chief" (ʟa'kaō, ʟa'kaō, ha'wił). A young chief's speaker did this for him. The chiefs sat up, politely paying attention all during the affair. They did not lie down with their blankets over their faces in Southern Kwakiutl fashion. In giving to those without seats, the speaker used a different phrase, "tsiłan, so-and-so." The person named came forward to take his gift, also saying, "Thanks!"

A chief might show a number of privileges. With the first he might return the gifts given at the time of invitation; with the next, give out the real potlatch money, and finally make presents to those of his people who had assisted him. The host usually gave only to men (except in the case of a girl who sat among the chiefs); his wife or kinswoman gave to the women, though sometimes women were given small presents by the chief himself. After the final distribution he sang his property song once more and recounted again the reason for the potlatch and his right to use various privileges. Then he was answered by the highest-ranking chief of the guests, who thanked him for all, saying, in substance, that they all knew the chief's words were true, that the privileges he had shown were rightfully his. Commonly, one of the guests closely related to the host would act as the ranking chief's speaker to make this speech, "for he had to know about the chief's property and where it came from." No 2-minute speeches were these, but elaborate orations of an hour or two.

There were several features of potlatch etiquette that merit discussion. One was the rule governing misseating. It was maintained by informants that a young chief had to go to the seat to which the ushers took him, even though it were the wrong one. Once seated, he should rise, then announce through his speaker that he had been seated wrongly, and give the host and one or two others of the host's group small gifts. Informants suggested that from $3 to $5 for the host and $2 to the other chiefs of his group would be adequate. The misplaced chief remained in his place during the rest of the potlatch; it would be a breach of etiquette for him to shift during the proceedings. The whole attitude would be that such an event would be a painful blunder. The wronged chief would point the fact out, for the sake of the record, but would not attempt to make it more embarrassing. There was no suggestion that it was necessary for the misplaced chief to destroy property or stage some other spectacle. The fishwifely squabbles of the Muchalat during the days they were trying to establish chiefs' precedence within their shotgun confederacy were considered reprehensible by all their neighbors. Later in the course of the potlatch, the host would make a special gift to the offended chief, to restore the gifts the latter had made. This repayment was called "atonement for an error" (haiyūmiłac).

Similarly, if on entering the house the young guest chief should stumble, or fall, or if something fell on him, "even water from a leak in the roof," he had to announce the fact and make a small gift to the host, and two or three of the latter's fellow chiefs. This, like the preceding, was returned later on by the host. For this reason a chief always took some money along to any formal social affair; before cash became common he would wear two or three blankets, in case of an accident. The old (retired) chiefs did not have to make gifts in these circumstances. "It didn't matter about them."

There were no positions of precedence comparable to the Southern Kwakiutl "Eagles." The nearest approach was an institution at Kyuquot in which two men had the right to be invited whenever the chiefs were, but after the latter. They received no special gifts, and never were given gifts before the chiefs got theirs; they did, however, receive gifts before other commoners. These two men were called a tcaʟim, "prop, or brace" (the same term is used for a brace against the end of a pile of cordwood). I could not discover the origin of this honorable office.

The financial aspect of potlatches is not particularly complicated. There were no competitive potlatches in which sums to be given back and forth were pyramided until one rival was broken. In a general way it was felt that a potlatch ought to be returned but it was not necessary to return more or even as much. As has been said, gifts were given according to rank. The exact amounts were very obviously regulated not by how much had been received from any person but by how much the giver had to give away. For instance a man with $200 to give to his own tribe, might give the first chief $20, eight other seated chiefs $10 each, and divide the other $100 up among the people without seats, $1 to $2 per man. Or he might give the four highest chiefs $15, five others $10, and divide the remainder ($90) among the people. The proportions were not fixed at all, except that those lower in rank did not get more than their superiors. If he had double the amount to give he might alter the ratios somewhat, perhaps even giving small amounts (e. g., 50 cents to $1) to the women. Even if a chief potlatched but rarely, he would continue to receive gifts suitable to his station. This was true up to the disuse of potlatching, following the Canadian legal prohibition against it in 1913.

When one of the chief's tenants had some property, he would often "give to the rear of the house" (ta'qaqtiłpitȧph). To do this he would stand up, either in his place or outdoors in front of the house, singing. He would say "so-and-so [his own child] is giving so many blankets to his chief to potlatch with." Then when the chief gave a potlatch he would tell how much his tenant had given, and would give the latter's child a name (or if he gave a Shamans' Dance would take the child as one of the novices). The gifts to the chief had a special name, "assistance for potlatching," or as interpreters say, "help" (hinałyȧq).

Or else the chief could, when he was giving a Shamans' Dance, ask for the tenant's child. The tenant would give him some money or blankets for "help" in giving the dance (financial assistance for this ritual was called "for shamanizing," ʟūkwȧtqɛn).

All these gifts for "assistance" had to be reciprocated, but by smaller gifts, not full equivalents. A man who gave the chief a sea otter hide might get a medium-sized canoe in return (the canoe being worth considerably less, in recent times, at least). If a man was continually giving "help" to his chief, he might be given some sort of property, as, e. g., a minor fish-trap site, spearing rights on a creek, a war-chief name, and the like. Thus would he not only be "repaid" but would be bound closer to the chief. These repayments for "assistance in potlatching" were called "putting a belt on" (tapwinap).

It is necessary to note that all the "repayment" of gifts to inviters, gifts to the host's tribe, "help" to the host, was not at all a matter of giving back the same amount. A chief might tell his inviting crew, as one Ehetisat chief did, "Be sure to save the money you received from them. Our guests are coming to get presents, not to give them." But on the same occasion later, in discussing with an aide particular sums given by the guests, he was more explicit, "We must not give it all back at once (i. e., in one lump sum). They are our relatives; it would not look well. We must give it (the amount of their gifts) back in a number of smaller amounts, $2, $3, $5, at a time to each one. Otherwise they will feel hurt, and be ashamed." In other words, the various potlatch gifts were not mere loans to be handed back and forth, but were considered to be real presents to express the strength of the kinship ties. Even though the identical blankets or coins were given, returned, and given again, the processes were not regarded as "paying back loans"; each gift was thought of as a separate and distinct one. The physical return of the tokens simply made the sums go farther. The concept of "loans" and "repayments of loans" was not involved.

There was another type of potlatching superficially reminiscent of the Kwakiutl system. This was the nūcmīs potlatch. "nūcmīs means 'to go to another tribe to nūcił' (potlatch)." A chief would take his money or blankets and display paraphernalia and give a potlatch, just as at home, in the house of the first chief of another tribe. Then the various chiefs who were given gifts one after another invited the nūcmīs party, performing dances for them, and giving gifts. This is the only time repayment was expected; the chiefs were supposed to return double or more. The head chief usually waited till last. Before he gave his repayment potlatch he gave all those without seats an opportunity to dance and repay their gifts (they returned about as much as they had received). Then he gave a final affair, and the nūcmīs party went home. There, the chief told of their adventures at the other village, how much property they got, and so on. Then he announced he was going to *invite* the tribe he "went nūcmīs to," and did so. Actually, he was committing himself to invite the tribe he had visited when he went to them with his "nūcmīs" potlatch. Basically the nūcmīs was simply an unusually elaborate invitation party. A chief of tribe A might nūcmīs to tribe B with $200, and return home with $300 to $400. With a little "help" from his own tribe, he could give a $500 potlatch to tribe B, which would make a far more interesting affair than a $300 one. So in the end, the tribe B came out ahead, unless the chief of A neglected to give the return potlatch, as some of the young modern chiefs are reputed to have done.

Property destruction was not practiced nor was there competitive potlatching. There was no purchasing of coppers or other objects at fictitious cumulative values. Two instances involving competitive gifts were recalled, but their tenor is obviously different from that of the Kwakiutl custom.

nawinaqc, chief of the qa'opincàth at Kyuquot long ago, had a slave who tried to run away three times. Each time he was caught and brought back. nawinaqc tired of this; he said to his slave, "Do you really want to go home?" The slave said, "Yes." Then the chief said, "All right. Tomorrow we'll send you away." The next day they dressed the slave in a new blanket, put beads on him, and painted his face. Then they put him in a little canoe with no paddle and shoved him off the beach. When the canoe had drifted out far enough, nawinaqc sent his speaker to announce to the chief of the tacīsàth, naswinis, who owned the offshore water, "Chief, there is something adrift where you have your salvage rights." So a canoe put off to tow the slave in as salvage for the tacīs chief. "nawinaqc got a good name for this." The following winter, when naswinis was giving a potlatch, he gave nawinaqc a special present which he announced was "pay for bringing in salvage."

The grandson of nawinaqc used to think about his grandfather and what he had done. Finally he hired a man to make a 6-fathom canoe with four grooved lines around the gunwales. People used to go down to the beach to watch as it was being finished; it was a good canoe. When it was done, the young chief hired some boys to shove it out, empty. He had a hard time keeping people from going after it for him. When it was far enough out he sent his speaker to hakʟīsanàpcił, the tacīsàth chief, to tell him to send men to recover his salvage. "He was throwing the canoe away, just as his grandfather." Next time hakʟīsanàpcił gave a potlatch after a Shamans' Dance he gave the qa'opincàth a sea otter hide.

It is interesting to note that what idea of competition there was, was directed toward one's ancestors. The concept was really that of living up to their record, rather than contesting with one's contemporaries for status. The idea is brought out in a slightly different connection, but is worth repeating here.

The ōwitchamis mentioned elsewhere, who lived most of the time in the tacīsàth house nanīqs at Kyuquot, was of low rank, a tenant who did not "own" a place, but had a good reputation; he and his father and grandfather had been sea otter hunters and sealers, and always helped their chiefs. They had been given a good many minor privileges for this. There had been an ōwitchamis who was his great-grandfather. This previous bearer of the name had been renowned as a hearty eater; at feasts he always performed gargantuan feats, swallowing incredibly long strips of blubber, consuming piles of dried salmon and quantities of oil, to the edification of the populace. People always used to tease his great-grandson at feasts, telling him to try to eat as much as his famous ancestor, or to beat him if he could. Of course, this was all for a joke.

The only slave killing for display in a potlatch of which my informants knew was one in direct imitation of the Kwakiutl, on an occasion supposedly about the middle of the last century, when a Kwakiutl chief made an attempt "to go clear around Vancouver Island, beating all the chiefs" (i. e., beating them at potlatching). The Chickliset, the first Nootkans he came to, were easily "beaten" though they were noted as a rich tribe, because they did not understand what he was doing. There was a Kwakiutl woman with him related to the Kyuquot tacīsȧth chief. She came to Kyuquot ahead of her party, and coached her nephew very carefully. He called his whole confederacy together, asking for all their sea otter skins; they assembled about ninety. He told them what he had learned from his aunt that he must do. If he did not need to give away the skins, he would return them. When the Kwakiutl arrived, the tacīs chief sent a young slave woman to dance on the beach; then his war chiefs killed her. They wrapped her body in new blankets, "then used her for a canoe-roller," dragging the Kwakiutl's canoe over her. (This is specifically stated to have been the "aunt's" idea.) The Kwakiutl chief became angry "the way those East Coast people do." First he was going to break the copper he had with him, but desisted when the Kyuquot's "aunt" told him how many sea otter hides were in the tacīs house. Then he was going to give the copper away, but the woman said, "No, don't do that, for these people don't care about coppers—they don't know what they are for. They'll just laugh at you, and cut it up to make fishhooks." So he kept his temper, and his copper.

It is not impossible that the Kwakiutl version of this incident might be considerably different. This account, however, expresses the Nootkan attitude. They, or at least the groups of the Northern division, were thoroughly aware of the Southern Kwakiutl competitive potlatching of the latter part of the nineteenth century, but were neither interested in it nor could they fit it into their potlatching system with its well-fixed orders of precedence. The Kyuquot chief's pride was strong enough, and he was able to appeal to the national pride of his people as well, to try to keep from being bettered in the contest. It is interesting to note that he simply protected himself by assembling the sea otter hides in his house; when his potential rival did not react to the challenge offered in the slave killing, he did not give the skins away. I rather believe a Kwakiutl chief would have potlatched enough of them to effectively face down a rival rather than to have left the matter in a stalemate.

In all truth, the Nootkan potlatch did not really deserve being legislated against, for it lacked all the traits that made the Kwakiutl complex objectionable. Even Father Brabant, as arbitrary and as prejudiced as he was against most aboriginal customs, says that he could see no great harm in the system. About all it did, in terms of national wealth, was to periodically assemble and redistribute blankets and cash. Middle-aged men say wistfully today that in the day of the potlatch they "always had lots of money." The fact is that they were continually receiving it, a pleasant enough custom, but they do not stop to consider that they were continually giving it away again in their own potlatches or in the form of contributions to their chiefs, for the recognition they received from giving more than compensated for the loss. As long as the potlatch continued in the closed circle of the Nootkan tribes, there was little real loss to anyone. When we note that during this time there was a continual flow of wealth tokens (cash, trade blankets) into the culture from external (European) sources greater than the facilities of the day for ordinary expenditure, it is clear no great damage could be done.

If we consider our hypothetical chief and his $200-potlatch of a few paragraphs back, the point becomes clear. To begin with, probably most of the $200 was his to begin with, although a small proportion came from his junior chiefs and tenants. He distributed in the neighborhood of $100 among his guest chiefs. If each of them invited him, eventually he could expect to get about this same amount back, assuming that his own potlatch seat in his tribe was among the first 8 or 10. The remainder of the sum he distributed among the retired chiefs, chiefs of low rank, and commoners, so that it was apparently lost. This part as well would eventually come back to him, however, for the recipients would give various sums to their own chiefs, who would distribute them among the low-rank people of our hero's group. These people would, in the natural course of events, be giving him the money again to help him in his potlatches. Thus the potlatch wealth simply was circulated considerably, to the accompaniment of festivities and much ego satisfaction for all concerned, and everyone ended up about even. Of course, actually it did not work out so simply, for only rarely would a chief and his group be invited by each and every one of the chiefs who had been their guests. That is, if a Kyuquot chief gave a potlatch to the Moachat chiefs, each of the latter might not in turn invite the Kyuquot, even over a long period of time. Some would, perhaps, but others might give their potlatches to, let us say, the Ehetisat, and others to the Nuchatlet. Some of the latter chiefs would give potlatches to the Kyuquot, however, so it would eventually all balance out. As nearly as one can make out, the Nootkans simply got more action for their money than did most other people, without its actually costing them very much.

The Nootkan data are in very close harmony with Barnett's (1938 c) appraisal of the potlatch. The gifts were essentially expressions of esteem, given to a group of guests (in native theory, kinsmen invited because of their relationship ties to the giver), who were called upon to witness the host's hereditary claims to certain honors. Because of their kinship they were expected to know something of his ancestry and the truth of his claims (even though actually they might not know); by observing the display and listening to his claims, and by accepting the gift, they were made public witnesses to his claim. The real test of their approval, of course, came when they or some of them in turn potlatched to their ex-host's group, and recognized his status within his group by conducting him to his proper potlatch seat (the one he claimed), and by giving to him in his proper turn in the distribution of gifts. Lesser members of the chief's group did not have to content themselves only with a vicarious enjoyment of the chief's glory. They could actively participate by contributing to his potlatch funds, and still better, have their aid, and thereby their association with his high status, called to public attention through his announcement of their contribution and his publicly bestowed reward. Their physical participation as singers and dancers added still more, of course, to their esteem as members of a prestigeful group.

THE "SHAMANS' DANCE" (LŌQWƆNȦ)

The "Shamans' Dance" or "Shamans' Festival" (Lōqwɔnȧ) was the most spectacular and most important ceremonial in Nootkan culture. It was staged, usually but not invariably, in midwinter, whenever some chief wanted to signalize an event of importance in his or his heirs lives, and was followed by a major potlatch.

The name Shamans' Dance is used in the present report in preference to the term "Wolf Dance" commonly met with in the literature, because the Nootkan term Lōqwɔnȧ means "The Shaman." "Wolf Dance" is an entirely artificial designation. As the native name suggests, numerous features of the ceremonial refer to the local shamanistic pattern.

Details of the rite varied from place to place. Each tribe or confederacy had its own traditional account of the origin of their version of the ritual in their own territory (the same origin myth relating to the capture of a young chief by Wolves, is shared by all, but the name of the hero, and the places, differ). There were even differences between the procedures of tribes of the same confederacy, and between local groups of the same tribe. This was due to the fact that numerous details and acts of the ceremonial were privately owned property. Each chief, as representative of his lineage, inherited special songs, dances, display rights, and other performances to be used in the ritual, and sometimes these rights overlapped, that is, two or more chiefs would each own a different procedure for accomplishing the same result. Nonetheless, the major outlines of the Shamans' Dance were the same among all the Nootkan tribes, so the basic pattern of the ritual can be outlined here, and supplemented by accounts from the various divisions.

Briefly, the ceremonial can be characterized as a dramatic performance in which the entire local populace participated. The plot was simple: children (the "novices") were kidnaped by Supernatural Wolves (sometimes accompanied by other spirits), then rescued by their relatives and ceremonially purified. During the novices' captivity each was supposed to be taken by the Wolves [88] to the ancestral home of his lineage and there instructed in the origin of some hereditary right: a song, a masked dance, a display privilege, or the like, which he was to claim and use on his return (this slight discrepancy in the plot—that the Wolves planned that the novice should return to his people—did not disconcert the Indians in the least). In this way the ceremony served as a vehicle for conveying hereditary rights.

From the time the ceremonial began until it was concluded, a special set of rules of conduct were in force. Certain usages of normal or secular occasions were prohibited. One of the most striking was the prohibition on use of some important prerogatives of rank, such as the established graded seating arrangements of the chiefs at public gatherings and feasts. For this reason the major potlatch associated with the affair was not given until the ritual had been concluded formally, for it was deemed proper to observe the normal deference to rank in the seating of the chiefs and the order in which gifts were given at the potlatch. During assemblages for the ritual, people seated themselves "anywhere they wished" with no regard for rank. Usually one sat with members of his age-grade club. The jealously guarded rights of chiefs to certain portions of hair seal meat were likewise disregarded; when someone brought in a seal they cut it up into little bits and gave everyone a share. Such deviations from normal secular rules did not mean that the society became temporarily democratic, nor did it mean that a separate group of aristocracy came into power. Basically, the ritual was built around the system of rank: chiefs sponsored the performance on the basis of hereditary right to do so, and similarly owned nearly all the important ritual acts. And these were the same chiefs that held highest rank in the lineages and in the tribes. The disuse of certain attributes of hereditary rank was a method of expressing the importance of the supernatural atmosphere of the Shamans' Dance but it did not really modify the social structure.

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[88] In the description of the ritual, the word "wolf" will be capitalized to make clear that reference is to the wolf spirits and the men representing them, not real beasts.

Another series of rules provided substitutes for certain secular words. The ordinary terms for "wolf," "teeth" (because the Wolves were said to carry off the novices in their mouths), and "tail" (because the bull-roarer was said to be the Wolf's tail) were invariably tabu. In all reference to the Wolves during the ritual the word "Crawlers" (sa'ishsī) was used instead of the normal term (qwaiyatsik), and there were similar established euphemisms for other tabu words.[89] Persons violating these tabus were punished by the group policing the rite, who mauled the violator and tore off his garments. One of the Muchalat informants, with cynical glee, stated that often middle-aged women sang little improvised ditties in which they *deliberately* used the secular word for "wolf" so that they would be stripped to the buff in public. This may or may not be so, but it brings out a point which will be dealt with later on: the deliberate violation of the tabus as a dramatic mechanism to accomplish some special act.

To eat alone, even a single mouthful of some delicacy, was strictly prohibited. All meals were eaten as feasts. It was not necessary to invite any given number of guests, but guests, many or few, there had to be. In mornings and evenings there would be dozens of feasts going on in the village. Chiefs, of course, gave them on a larger scale than men of lower rank. One common punishment for eating alone was to have one's mouth "stretched" by two husky individuals, one of whom hooked a finger in either corner of the mouth and gave a yank. Food boxes and dishes of the offender would be smashed up, contents and all, in addition. Other common tabus prohibited quarreling (especially by spouses), chewing gum, wearing a hat, or carrying a (wooden) bucket by the handle (it had to be carried in the arms). If a woman worked at weaving mats or baskets, her handiwork would be taken from her and torn up. Afterward, in the Sponsor's potlatch, special gifts were given to compensate for these maulings and the destroyed property. Mourning was not permitted. Should someone die during the ceremonial the body was disposed of quietly, and it was announced that he had been kidnaped by the Wolves. His family were permitted to show no sign of grief.

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[89] It was said that if a person's name contained one of the prohibited terms he was to use another name during the ceremonial, but that except for such cases there were no special ritual names or titles.

An obvious question in this connection is who acted as police to punish offenders. One would expect a simple answer. Strangely, it is difficult at first to discover who the police were. The common reply made by informants is that it was the novices, who came out from behind their curtain. This is obviously improbable, since most of the novices were small children. There can be little doubt that in theory the novices functioned as the police, just as in the Kwakiutl Hametsa series, the Hametsa and other novices "became excited" and bit people or smashed up belongings when certain tabus were broken.[90] The actual punishment of offenders was delegated to certain men, but by a fiction of the ritual these men were regarded as the novices themselves, just as a masked dancer was thought and spoken of as being a certain spirit, not the Nootkan equivalent of Joe Doakes, even though the spectators all knew who he was. The Ahousat and Moachat informants maintained that the men who played the part of Wolves were the real "police," representing the novices; the Kyuquot informant maintained the "War Chiefs' Club" had this function. Probably there were local differences in this feature as in so many others.

One of the duties of the police was in connection with what interpreters call "spearing" in English, or in Nootkan, "hiłtákcił." This was the practice sometimes designated "hook swinging" after certain Southern Asiatic rites of ceremonial torture. Slender skewers (in recent times metal blades of sealing harpoons) were jabbed through the skin and superficial layers of flesh of the upper arms, sides of the thighs, and over the ribs. This was done, according to the fiction of the ceremony, to persons who violated tabus and then resisted the novices (really, their representatives), who came to maul them and destroy personal belongings. The "novices" then led the "speared" person about by the lanyards of the harpoons while he sang his spirit songs. Here again conventionalizations of the ritual obscure the real procedure, for it is also said that being "speared" in this fashion was a hereditary prerogative of war chiefs, and also that certain chiefs "owned" the right to insert the skewers or harpoons. I suggest the following as a possible interpretation of the way this was really done: First, I believe that as informants insist, being "speared" was an owned right of war chiefs—the candidate had to be one who inherited the privilege, or perhaps could pay a war chief for permission to use it. To satisfy the Nootkan dramatic sense, such a person arranged to be discovered violating some ceremonial tabu during a dull moment in an assembly of the people.[91] He was brought out in front of the people by the police group representing the novices. The "owners" of the privilege of inserting the harpoons (one "owned" the piercing on the right side, one that of the left) had to be paid by the "spearee" for the exercise of their right, though often one of the police group actually bit the pinched-up ridge of flesh to numb it, then jabbed the harpoon through. After the "victim" had been led about, and had sung his songs, he was released by cutting the flesh over the skewers. Later on he was given a special gift called "putting on a bandage," by the Sponsor as payment for his suffering, and the "owners" of insertion of the harpoons were also given special gifts.

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[90] The Kwakiutl novices who performed acts of violence were young men, and physically capable of such behavior, unlike the majority of the Nootkan Shamans' Dance novices.

It should be added that it seems likely that not only was the procedure a theatrical device, but in all probability the "skewering" itself was often a stage effect. Though war chiefs may have displayed their fortitude thus (and informants insist that many bore lifelong scars from "spearing"), in recent times effective use has been made of rubber bands to hold the harpoons in place. It is difficult to believe that the carrying about on bayonets of the 12-year-old boy that Jewitt (1931, p. 59) describes could have been anything but a trick.

The foregoing may seem to be a lengthy and not particularly significant diversion from the description of the Shamans' Dance. I have dwelt on these policing and "spearing" features because in my opinion they illustrate the extent to which the ceremonial was conceived of and handled as a theatrical production. To appreciate the performance as a whole, it is necessary to realize the extent to which it was well-planned and organized drama in which entertainment values predominated. It had its social significance, validating hereditary rights, but the spectacular aspect was extremely important. Considered from the theatrical point of view it is interesting to note such devices as the deliberate building up to a climax, the heightening of dramatic tension by comedy relief, and the dramatic interruptions of periods of play by awe-inspiring spectacles such as the gory "spearing" incidents.

Informants' descriptions of the way the ceremony was given usually begin, logically enough, with a secret meeting of the chiefs, called by the one who intended to give the festival. Here plans were laid for the carrying out of the rite, and the principal novices were designated. Normally, the first of these meetings of what we might call the planning committee occurred several months or even a year or more in advance. As plans progressed, spokesmen were sent to speak privately with fathers of children of suitable age who had not taken part in the performance. In a sense the Shamans' Dance was regarded as a sort of tribal initiation through which everyone, male or female, of high rank or low, had to pass. Even slaves had to be initiated, it is said.[92] There was a good deal of pretence of mystery; references were made to the affair in veiled terms "so the uninitiated would not understand." For instance, the first appearance of the Wolves in the Moachat rite was heralded by the announcement by the chief's speaker that, "Smoke will drift through the village tonight." However, the only real uninitiated persons (taqmōxa) were small children, and occasionally a non-Nootkan slave. Children were ordinarily "taken" when they were "about 7 or 8 years old, that is, when they had sense," in other words, when old enough to do as they were told, to be able to learn their songs, and not reveal the "secrets" of the ceremonial. Tiny infants, especially the heirs of chiefs of high rank too small to talk or misbehave were initiated sometimes. The father (or near relative in the case of orphans) of each novice gave wealth to the chief in whose ritual the child was inducted. There was no fixed fee—a man gave what he could so that the chief would have an abundance of property to distribute in the ceremonial and at the potlatch afterward.

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[91] Northwest Coast ritual is replete with such frame-ups—in the Kwakiutl Hamatsa performances it was arranged beforehand who should say the tabued word, who should be bitten, whose canoe would be smashed, and so on. Though these performances were made to appear quite casual, every detail was as carefully mapped out as the action of one of our theatrical productions. I never heard of an instance in which someone was "speared" during a serious passage of the ritual when everyone was occupied.

While every person had to be "initiated" at least once there was no limit save that imposed by his or her family's wealth on the number of times he might be taken into the rite. Most chiefs and noble women were "taken" many times during their lives, even as adults.

Of course, secrets are pointless unless they are exclusive, and the group of uninitiated small children was not of enough importance to warrant all the pretense at secrecy. Therefore, the guests invited to the affair played the role of uninitiated spectators although they were quite as aware of what was going on as were their hosts. There had to be formally invited guests, even if they were but those of the local group who lived in the winter house next door. Ordinarily, of course, the guests were from another division or confederacy. They might be asked to take part in certain dances or other steps in the procedure, but out of courtesy and to maintain the illusion would not do certain things prohibited to uninitiates, such as going behind the curtain where the novices were concealed.

The actual beginning of the ritual was made in various ways. At

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[92] People of the younger generation who have read Jewitt's "Captivity" (1815, p. 23) interpret the occasion on which he and Thompson were sent out to the woods during a Shamans' Dance as an initiation, though the two did not understand what it was all about. Afterward, they were permitted to remain in the village, it will be noted (op. cit., p. 59).

Kyuquot, the Sponsor [93] invited all the people to a feast. The chief's speakers walked about restlessly, trying to give an impression of nervousness. They said they were chilled, were hot, were hungry, were sated. "The people knew something was about to happen." The speakers began to sing, then locked arms and danced, and all the people joined in, around and around the fire. Suddenly the Wolf calls and whistles (supposed to be the howling of the Wolves) were heard. The people pretended to be frightened, running about wildly, or huddling in little groups. Some stood by themselves singing their spirit songs (tsīqa). Cedar planks and drumsticks were brought out and distributed. The people drummed four times, to drive the Wolves away. Then announcements were made as to plans, for example, what dances the age-grade clubs would use.

At other places, for instance in the Muchalat ritual and that of most Central tribes, the affair was initiated by the kidnaping of the principal novice by Wolves who pounced on him without warning and carried him off. Of course, this was all staged: the novice had to be in the right place at the right time. According to the Muchalat description, the Wolves slipped unobserved into the house during a feast; at other places the novice was stationed on the beach, usually close to the woods.

The role of the Wolves was played by commoners. Most informants asserted that the right to act as Wolf was a hereditary one of certain commoner families; others, speaking from the point of view of chiefs, maintained it was the chiefs who "owned the Wolves" and could therefore designate any person they chose. I believe these apparently contradictory views are both correct, although somewhat obscured by conventional fictions of the ritual; commoners of the various lineages did inherit the right to play the Wolf roles, but as members of the lineage, not strictly speaking from their immediate family. The Wolf roles were basically lineage property just as were the other display rights which the chiefs used and claimed. The chiefs, on the other hand, owned the right to have special varieties or numbers of Wolves appear with their heirs, and also supplied the distinctive whistles used by the Wolf performers. A summary of the principal Kyuquot informant's remarks on the variety of rights in whistles in that confederacy will give some notion of the range of these rights, and the basis for the designation of the Sponsor of the ritual as the "Wolf Owner" (ōtsic qwaiyatsik, literally, "are his, Wolves").

Each chief used his own set of whistles when he gave a Shamans' Dance. The amiaäth chief in addition to many Wolf whistles and a few that imitated the cawing of ravens, had a set of Hamatsa whistles that had come into his family as part of a dowry given by a chief of the ʟacqɛnhȧth of Quatsino Sound. The ʟa’a’ȧth chief had nothing but Wolf whistles, but these he had in great number, to represent the 200 Wolves that brought the lineage ancestor home in the original ceremonial. The a’ʟic chief had a Woods Spirit (tcīnīȧth) that had a peculiar whistle of its own. This privilege came from a Muchalat chief via the qa’ōqwȧth. (Although among the Muchalat, certain of these Woods Spirits abduct novices, and later are displayed in the house at the potlatch, this one only whistled in the night, and danced around the novice on the latter’s return from the woods.) The qa’ōqwȧth chief had a deep-toned whistle, always accompanied by a high-pitched shrill one (it may have been a double whistle). In brief, any adult Kyuquot would know what chief was giving the ceremonial the first time the Wolves came through the village by the combinations of whistles, assuming that he had somehow missed all the prior announcements and gossip.

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[93] The term "Sponsor" is used for the chief actually giving the affair to correspond to the various native designations such as the Kyuquot "Wolf Owner" (ōtsic qwaiyatsk).

At Ahousat, the Wolf roles were more sharply allocated. There were 12 men (commoners) who had the hereditary right to serve as Wolves; 2 of them had the special hereditary designation of leaders (tohtsītī, referring to “head”). The chiefs notified the two leaders when the ritual was planned, and the leaders notified and directed their companions. The principal Ahousat informant was quite sure of this procedure, and he was quite as sure that it was an innovation established by a chief “75 or 100 years ago.” Before that, he said, there had always been disputes and considerable confusion as to who were to be Wolves and who was responsible for their activities, but once they were organized as just described all went off smoothly.

The Wolves, called “Crawlers” (sa’ishsī) during the rite while the usual word for “wolf” was tabu, had faces, arms, and legs painted black on public appearances, and wore gray or black blankets tied over their backs with one corner tied to project forward over their heads to represent snouts. They did not wear masks.[94] Apparently in former times real wolf pelts were worn—Jewitt (1815, p. 120) mentions their use—but only blankets have been used for many years. The Wolves ordinarily went about on all fours. Their whistles referred to above were made of two pieces of cedar fitted together to form a tube with a long flat mouthpiece, the two halves of which vibrated to produce the sound. Some of these Wolf whistles (especially the elaborate ones of Kwakiutl origin) had reeds of thin strips of “wild cherry” bark, or sinew. The whistles were called tsīqyȧkw, “supernatural thing." They also used a bull-roarer (cūhyåk), which was supposed to be the tail of the Wolf. These instruments were used mostly at night, or out of sight when the Wolves appeared in the daytime, and constituted the chief Mysteries of the ritual.

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[94] There are masks, or rather, headdresses carved of wood into a form suggesting an animal’s head, that represent Wolves. These were used, however, only in dances displayed in the house at the end of the ritual by certain chiefs, and were not used by the Wolves who abducted novices.

In addition to Wolves, a number of chiefs among the Northern Nootkans "owned" Grizzly Bears, who appeared with the Wolves and might be used to kidnap the chief's heir. All these Grizzly Bears were known to have been obtained in marriage from Southern Kwakiutl neighbors. They wore costumes of bearskin with snarling masks. Muchalat chiefs, and others who had got the rights in dowries from them, could use a "Woods Spirit" or "Wild Man Spirit" (tcīnīyath), impersonated by men wearing masks with "sharp" features—long hooked noses and pointed chins—and long shaggy hair. They also wore neck rings of shredded bark dyed a bright red, with long streamers behind, had their arms and legs painted red, and carried long sharp staves. None of the Central tribes had any such personages in their Wolf packs, so far as I could learn.

Whenever the Wolves appeared, the people feigned great terror. They ran about wildly, pretended to hide, sang spirit songs, and deliberately created a tremendous confusion. In the turmoil boxes of food and property were tipped over, and cooking boxes and dishes were upset whenever opportunity offered. Each time a novice was abducted some men pursued the captors at a safe distance or shot at them with blank charges, then went about boasting of "almost" having killed the foe. If a novice were carried off unnoticed, the Wolves would take his or her garments, rip them to shreds, and scatter them along the beach, so they could be found and identified. This simplified the "kidnaping," of course. A pregnant woman (chiefs' wives were taken as novices at times to "initiate" their unborn infants) could simply slip away unobtrusively, then send her clothing to be strewn on the beach by one of the Wolves. However done, once the loss of the novice was made known to the people, they set upon his parents, berating them "for their carelessness in allowing the child to be stolen," mauling them, dragging them down to the beach and throwing them bodily into the water. Even chiefs of highest rank and their highborn wives were not exempt from this rough treatment. The only recourse of the parent was to sing a spirit song; he was not permitted to defend himself. Old people were sometimes put in a small canoe with no paddle and given a hearty shove. With an ebb tide running, they might be some time getting back ashore. After the kidnaping of the first novice a group of armed men, dressed and painted for war, went through the houses "searching for the novices" (there were local differences in the time for this—among the Kyuquot and Moachat it was done after the *last* novice was taken). In the Moachat ritual, this party made four trips through the village. The first time they simply walked through the houses, after announcing they were searching for a missing person; the second time they menaced the people with their weapons; the third time they shoved people about roughly; and the fourth time they tipped boxes over, and smashed household effects (which were later paid for by the Sponsor). Informal searching parties could be organized at any time, usually in the small hours of the morning. It was considered great sport to drag people out of their beds, if any were found who had been so optimistic as to think they could sleep a bit, make them stand singing their spirit songs, or else drench them with buckets of cold water.

This horseplay and rather rugged practical joking went on for the first 4 days of every Shamans' Dance, and during the same period the novices were being carried off. This phase of the rite was called "the Shamanizing," (ʟūʟūkwȧtqȧ, the same term used for the preliminary singing of a curing shaman when he was "calling his power"). Meanwhile, the novices, as they were kidnaped, were concealed in comfort behind a curtain of mats across the end of the Sponsor's house. In theory they were kept out in the woods, and many informants believe that in ancient times they actually were hidden far from the village. Formerly it is said they might eat only dried salmon during the ritual, but this restriction was disregarded pretty generally in the informants' times.

There was a short variant of the kidnaping procedure, sometimes called "In-the-house Shamans' Dance" (hitīł, or ta'qił ʟōqwɔnȧ), which could be used independently as a minor ceremonial, but also was an essential part of the major form. In this variant, the Wolves ran through the village at night, giving their ritual howls, sounding their whistles, and whirling the bull-roarer, while the people were attending feasts in the various houses. The usual pandemonium ensued. As the Wolves passed certain houses they struck the wall boards with clubs, and, by the prearranged plan, the child whose family lived in that space blew a tiny shrill whistle he held concealed in his mouth, then collapsed on the floor, pretending to have been struck dead by the supernatural power of the Wolves. These novices were called by a special term, "ȧtsa," and their small whistles were qīqyȧkw. The child's father or other near relative would carry the "dead body" to the Sponsor's house, where he would announce that a tragedy had struck his family. The "victims" were laid behind a curtain across the back of the house, and a rite called "Resuscitating" (tałtitcȧp) was begun. The following descriptions by a Moachat and by a Kyuquot informant give a picture of typical performances.

When all the unconscious novices (ȧtsa) had been brought to the Moachat Sponsor's house, a group of men painted their faces black, put on cedar-bark head rings with two vertical feathers, and put on their blankets in warrior fashion (under the right arm and with the corners pinned together over the left shoulder). The informant stated that the Wolves themselves took this part, and they probably have done so in recent times when there were not enough people to enact the ritual adequately. There was one man for each novice. The group marched into each house in the village, beginning at the left end and proceeding to the right, and, lining up in the center of the house, each in turn announced the name of one novice, saying, "(so-and-so) has been killed by the Wolves."[95] Then the leader of the group asked the chief of the house to bring his people to the house of the Sponsor to take part in the rite of tītcap, "healing." The people of each house then had a meeting to decide how they would dress and dance (sic, they undoubtedly had everything ready long before this point). Then they put on their dance ornaments and painted their faces, and went dancing in to the house of the Sponsor. Each house group danced around the fire, then broke up, the people seating themselves wherever they pleased. Everyone shouted or sang, drummed and made all the noise possible. Meanwhile the parents of the ȧtsa brought a set of eight wooden vessels for each novice to present to the Sponsor. The set was called tsūtsūyukwɔ'tsa, "toilet articles," and could consist of any sort of small dishes, boxes, and the like. These were sorted into eight piles, designated tcūtsūtumas, "right side of head"; ka'tsūtumas, "left side of head"; satcqas, "comb"; ha'tama', "hair oil"; tsūyūkwats, "wash bowl"; moyapiłam, "curtain" (e. g., behind which the novices were concealed); tɛqa'tsus (platform on which novices were to be seated); and ma'ałʟum (a string fastened to something). Various chiefs owned the right to receive one or another of the eight piles of articles, and the person who received and sorted the vessels out, in the name of the Sponsor, also owned this task as a special privilege.

He was given a part of each pile by the chief owning it. It was his duty to know to whom each pile belonged, and he called on that chief by name to make the presentation. Then the articles were carried out, and a great wooden drum was set in the place where they had been piled. Finally the Sponsor's speaker quieted the people down, and had planks and drumsticks brought in. Seasoned billets of hardwood were used for drumsticks; it brought very bad luck if one's drumstick should break. Men sat or knelt by the planks forming the first (or inner) row, all the way around the house, the women who were singers were behind them, and the rest of the people, men, women, and children, remained behind the row of singers. Two men who were to lead the first songs were called forward. They were dressed in black blankets, with thick belts of shredded cedar bark, and head rings with large pompoms of shredded bark on either side. These men owned the right to sing their songs. From the time they appeared, everyone became serious, except during periods designated as rests. No one might shout or smile or talk needlessly. The first leader sang a phrase of the first song, his assistant sang the whole song, then the leader and all the people in the house sang. The men who drummed the accompaniment on the box drum had to guard against mistakes. There were four of these songs; between them, a rest of "5 or 10 minutes" was given, during which people might chatter and laugh and shout. After the four songs had been sung, the speaker said, "Quiet!" and everyone listened intently. Not a sound could be heard above the wind in the trees and the lapping of the water on the beach. The speaker then said that the singing had been in vain, the Wolves had not heard it. The song leaders took off their ceremonial dress, which was the signal for the whole audience to shout abuse at them. The speaker said, "We need another song leader." All the people volunteered, each proclaiming loudly that he knew how to do it properly, although, of course, everyone knew who the person was who owned the right to lead the second set of songs. The speaker pretended to consider various of the volunteers, and then at last called on the proper person. As the song owner and his assistant put on the black blankets and cedar-bark ornaments, people threatened them with all sorts of punishment if they failed. With the second pair of song leaders, two dancers appeared. They also owned the right to perform their dance. They wore white blankets, shredded-cedar-bark head rings with large bowlike loops on the sides, and rings about their necks, wrists and ankles from which long fringes depended. In their hands they held bunches of shredded bark tied in the middle, with loose plumelike ends. They danced in time to the songs, taking short quick steps. Another four songs were sung. At the end of the fourth song the novices were heard to whistle. Each novice in turn was brought forward, and sang his spirit song which the Wolves had given him. Some then told how the Wolves had killed him, and had taken his spirit to a certain named locality (from which his ancestors had come), had given him a name, and had told him, for example, to give a feast. The speaker repeated the speech to the people. A novice who did so was through—he would later give his feast, or rather, his parents would give it in his name, and could contribute something to the Sponsor of the affair to be given in the potlatch. Poor people often had their children initiated through this procedure; there was no particular onus attached to it. The child of a chief of high rank might be initiated the same way.

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[95] The ritual term "sa'ishsī" would be used in all such speeches, of course.

Those of the novices who were to be abducted by the Wolves later merely sang their spirit songs.

At Kyuquot there were three chiefs who owned this part of the ceremonial. Any one of them could be asked to perform it. The way in which the mȧtsūwaiȧth and the hiłīnatōȧth did was almost the same, only that the songs they used differed. The amaiȧth had a different procedure. The way of the first two chiefs was this: All the people of the house mȧtsūwai, or hiłīnatō, whichever it was, came in and formed in a row behind their chief. All wore red cedar bark headbands with an upright feather on each side, and had a broad black stripe painted across their faces at the eyes. They all stood while their chief sang his spirit song. Then they marched around the fire counterclockwise four times, each singing his own song. They stopped and formed up once more behind their chief while he sang, and then seem to have made a round of his spirit song: the man at the right end of the line began the song, the second began it before the first finished, the third came in before the second had ended, and so on, until the song had gone all the way down the row. Then drumsticks were passed out, and they and all the rest assembled in the house drummed on planks, directed by the chief, until after a vigorous roll the whistle of the first novice was heard.

The mȧtsūwaiȧth found this "Resuscitating" rite long ago. Two of their ancestors found the ya'ai performing the ritual at a camping place. The feathers and face paint of the dancers represent the ya'ai.

The amaiȧth procedure for the same rite was longer and more dramatic. The people of their house sat in a row behind the curtain in front of the novices. All wore red-cedar-bark head bands with two vertical feathers, one on either side (they also represented ya'ai). Two women who were to dance during the singing of the ritual songs sat in front of them. They wore special head bands with a large served bundle in front. The amai chief came in, carrying a harpoon. Two men came with him, one holding the harpoon line, the other a paddle. All three represented ya'ai, and moved together to give the appearance of hunters in a sealing canoe. They approached the curtain four times. Each time the chorus behind the curtain sang and drummed, each singing his own song and drumming his own tempo, thus creating a wild uproar. The fourth time the chief gave the ritual cry and struck the curtain of mats with his harpoon. Unseen assistants cut away the line supporting the curtain as he struck, so that it fell revealing the chorus seated with bowed heads. Then the chief began his song, the two dancers rose and danced back and forth before the chorus, and then the chorus and all the people in the house drummed on planks four times, until the novices began to whistle.

The giver of the Wolf Dance then thanked the chief who had revived the novices. Each novice came out from behind the curtain, (or from behind the chorus) and sang the song that the Wolves had given him, and danced whatever dance they had told him to display. If they were having the short version of the Wolf Dance, the chief's child came out last. For the short form of the ritual the novices were restricted for 4 days, remaining behind the curtain, and then the chief gave his potlatch.

If the Wolves were to abduct the novices, they came rushing in as soon as the novices had finished singing their songs, snatched them up and carried them off bodily. At Kyuquot, this was the beginning of the ceremonial. A similar mass kidnaping of the revived ȧtsa novices was customary in most Muchalat performances.

At Ahousat, this short rite was begun differently, though it was concluded in similar fashion. A man took the designated children down to the beach, a few at a time, and pretended to brain them with a club. The Wolves appeared immediately to carry the "bodies" to the woods, where the children were given their small whistles and their faces were painted with blood. Then two Wolves carried them back to the beach. The Sponsor himself carried them up to the house. The youngsters had been instructed to hold themselves rigid while being carried, and to lie motionless where the chief laid them. The people were assembled to sing to revive them. After each song, one of the novices sounded his whistle and a speaker announced that the child had been revived, that he said he had been killed and while dead, the Wolves had taken him to such-and-such a place, and had told him that henceforth he was to be called by a new name, and, for example, that he was to give a feast, or perform some dance.

In all the ceremonials, on at least two of the nights of the Shamanizing period, the age-grade clubs (ōtōpałinik) performed. These were rather amorphous informally made-up groupings, nominally based on age and sex lines, that functioned at various times during the Shamans' Dance. Usually there were three women's groups, for the young, middle-aged, and old, and three for the corresponding age classes of men, plus a men's group composed of the war chiefs. At times children were organized into boys' and girls' clubs to put on certain dances but these clubs were not self-sustaining, as it were—they did not continue to function without the aid and coaching of adults, so were impermanent. For special stunts, some old men might be asked to dance with the young men's group, and for the time being would be considered members of that club. Essentially, membership was based on individual choice—a person ordinarily aligned himself with the persons with whom he had played as a child and with whom he worked as an adult. The term for these clubs suggests the basis of relationship: ōtōpał is the plural form of ōpał, a term used both in address and in reference to mean "pal," or "buddy," or "partner" (in the colloquial sense), "-inik," is a suffix which gives the sense of "representing" or "imitating." Part of the amorphous aspect of the structure of the clubs came from the lack of any formal procedure of joining, and lack of a well-defined procedure for moving from one to the other. When a man who usually danced with the young men's club found his daily associations and friendly contacts were coming to be more and more with men of "middle-age" he would begin to accompany the latter in the dances and with no more ado would be regarded as one of them. There were no formally designated officials of these clubs. Persons of high or of low birth might become accepted leaders on the basis of natural qualities of leadership, and ingenuity in devising novel performances.

The performances given by these clubs were of three types, although all were referred to as ō'ōcinuk, which seems to refer to "imitating." The real "imitating" dances were but one of the three types. The members of each club costumed themselves to represent a certain species of animal, and mimicked its behavior in their dance. A club representing codfish would dance slowly, moving their arms up and down to represent the gaping mouth of that fish; a young men's club dancing as squirrels would climb the house posts and crawl along the beams. In representing cormorants the dancers flapped their arms to indicate the heavy rapid wingbeat of the birds, and threw handfuls of flour behind them (often aiming at spectators), to represent the trail of white droppings cormorants leave as they fly. Most of these animal representations were supposed to refer to property rights of the Sponsor of the Shamans' Dance, and at times chiefs indicated their wishes to the clubs. Thus, in one description of a ceremonial given at Nuchatlitz, the Sponsor requested that one club represent frogs, alluding to a sockeye lake he owned on whose marshy shores frogs abounded.

Strictly speaking, each club took its name from the name of the animal it was representing at the time (plus the suffix -iniq, "imitating"). Most clubs were commonly referred to by the name of one particular performance, which, informants believed, was the most popular of the various dances a club gave. The following list gives the names and some of the more frequent representations of the clubs:

The otopałinik at Kyuquot were usually but not always designated by the dances they performed.

All Chiefs Imitators (ha'wehanik), consisted of the eldest sons (?) of each family, whether of high or low rank, hence the name "chiefs." They often used Deer Dance, and were called mōqwinik.

Codfish Imitators (tuckɔiniq) were the old men, who often danced a codfish dance.

Devilfish Imitators (tiłupiniq) were the middle-aged men, and war chiefs. A dance representing devilfish was one of their favorites. It was this group that "harpooned" people (hiłtakcił, to insert a sealing harpoon point through the flesh of arms, legs, or back). Certain novices who had inherited the right to be war chiefs would be told by the Wolves that they were to be "harpooned." Other people were "harpooned" for breaking tabus of the Shamans' Dance—the Kyuquot informant believed that they thereby became war chiefs. The "harpooning" was done by the usual method of pinching up a ridge of loose skin and flesh, biting it until it was numb, then inserting the harpoon point. Two people did this, one on the right side, one on the left. A third freed the victim, after he had been led about, by cutting the strip of flesh over the harpoon. All three were paid a dollar or two by the victim. Most recently, a painless variant has been used, in which the harpoons are held on with rubber bands. This group was also referred to as the War Chief Imitators (witwɔqiniq).

The young men's group was usually referred to as "Red-headed Woodpecker Imitators" (tsītuciniq), after one of their more popular dances.

The old women danced "Periwinkle Imitators" (ʟȧtckwuniniq), and "Sea Cucumber Imitators" (ta'ɛnūqiniq) dances which did not require a great deal of agility. For the former they sat or squatted on the floor, singing, and pounding with canes to keep time; for the latter, they wrapped themselves from head to foot in blankets and rolled about.

Middle-aged women often used a Sea Gull Dance, dressed all in white, and a Kelp Dance, in which they wore yellow silk kerchiefs on their heads with long streamers down the back.

Young women could dance "Salmonberry Imitators" (qa'wīkiniq) and "Hummingbird Imitators" (hathatkwutiniq).

Sometimes a group of children was gotten together, to dance a Sawbill Duck Dance, or a Moth Dance, in which they imitated the little gray moths that bring sleep.

The above list refers to imitating dances, commonly used in the tacīs house, that of the second chief. In the first chief's house, a similar group functioned, but with some differences in the dances performed; for example, the young women would not dance "Salmonberries" or "Hummingbirds," as the first chief did not own berry grounds. They would use some dance, such as Kelp Cod, etc., that referred to the first chief's far-flung marine property rights.

The dance clubs at Ehetisat in the informant's time were six in number. The old men's group was usually called "Codfish Imitators" (tuckɔhiniq). The middle-aged men, the "Red Cod Imitators" (wanułiniq), often danced to represent squid (ti'łupiniq), killer whale (qawɔtqɛnáqiniq), and a woods spirit called maʟɔh (the dance was called maʟɔhiniq). The young men were called hū'ūłiniq, after some small bird they represented in a frequently used dance. They also had a performance called qaqamałiniq, referring to sinking canoes in rough play, and also acted as "Drowned Spirit Imitators" (pukumīsiniq). There were but two women's clubs, apparently because of the drastic reduction of population of the tribe. The older women, "Kelp Cod Imitators" (suma'iniq), also used a dance called "Cut Hair" (humcitsmis), which the informant herself had invented. The young women's club usually danced a representation of Woodpecker (ʟɛ'hama'), Butterfly (qatsiqamán), or Snipe (tsīno). In addition to these, there was a War Chiefs' Imitating Club (witwɔkiniq) made up of hereditary war chiefs. They were always the first or last to dance and always dramatized war, or "mean" animals.

The Moachat informant listed seven age-grade clubs that had functioned during the last Shamans' Dance held at Friendly Cove. It is not certain whether one of them was a more or less permanent institution, or made up for that particular ceremony alone. It was called the nī'ʟictcīiniq, "Salmon-roe Imitators(?)," and made up of four very old men and all the initiated small boys, who had been taught to do certain dances by the four old men. The rest of the old men were the "Codfish Imitators" (tuckqhiniq). They came in with canes, it was said—they were too old to dance much. The middle-aged men, "Pitch-on-the-face Imitators" (icɔłiniq), used a variety of dances. Sometimes they used a Squid Dance, coming in with their faces blackened, their hair tied up on top of their heads, and carrying long poles with hooks on the ends (like those used to pull squid from under the rocks). They danced about, now and then dragging objects, such as baskets and mats, and even people, out into the middle of the floor with their hooks. The objects had to be left there until the club finished dancing. Another of their dances was "Two-winds-meeting" (taqɛnáqcił). They came in naked, again with their faces blackened and hair tied up. Part of them linked their arms to form a circle about the rest of their group. Those in the circle danced about in a counterclockwise direction, singing; those within the circle moved about slowly at first, then more rapidly, chanting, "Wu'hu'hu'hu!," then all together threw their weight against one side of the circle. Eventually one of the charges broke the ring, and the whole group went sprawling across the house. People had to watch the dance standing, so they could get out of the way, lest they be knocked down by the dancers. Children were put in a safe place when this dance was given, so they would not be hurt. The performances of this group seem to have taken over the tenor of those used elsewhere by the war chiefs' club. The young men were the "Woodpecker Imitators" (tsītuciniq). They had a Woodpecker Dance in which they wore maskettes on their foreheads from which projected long beaks. These were held on by wide bands of red cloth. They wore black blankets, and had whistles that made a sound resembling the woodpecker's call. They danced about in lively fashion. Those agile enough climbed up on house posts, pretending to peck at them with their beaks. Others pretended to chase people in the audience, also pecking at them. Another of their dances was "Lake People" (a'ōkwiȧth, referring to "Jewitt's Lake" back of Friendly Cove.). They danced this when mōqwinȧ was giving the Shamans' Dance, for the lake was one of his properties. The dancers painted their faces white, with large black circles around the eyes, and big wide mouths. They tied blankets or shawls across their bellies and stuffed them (with pillows in recent times) to give themselves a froglike rotundity. Then they entered, hopping about and croaking like frogs. Then old women performed the "Strawberry Imitators" (kɛłkintapiniq). At the last performance of the ceremonial at Friendly Cove they announced that they were going to dance a "Quileute Dance," which was supposed to be a very violent performance involving a lot of energetic hopping about. So the club came in with canes, hobbling even slower than usual, sat on the floor in a row, and "danced" by jiggling their canes up and down in the air. The spectators applauded enthusiastically, it is said, assuring them that they were dancing even better than the real Quileutes. The middle-aged women's club was called "Fat Ones (?)" (ʟukwȧʟskwī). I neglected to record any of their dances (it may be that this is the name of a dance they put on, and not that usually used for the club). The young women's club was usually referred to as "Seagull Imitators" (kwinī'iniq). They had, among other performances, a Seagull Dance in which they dressed in white and came dancing in with arms extended to the sides, swooping and soaring like gulls.

The Muchalat had six age-grade clubs. The young men used dances that required considerable agility: Swallow Imitating, Land Otter Imitating, and Marmot Imitating; middle-aged men danced Deer Imitating and Black Bear Imitating; and old men had a favorite Grouse Imitating Dance which did not require too much exertion, and an Owl Imitating performance. Young women danced a Red-Headed Woodpecker Dance, which gave their club its usual name, and old women were "Crane Imitators." I neglected to record the name and dances of the middle-aged women's club—perhaps there were not enough people to maintain it as a separate group. It is noticeable that the popular Muchalat dances refer to their old riverine and inland habitat.

Another type of performance put on by the clubs was the acting out of humorous or ludicrous skits. The humor of these sketches was heavy at best; in some instances they were frankly obscene. The "obscene dances" that scandalized Moziño in 1791—he mentions a skit portraying an impotent old man, and another of a commoner too poor to have a wife (Moziño, 1913)—were undoubtedly age-grade club performances. There was no esoteric motivation behind these skits. Their aim was amusement only. Sometimes such stunts were woven into serious phases of the ceremonial, as on an occasion in which a dance group at Moachat brought in the maul for the tongs making in a specially made cradle in which the old man who owned the right to provide the maul was lashed like a baby. The tongs makers had to sing lullabies to the "baby," loosen the head-presser and rub his head, and take off the lashings to "clean" him and "change the dirty cedar bark" before they were allowed to find the maul, hidden in the cedar-bark "cradle padding" liberally smeared with mud to represent excrement. As the tongs makers always had to pretend to be very serious about their ritual duties this interlude was received with glee by the spectators.

The final variety of club dances were for gift giving. At times in the later part of the ceremonial each club came in, dancing some simple form such as the "yátsyátsa," which could be used "for fun" outside the Shamans' Dance. (Some people consider this a dance borrowed from the Makah.) The dancers wore their finery, painted their faces, and wore miniature canoe paddles in their head bands. Women danced with the elbows bent; the hands were at the sides at shoulder height, palms forward. They swayed the body from the waist up from side to side in unison. After the dance, the club members broke formation abruptly and began giving gifts to the spectators, sometimes to all, sometimes to guests of the age and sex corresponding to that of the club members. There was no order for these gifts; each member gave to whomever he or she pleased, though an effort was made to see that no one was left out. Women's clubs gave such things as dishpans, teacups, and handkerchiefs in recent times. Men might give store-bought shirts, cloth, and the like. Rarely, a few sizable gifts might be made to ranking chiefs among the guests, so that the recipients could distribute them later among their people.

Among the Central Nootkan tribes any of these age-grade club performances were called either ō'ōcinák or nūnūłápkwɔ, a (pluralized) form referring to "nūłám." It is interesting to note how consistently the word nūłám, meaningless in Nootkan, is associated with the Shamans' Dance, although never with the Dog Eating performance of the Kwakiutl ritual of the same name. (Cf. Boas, 1897, *passim;* Drucker, 1940.)

The first 4-day period was brought to a close by a rite usually designated "The Calling" (na'i'yȧp). All the people, villagers and guests, were assembled in the Sponsor's house. Among several groups, the Moachat, and Ahousat, for example, a preliminary rite, "The Tongs Making," was done first, then the "Calling" was performed. A series of songs were alternated with en masse drumming on planks. The drumming was supposed to increase in volume until it shook the mountains, the sea, in fact, the entire universe, at which point the Wolves with their captives would be drawn to the village. A vivid account of this "Calling," the details of which differed from tribe to tribe, follows. It is one given by the principal Moachat informant, and includes a description of the subsidiary rite of Tongs Making which was used at one part or another of the ceremonial by the Moachat and the Central Nootkans.

Among the Moachat (and the Ahousat), during the afternoon before the "Calling" there was a performance known as "Getting-A-Stone" (mō'qwił) that was a preliminary part of the Tongs Making performed in the evening. A group of people, who owned the right to participate in this act, formed on the beach wearing tall bushy headdresses of fir twigs. A long plank was provided, and each took hold of it with one hand and drummed on it with a drumstick with the other. A certain chief marched ahead of them shaking a rattle. Two men wearing masks representing Wolf heads, ran around and around them on all fours as they marched along the beach singing and drumming on the plank. When they reached the end of the beach the real Wolves appeared from the woods, then disappeared from sight four times. After the final disappearance of the Wolves, the chief with the rattle "found" a certain stone (that had been put there in preparation for the performance). He picked this up, and they carried it down the beach again, and into the Dance house, where they sang another song, then buried the stone close to the fireplace. This stone was to be the anvil on which the tongs were laid to split them in the Tongs Making rite.

That evening, four speakers, dressed in black blankets and wearing shredded-cedar-bark ornaments, went through the village. As they entered each house, the leader said, "Chief, we are going to na'i'yȧp tonight. So arise from your place by the fire." The second speaker said, "Chief, we have come to ask you to bring all your people." The third called out, "Chief, bring them ready to dance." The fourth speaker finished the invitation by saying, "Chief, come at once." The chiefs and their people had made all their preparations, and were ready to go to the house of the Sponsor. As the first group approached the dance house, the central fire, already laid, was lighted, and the people came in dancing yåtsyåtsa. The men tapped two sticks together with a beat of one, two, rest; the women held their arms partially extended to the sides and swayed their bodies as they danced. Everyone came into the house—chiefs, commoners, and slaves; men, women, and children. Each house had its own kind of cedar-bark ornaments and face paints, but all danced the same dance. After one ceremonial circuit around the fire, they seated themselves about the sides of the house. While people from other houses were entering, they could chatter and shout and laugh all they liked.

When people from all the houses had entered, the rite of ʟa'måłsna'ał, "Tongs Making," had to be performed. The speaker called on the eight men who owned parts of the rite. Then he asked for new white mats of cedar bark, which were provided by the Sponsor of the ceremonial. The eight owners seated themselves on the mats near the center of the floor. Then the speaker called on the various dance clubs, asking them to search for and bring a series of articles, viz., two long straight sticks (for the two pairs of tongs), small wedges, a wooden block, a stone hammer, and an adze. There were special ritual terms for these objects, which seem to have been the same wherever this Tongs Making was performed. For "tongs," kitsmaʟ was used instead of the ordinary ʟamåł, wɔcnåt for ʟanåt, "wedge," and kwinc was used instead of the secular term, pinåxpinåx, "maul." The groups went out on their errands. Actually, of course, the articles in question were already provided and in the possession of a certain group. Each age group came in, dressed for the performance they had planned, and danced around the fire. When the owners of the Tongs Making asked for their gear, the group would pretend not to understand, or would reply, for example, that they neither knew nor cared, they just wanted to dance. Finally they went out of the house, and returned with some unserviceable object—for instance, the group that was to bring the stick for making the tongs might return with a bit of a twig, or a chunk of gnarled, cross-grained wood that could not be used. At length they brought in the pole for the tongs, but refused to give it to the eight chiefs. They teased the chiefs, asking them what they would give for a fine pole like that, etc. and at last struck a bargain: one of the eight chiefs would have to "sing for the people." When the offer was accepted, the tormentors called on one of the eight and ordered him to act out a specified scene. The goal was to select a serious person who would be a bit embarrassed at giving a ludicrous performance: at one performance a few years ago they gave one chief a big doll, and made him imitate a woman nursing a baby, suckling it, changing its diapers, and so on. Another had to pretend to be a small boy, standing on a box and shouting the equivalent of "Mamma!" until all were satisfied he had attained just the right tone of anguished appeal. Finally the horseplay came to an end. Six of the owners of the Tongs Making held one of the poles, three on either side. One chief held the wedge, the eighth, the hammer. Plank drums and drumsticks were brought out. The eight chiefs began a song, in which all the people joined. At the end of the song, the chief who held the hammer blew a whistle and struck the wedge. Four songs were sung in all, and four blows were struck, then the tongs were completed (they had actually been made up beforehand). The other pair of tongs was made in the same way. The leader of the eight owners inspected the tongs, announced that they were well made, and tossed them over by the fire. Someone picked them up and stowed them away for future use. The eight owners took the white mats and returned to their places in the audience (the mats were their payment).

Then the speaker arose and quieted the audience. When they were still, he said, "Now I am looking for a man to drum for the songs." He pretended to look over the crowd, and finally called on the man who owned this privilege. Planks and drumsticks were passed out to the audience, and a great box was brought in as the "drum" of the man who had been called on for the drumming (actually he led the drumming). The leader painted his face, put on a shredded-ceder-bark head ring with feathers projecting from it, hitched his blanket up short with a shredded-cedar-bark belt, and took two long feathers for "drumsticks." Meanwhile, another man, also owner of his role, was called on to go up on the roof as a lookout, and roof boards were moved aside so he could call down his reports. When all was ready, the "drummer" took his place on top of the big box. All the men who had drumsticks and planks before them had to watch him closely, for once the drumming began his commands could not be heard, and so he indicated the tempo and volume of the drumming by a set of stereotyped gestures, something after the fashion of an orchestral conductor among ourselves. (The informant did not know all the signals, nor all the varieties of beats, but those he recalled indicate the complexity of the pattern. He named two starting beats, kiktcił, a heavy beat, a rest, followed by a roll; and aʟatcił, "two", a heavy beat, a rest, a beat, a rest, followed by a roll; and a performance called wīsip, in which the men went through the motions of drumming without touching the drum planks. Some of the signals mentioned were: a drumming motion made with arms extended at about shoulder height from side to side, which indicated a light beat; a similar motion made with arms raised high, a harder beat; and a drumming motion with the arms held low, called for the hardest possible drumming.) The leader seems to have performed a sort of dance, to accompany the drumming. Between "songs" or drummings, he squatted on the box, facing the fire, resting.

During a break in the first drumming (or perhaps making himself heard over the noise before the men really began to drum hard), the man on the roof shouted down, "You're not drumming hard enough! Only the grass, and the little bushes around the cove can hear you!" At the end of the first drumming, there was a moment of silence. Everyone listened intently. Then the one on the roof called down, "You people still are not drumming enough. Only the trees at the edge of the woods could hear you!" The people shouted back, heaping insults on the leader of the drumming. "I knew when he was called out he couldn't do it! He's no good! My dog could have done a better job of drumming!" After the second drumming, the one on the roof shouted, "You did a little better, but it was still not enough. You people must make more noise. You woke up the birds up on the mountains, and now you must drum still harder." There was more shouting and joking, but it stopped as soon as the leader rose to his feet and prepared to give the opening signal. By this time, the men were keeping better time, and pounding hard—the noise must have been deafening. At the end of the third drumming, the man on the roof called down, "This is your last chance! Out on the ocean the water is boiling, up on the mountains the rocks are trembling, up in the sky the stars are falling—if you do well now the Wolves will hear you!" The final drumming thundered forth. Meanwhile, the Wolves and the novices assembled behind the house. With a gesture the drumming leader stopped the pounding of the drums, there was an instant's silence, and then the whistles of the Wolves were heard, and the novices blew their whistles and then began to sing spirit songs. They marched around outside the house four times, whistling and singing, then returned to the woods. The Sponsor had the speaker tell the people to get ready in the morning, "We will try to rescue them early in the morning." He told them to bathe, to wash their hair with urine, and to paint their faces.

As a rule, the "Calling" was prolonged so that it lasted most of the night. By the time the people had washed their hair, bathed ritually in the sea, and got their canoes ready dawn came. A number of "rafts" were rigged by lashing planks to make a platform across two canoes. If the weather was very bad the rescue party might go afoot (this was said to be normal procedure at Ahousat), but the rafts were used when possible. Women, who formed the majority of the people who went on the rafts, wore tall headdresses made of white feathers attached to slim limber wands secured in a cedar-bark head band, and new yellow-cedar-bark robes, or in recent times, gaily colored shawls. As they shoved off from the beach they began to sing, bending and straightening their knees in time to the song until their feather headdresses swayed in unison and the raft bobbed up and down in the water. In addition to the rafts a flotilla of canoes set out.

Meanwhile, the novices were made ready. Rings of cedar bark, twisted rope fashion, with twigs of the soft-needled white fir caught between the turns of the strands, had been prepared for them. The head rings had the twigs projecting forward on both sides to meet in a point in front. In addition to head rings the novices wore neck rings, brief kilts, and rings about their upper arms and wrists, knees and ankles, all made in the same fashion of cedar bark with inserted balsam fir twigs. Girls wore in addition a little cape of the twigs. Their faces were blood-spattered. The usual method of producing this effect was for the attendant to cut his tongue and spray a mixture of blood and saliva on the novice's face.

Since most of the winter villages were situated in coves, there was usually a point coming out on one side of the village or the other that provided an effective natural stage for the pageant. As the rafts with their escort of canoes approached the point, the Wolves appeared, running out of the woods down along the beach and back into the woods. There were several variations on procedure at this point. Among most of the Northern tribes, the Wolves made four appearances: first with only the principal novice, then with the four of highest rank, and finally with all. Among the Central tribes there might be a series of eight appearances of the Wolves, first without, then with the novices. At Hesquiat a certain chief owned the right to step ashore the first time the Wolves appeared. The instant he set foot on the beach he "dropped dead," struck down by the power of the Wolves. Four other chiefs went through the same procedure next time the Wolves appeared. Whatever the number of appearances, the final time the Wolves came out they brought all the novices with them, and tarried on the beach.

During their apparitions the novices indicated what sort of privileges they "had been given by the Wolves" and would show subsequently. There were various ways of doing this. Some privileges were represented by a dancer dressed in the costume to be used, such as Grizzly Bear, "wild man" (tcīnīyàth), and so on, who accompanied the novice. Several Northern Nootkan chiefs had special kinds of Wolves, represented by a framework made of poles covered with canvas in recent times, on which the novice rode. Other display privileges were represented by special dance steps performed by the novice, or by some object he carried. At Kyuquot, a certain dance indicated that the novice would display the Supernatural Canoe (wīnatcict); at Hesquiat a novice with the same right appeared with a small model of a canoe to indicate the same thing. Novices who were to give a potlatch to another tribe carried, or danced to indicate that they carried Supernatural Quartz Crystals. Any tribesman could tell, if he did not know in advance, what sort of privilege would be displayed by each novice.

Each time the Wolves appeared, some of the people in the canoes made ludicrous "attempts" to capture them. Some of these men, and some women, had brought such armament as outsize halibut hooks baited with sea biscuit, sea urchin poles (in lieu of harpoons), duck nets, or lassos representing the loop snares for ducks. These people annoyed the Wolves into chasing them down the beach. They fled in mock terror, screaming for their lives, into the water to their canoes. If a man could manage to tip a couple of canoes over while scrambling for his own he counted the day a success. This horseplay was said to have a serious purpose: that of attracting the attention of the Wolves to a far end of the beach so the novices could be rescued. Descriptions suggest that the fun of the thing outweighed any serious purpose. In any case, the last time the Wolves appeared with the novices, they pretended to be distracted to the extent of allowing men to leap ashore from the rafts to seize each novice bodily and take him aboard. As soon as the Wolves saw their "prisoners" had been rescued, they mauled any of the "trappers" they could catch, and tipped over any canoes in shallow water, then dashed back into the woods. At Hesquiat, the chiefs who had been struck down by the power of the Wolves, who apparently had lain on the beach enjoying the doubtful honor of risking being trampled on in the various skirmishes, were resuscitated by the people on the rafts, who clapped their hands and shouted four times to revive them. Then the rafts set out across the cove to the village with songs of rejoicing.

From this point on there was considerable difference from one tribe to the next. The novices were purified by ritual acts and a period of seclusion, but there were numerous ways of accomplishing this end. Almost invariably there were processions through all the houses. The first of these was made directly after the return of the rafts to the beach, at Ehetisat, among the Muchalat, and at Hesquiat. Ordinarily there was a chief who had the hereditary right to lead the procession, singing spirit songs proper to the occasion. The novices formed in line according to their rank and, accompanied by their attendants, followed him. At Hesquiat the attendants held ropes the ends of which had been tied about the novices' waists when they were caught. This party usually marched to one end of the row of houses, then into each house in turn, making one or four counterclockwise circuits of the central fireplace. While in the houses, each novice sang his spirit song and danced a few steps indicative of the kind of privilege he was bringing back. In rituals in which the party went directly to the Dance House from the rafts a similar performance was staged. Finally, the novices were seated on boxes set in a row across the rear of the house. A breakfast of dried fish was served, the novices being fed first. Among several of the Northern Tribes certain persons owned the right of being the first to eat at this time. The owner of this privilege danced around the fire, singing, not heeding the people who begged him to begin eating and tempted him with choice morsels. Finally he let himself be persuaded, then all ate. At Hesquiat this feast was called tītcpoł, a word used for a meal served "after you have had a hard time, like being out in a storm." Probably "pick-me-up" would be the best translation.

After the meal, a speaker stood by the novices and announced, "Now listen, for they who have returned from the woods will sing for us." Each novice in turn came forward to sing his supernatural song, then his father or grandfather, or, in the case of novices of low rank, the chief sponsoring his initiation acted as his speaker, announcing that the Wolves had taken the novice to such-and-such a place, the ancestral home of his lineage, and there had taught him the song he had just sung, had given him the name thus-and-so by which he was to be called henceforth, and had told him, for example, that he was to give a feast, or invite another tribe to a potlatch, or display certain privileges. The inheritance of each prerogative was recited, establishing the novice's legal right to the name, the mask, or whatever it might be.

Some novices "brought Supernatural Quartz Crystals from the Wolves," by way of demonstrating that they had been instructed to give a potlatch. The person speaking for the novice would take the Quartz Crystal from him (it might be in the novice's headdress, or in his hands, or the speaker might produce it by sleight-of-hand), then "send" it to the tribe that was to be invited, dancing and going through the motions of shooting the crystal magically. Sometimes at Ahousat, for example, this was done on the beach after the novices were rescued, then repeated in the house. This, of course, was standard procedure for announcing intent to invite another tribe (or confederacy), and is often spoken of by informants as being the invitation, although a party was always sent to make the formal invitation later on.

Usually it took most of the day to go through this with each of the novices. Afterward the novices made a second procession through the houses, just as they did following their rescue.

From this point on there was even more variation in procedure from group to group. In broad terms the pattern called for a removal of the fir-twig garments of the novices, and a series of 4-day periods with decreasing restrictions until the rite ended. Usually the fir garments were burned during the waxing of the first moon after the ceremonial, a rite was performed to "send away the power of the Shamans' Dance," and the Sponsor gave his potlatch at which normal secular rules were observed as to seating and the rest. It is possible that there has been a trend to curtailment of this long dwindling away of the rite. Informants spoke of timing the beginning so that 4 days after the rescue of the novices the "new moon" (first quarter, to us) would appear and the fir garments could be removed and burned.

At Kyuquot, according to the description given, after the removal of the fir garments, the novices wore cedar-bark bands and ornaments of various types and danced Shamans' (ūctȧqīyū) Dances for one day. A list of these that could be used by novices of the house a'ʟic was given as follows: The first listed in my notes (there was no definite ranking of these dances, but this one was apparently considered of a lesser category, for it was stated that not much property had to be potlatched when it was shown) was itself called ūctȧqīū, or yȧtsyȧtsa. The dancer wore a head band ring of red cedar bark with four long feathers over the forehead and long streamers of shredded cedar bark down the back. He wore thick wristlets of red cedar bark, and his face was painted with thin vertical stripes of red. A step called ʟasa was used for this dance; the word refers to "sliding" the feet, in a sort a slow shuffle. The arms were held out to the sides, elbows half bent, hands at about shoulder height. The body was swayed from side to side to the time of the songs. A second type of dance was called nūłim, and was supposed to represent a deer (sic, cf. the Kwakiutl nūłȧm, or "Fool Dance"). This dancer wore a thin circlet of red cedar bark with thick rings with projecting ends, in the form of figure 9's, placed one on either side of the head. His face was painted red down the sides of the jaw and across the mouth. He held his arms bent at the elbows, one extended to the side, the other across the chest, first on one side then on the other. The step was one called kimiłkimił, sliding one foot forward, then giving a quick hop. The "Wolf Imitator," (qwaiyatsiniq) held his arms extended forward, fists clenched, and danced by hopping with both feet together, a step called tuhtuh. He wore a cedar-bark head ring with a thick double loop, like a figure 8, projecting from the back. His face paint consisted of a broad horizontal streak across the cheeks and over the nose. The "Grizzly Bear dancer" (nana'qiniq) shuffled about ponderously—he scarcely danced at all. He made clawing gestures with his hands. He wore a small head ring, and his face was painted solid black. The wīnatcictiniq, or "Supernatural Canoe Imitator," used the same step as the Wolf Imitator, but held his arms out first to one side, then to the other, extended at full length, thumbs extended vertically. He wore a thick head ring, with feathers stuck in vertically all the way around. His face was painted in broad vertical stripes. A hametsa dancer wore no head ring, but had his hair tied up in a bunch on top of his head (something after the fashion of a warrior). His face was painted black. He danced in a squatting position, hopping about, apparently much like the Kwakiutl Hamatsa dancers. He did not bite spectators nor eat human flesh. Another type of dance was that of the "Land Otter Dance Imitator" (wɔxná'qiniq). The dancer wore a wreath of hemlock twigs instead of red cedar bark, and had a face paint consisting of horizontal streaks of black. He danced with little quick steps, crouching to the floor, rolling over, then bounding upright, in imitation of the play of the otter. The last type of dance recalled was the maiyałiniq, "Disease Object Imitating." This was owned by only a few people of the a'ʟicáth. The dancer wore hemlock branches and red cedar bark head and wrist rings. He walked with long slow steps about the fire, making four circuits in the ceremonial direction. He extended his arms as though grasping at disease objects in the air. Finally he clasped one in his hands, brought it to his mouth, and pretended to bite it. As he bit, blood spurted from the object, spattering his hands and face. (Actually, of course, he bit into a small bladder of blood which he had concealed in his mouth or in his hands.) Then he sang, and danced back and forth across the house four times. This dance was known to have come from the Fort Rupert Kwakiutl in fairly recent times.

These dances were performed by the novices in the course of a ritual called ʟásmas. Two groups of men carrying two long boards took their places along the sides of the house. The chief's speaker stood by the door to tell the audience to make ready. A group of singers came in with rattles, and then the novices came in with elder kinsmen. The kinsman of each novice sang the ritual song which the Wolves had given his young relative, and the latter danced whatever dance he had been given, as above. After this performance, the novices were restricted to the house for 3 more days (making 4 all together in this period), when the giver of the Shamans' Dance gave his potlatch. After the potlatch they were released with no more ado. (If it is true that the "curing" and burning of the hemlock-twig garments is out of place in this account, it probably was performed at this point, just prior to the potlatch. After the power of the Shamans' Dance had been sent away by the smoke purification and whistling, the chief giving the performance would have been free to hold his potlatch with the ordinary secular rules of behavior and etiquette.)

According to my notes, prior to the ūctáqīyū dances, the fir garments of the novices were burned and the novices themselves were purified in the smoke, in a rite called either "The-Sending-with-Fire (?)" (mâtmisinâp) or "The Curing" (qamâtciʟ). I suspect I must have misunderstood: one would expect this to be the conclusion of the ceremonial. Whenever it occurred, it was done in the following way: early in the morning young men were sent to cut four hemlock saplings. These were brought untrimmed into the Dance house. When the people had assembled, the novices were made to group themselves about the fireplace into which their costumes of fir twigs were thrown. The four fresh-cut saplings were held crown foremost over the fire so that their green needles increased the smoke. The head of a junior branch of the a'ʟicâth lineage danced around the circle of novices with an assistant to the accompaniment of two special songs. Then he and his helper blew whistles over the heads of the novices four times, to drive away the supernatural power of the Wolves. The novices were restricted to the Dance house the following 3 days (or if my notes are correct, for the days of ūctâqīyū dances plus 3 more), then were released and the chief gave his potlatch. At this potlatch, various masks, dances, and other privileges "brought from the Wolves" by principal novices were displayed.

In the Ehetisat version of the ceremony, after the 4 days of processions, and dances by the clubs, the novices, their costumes removed, were taken to the river to bathe. Meanwhile, four spruce (?) saplings were cut and stood one in each corner of the house. The novices were marched back with their hair combed forward over their faces. They joined hands and circled the fire to the beat of a special song. Certain chiefs who owned the right to do so came forward with bunches of shredded cedar bark, with which they gestured as though drying the bodies of the novices as a second song was sung. The bunches of shredded bark they raised over their heads, and shouted ritually four times to drive away the power of the Wolves. This ended the ceremonial, except that with the "new moon" the fir costumes had to be burned, after which the novices made a procession through the houses, facing to the eastward in each house to sing their spirit songs. After this the chief gave his potlatch.

The Moachat account reports that there the costumes of fir twigs were removed after 4 days of processions, and then when the "new moon" appeared, were taken to a special place out in the woods, divided into four piles, and burned, while the people stood by singing special chants to slow time. The giant tongs that had been made early in the rite were used as pokers, to stir the branches until they were consumed. The people returned to the house (the tongs were meanwhile taken to another place and left leaning against a tree), where they drummed on planks with batons, then shouted, "wɔ + !" four times to drive away the power of the ritual. Then the potlatch could be given. The Muchalat procedure seems to have been about the same, but there were no tongs used, for they had no rite of making these articles.

Descriptions by Hesquiat ceremonial informants specify longer periods for concluding the ceremonial with a series of gradual steps for the removal of the novices' restrictions. I believe that such a procedure was more like the ancient one in days before Shamans' Dances were given so frequently. In recent times one or more might be given each winter in one of the larger confederacies, and in addition the people would be invited as guests to others, which would hardly have been possible had each ceremony lasted as long as at Hesquiat.

Following their rescue and the first display of their privileges, the novices spent 4 days in the house dressed in their fir-twig garments, singing their supernatural songs daily at dawn, and marching through all the houses twice a day. On the fourth night, their garments were to be removed. According to one of the accounts, on this same night the two pairs of tongs were made (the other account has it that they were made on the first night, the day of the kidnaping of the principal novice, and after the åtsa novices had been revived). Both accounts are in accord on the procedure for making the tongs, which was in every respect like that described for the Moachat, even to the substitution of the same special words for the secular ones for "tongs," "wedge," and "maul." In any case, on this night the fir-twig costumes were taken from the novices, who were dressed in blankets and head bands of dyed, shredded red cedar bark with two vertical tufts, one fore and one aft. For the next 4 days, they sang their supernatural songs daily at dawn. During these 8 days, feasts were given, and the clubs gave Imitative dances and other amusing performances. The next step, after this period, was the washing of the novices' hair and burning the fir garments. Each novice was provided by his parents with new mats, a wooden bowl for washing, a small dish for oil, and a comb. These objects were given to men who owned the right to receive them. Women were delegated to comb the novices' hair out with their fingers. All this, of course, was done to the accompaniment of songs. Then other men, owners of the right, took the tongs from the corners of the house in which they had been stowed, and burned or partially burned the fir garments. The unburned remnants were taken to a special place in the woods and left. The novices were adorned with head bands with a single vertical tuft, and had a vertical black streak painted down the middle of their faces. For the next 4 days they bathed daily, then were escorted to their homes. That night, the chief's house was darkened, and dancers appeared from behind a screen, preceded by a man who scattered white down over them. Then a Wolf came out dancing on all fours, also accompanied by a person who scattered white down. The dancers acted as though they were frightened. The Wolf whirled about rapidly, whistled, and disappeared. Then the chief showed his display privileges. On the following day he potlatched.

The two accounts of the Ahousat ceremonial are somewhat confused, or rather, they confused me, although the sequence of events was doubtless very clear in the minds of the informants. According to my notes, both accounts set a 4-day period during which the novices were restricted to the Dance House, and wore special types of shredded-cedar-bark head bands and new blankets, while the fir twigs they had worn were lashed into a bundle and suspended over the door. One informant maintained that a young man was concealed in this bundle during the festivities, and sounded a whistle whenever anyone passed through the door. The dance clubs performed until the fourth night, when a rite was held that involved the striking down and resuscitating of ȧtsa novices (like that performed elsewhere in the first 4 days of the ritual; at Ahousat a similar performance was staged but designated by a different name). One informant described this as being done by the Wolves, who came through the village whistling and striking on the houses; the other said dancers were struck down by whistles sounded by the novices. The ȧtsa novices, on being revived, dashed about the house, kicked out the fire and ran outside.

Sometime later, either next day or after 4 days, there was a rite in which the novices were seated on a row of boxes to be ceremonially combed. Each gave an object representing a comb, an oil dish, hair oil, and red paint to certain persons in payment of this service. Thereafter (after 4 more days?) the novices joined hands to dance around the fire while their fir-twig costumes were burned. Two men, owners of the privilege, danced inside the circle carrying poles with which they poked the blazing twigs, making them squeak and whistle (the two dancers blew whistles, of course, pretending the noise came from the fire). The incompletely burned remnants were taken to the woods to be hidden. Then the novices made a procession. One version has it that they marched down the beach to the place where they had appeared with the Wolves, danced there, then marched back in front of the Dance House. Finally each novice was escorted to his home, and the ceremonial was over. Next day the Sponsor gave his potlatch.

Though the precise sequence and duration of the concluding acts at Ahousat are not clear from the preceding, it does seem that the ceremonial must have resembled the Hesquiat one in lasting longer than those of the Northern divisions, and, if my supposition is correct, was truer to the prehistoric pattern.

The foregoing outline of the Shamans' Dance is based principally on generalizations by informants who, in response to both general and direct questions, attempted to give outlines of the way, according to local standards, in which the ceremonial should have been staged. I do not want to leave the subject of the ritual without recounting at some length the descriptions of two specific Shamans' Dances as given by the Ehetisat informant M. The reader will have encountered a number of lengthy quotations of her memories and opinions already. My chief hope is that I have not entirely stultified them in my attempts at making them a bit more grammatical, for M had the gift of vivacious story telling, and her accounts of the ceremonies make them more real than any synthetic descriptions could be. It is necessary to point out that her frequent reference to the amounts of gifts distributed gives a somewhat more mercenary tone than the ceremonial ordinarily had (to everyone except the Sponsor), but I had asked her about amounts involved in various potlatches, having learned that she had held the unofficial post of auditor for both her husband and her brother. But even despite this financial detail, her descriptions brought out the hilarious good fun of the ritual that gave it its appeal and importance in the culture.

AN EHETISAT SHAMANS' DANCE

When the informant M's last child was about a year old her husband wanted to give a potlatch. He had been planning the potlatch from the beginning of her pregnancy, and had gone on a fur-sealing voyage to get money for it. Her younger brother's son was several years old at the time, and the brother, who was first chief of the confederacy, had been planning to give a Shamans' Dance for him.

M's brother sent eight men to invite the Kyuquot. The party was weatherbound, and did not return for some time. When they came back, they brought a considerable amount of gifts of money and various objects which had been given to them as wikō'asåts, "[gift] for the canoe." (On their arrival, the inviting party was called in by the Owner-of-the-Beach, who gave them a feast and some small gifts, some for themselves, and some to take back to the chief, who had sent the invitation. Then the other chiefs, in order of their rank, called them in, to do the same. This money was kept separate, to be given to the chiefs of the visiting tribe, at a small feast to which they are invited later on.) There was $145 altogether of "gifts for the canoe." Then M's brother invited all the Ehetisat in to a feast, to announce what he planned to do. He told them he wanted them to assist him by singing and dancing only, he did not want any financial aid, for he had $700 in cash, and his sister M had a lot of women's articles to give away. M's husband stood up and said, "Ehetisat, let us not listen to the chief. We all know that the Kyuquot are many. Let us help him a little, giving him money for the preliminary potlatches. If the chief wants to give the main potlatch alone, we shall let him do so." So he contributed $20; others gave what they wished—$20, $15, $5, down to $1. Altogether they assembled $600 to help the chief (the informant knew the sums involved because she always handled the money for her brother and for her husband whenever either of them potlatched). They waited a long time for the Kyuquot to arrive, because of bad weather. Everyone was out digging clams one day when a shot was heard, indicating the arrival of the Kyuquot. There were 12 big canoes and a sailboat or two (about 200 people had come). All the Ehetisat assembled in the chief's house, and with them, a considerable number of the closely related Nuchatlets, who had come to assist them. The chief told them that they would give their guests a little dance outside, and that he was sending a canoe to tell the Kyuquot to come ashore, and arrange places to stay without ceremony, for it was late in the day. The guests could make their ceremonious arrival the following day. All the people lined up along the beach, singing and dancing, and the guests came in singing also. There were a score or so of Moachat there, who gave a brief dance, then collected $12 among themselves, which they gave to a brother of the Kyuquot first chief, saying, "The Moachat give you this" (naming no specific individual as the donor). Then the Ehetisat scattered, going down to the canoes, looking for their friends, to carry the latters' gear up and arrange sleeping quarters for them. For the most of the night people went about visiting, hunting up acquaintances, singing, and enjoying themselves—"No one could sleep for all the noise." At daybreak, four Wolf whistles were heard. The Kyuquot shoved off in their canoes, out past the point off the village beach, and lay to. When everything was ready, M's brother had two cannon fired as a signal for the guests to come in. He himself appeared on the roof of his house, wearing a Thunderbird mask and a blanket covered with feathers, and danced as the canoes came in. For their part, the Kyuquot had a man in a Grizzly Bear costume dancing on a platform built on their first chief's canoe. M danced on the beach, wearing a maskette and a Chilkat blanket. As she danced, she displayed a Supernatural Crystal (hai'na) which she "threw" to one of the visiting chiefs. He pretended to catch it, displayed it (really, displayed one of his own), and pretended to throw it back. Each threw and displayed the Crystal four times. This represented the return of the Supernatural Crystal that had been sent to invite the Kyuquot. All the while, two Ehetisat Grizzly Bears were dancing in front of the houses. The canoes beached. M's brother gave a small gift to each of the 10 leading Kyuquot chiefs, for the display of the Supernatural Crystal (i. e., for their watching his display of it), and the Kyuquot first chief likewise gave a few dollars to various of the host chiefs, "to pay for his use of the hai'na." Then the Ehetisat Beach Owner invited all the Kyuquot to a feast, as was his right; he sent the Grizzly Bears to call them in. There were so many Kyuquot they filled the great house to overflowing. The Beach Owner displayed a dance after the feast, and then gave away $140, giving it in small amounts, dollars and half-dollars, so that every man received something. No sooner had he finished than another chief in the same house invited them; the guests went outside for a short while and then came dancing back in. This chief just gave a feast; he gave four kinds of food: dried salmon, rice, salted salmon, and sea biscuit. Toward dusk, Wolf whistles were heard with increasing frequency. A pack of Wolves, accompanied by the Grizzly Bears, swept down through the village and snatched away M's brother's young son. The excitement began—people caught the chief (M's brother) and his father's brother, and mauled them about "for not taking care of the young chief." That night two men went about asking parents for children to be taken by the Wolves. They wanted "good-sized" children, or even adults, for they wanted novices who could sing their own songs, and sing well. The men went about while people slept. Some people might refuse (on some pretext or other) if they did not have enough money to give away. The next day the Wolves could be heard close by. That night they were going to ȧtsacił. The Wolves made four processions through the village, striking on the houses, outside the living spaces of those designated as ȧtsa (novices who were struck down magically). As the novices pretended to drop dead, they were carried by their parents to the chief's house. The informant, with her child, was among the ȧtsa. Then four men, with their faces painted black, went through all the houses to announce the names of the ȧtsa, "who had been struck dead by the supernatural power of the Wolves." Following them, four men, with blackened faces and white head rings, went from house to house to call in the people. The Kyuquot entered in a group, singing, and dancing yȧtsyȧtsa. The first chief of the Kyuquot stepped forward and gave a present of $10, called ōcitɛpitȧp, "covering up" to M's husband, "to cover the body of his child." Next, the few Moachat who were there came dancing in as a group, then the Nuchatlet, and last, the Ehetisat (all those who were not busy with the ritual). Finally all were in and seated, each person sang his own song, making a tremendous racket—"you couldn't hear yourself." Then planks and drumsticks were distributed to the Ehetisat and Nuchatlet men, and the song leader (hamatcił), was called forward. He owned the right to lead these songs. He had nine songs, four with fast tempo, and five with slow heavy beats. After the first four songs had been sung and drummed to, an old man was called forward. He danced over behind the curtain across the rear of the house, where the ȧtsa were lying, picked up one of them, and carried it out into view. The child had been instructed previously to hold himself rigid when picked up. The old man sang, then told the people that they must drum and sing harder. This particular task was not owned by any one person; anyone could be picked out to do it, and afterward would be paid for it. He would have, or would make up a song for the occasion. For the last song they sang and drummed with all their might. Then the novices blew their whistles. The informant, carrying her child, and followed by the rest of the novices, came from behind the curtain dancing the yȧtsyȧtsa dance. Each novice sang (M sang for both herself and for her infant), and a speaker announced their new names. There were 23 ȧtsa in all. Two women gave presents of money to the Kyuquot. Then all went to their quarters to sleep for a while.

The following day, all those who had been ȧtsa walked in a group to the far end of the village. A Grizzly Bear and two Wolves appeared, abducting one of them. The rest fled in mock terror, but before they got back to the houses, more Wolves appeared, and snatched away two more. By nightfall, more novices had been "lost." Parties of warriors were sent through all the houses, searching for the missing children. Even at night, groups went about, dragging sleepers out of their beds, making them stand up and sing while they searched. "They were just like fighting," that is, they pretended to be enraged, and handled their victims pretty roughly. No one got any sleep. In the morning, the chief invited the Kyuquot to a feast. M left her infant in his cradle in the rear of the house, close by the curtain, so that it could be "abducted" without too much handling and jostling about. In the midst of the feast, someone shouted that a strange canoe was coming, and everyone ran out to see. M's child was carried off at this point, that is, he was moved, cradle box and all, behind the curtain. While everyone was on the beach, looking about for the nonexistent canoe, two men came up and grabbed M roughly, one by the arms and one by the hair. They said, "Where did you hide your child and your nephew?" They began to drag her down to the water's edge, to throw her in, yanking her about so violently she could not sing as she was supposed to. Two Grizzly Bears and two Wolves suddenly appeared, knocked her tormentors out of the way, picked her up and carried her off to the woods. The last thing she saw on the beach was a group of women setting upon her mother and throwing her in the water, "for not taking care of her daughter." M was the last of the novices—she had arranged to wait until the last, so she would not have to be in seclusion too long. Back in the woods she found some people from her house. They had her brush garments all ready for her, so she put them on, giving her dress and shawl to the Wolves. The Grizzlies and Wolves took the clothes to a little bare knoll in sight of the village, ripping them to shreds, to show the people she had been killed. Five warriors were sent to look for her body. Their faces were painted black and they were armed to the teeth. They fired two shots, and displayed a wolf tail, claiming to have killed one of the creatures. The informant was back in her brother's house behind the curtain by the time the five warriors came dancing in with the wolf tail, singing and bragging of their prowess. All the people were at a feast in the chief's house. Various young women who were known to be shy and bashful were called on to examine the trophy and sing a song about it, while bystanders shouted that it was only a dead squirrel that the five "heroes" had found up on the hill. Apparently part of this business with the wolf tail was for the purpose of trapping someone into saying some tabu word, such as the ordinary word for "wolf," or "tail." "They played with the wolf tail all the rest of the day." In the evening, the people returned to the houses in which they stayed. The chief sent men to call each house chief (each Ehetisat chief), asking him to bring his people for the singing. Each chief brought his people in a group (including everyone who was staying in his house at the time, guests as well as his own tribesmen). Each house group came in dancing. As soon as all were in, they began to plan for the next day. Some men arranged with two or three others to get gear for a "trap" for the Wolves, others devised ways to harpoon the beasts, and so on. Finally they were quieted down. A song leader and his helper were called on to go up on the roof, while planks and drumsticks were being passed out in the house. Then the fire was put out, so that there was no light at all. The song leader sang a song, then held a rattle down through a gap where the roof boards had been shoved aside as a signal for the men to drum. After each song, the helper went down to tell the people to be silent, to keep the children quiet, and to listen. Then returning to the roof he would report a storm, thunder and lightning over the mountains, a tidal wave, or something of the sort. They sang and drummed all night; "by dawn they were pounding with both hands." M and her brother's child and the rest of the novices came close to the house. She told her nephew to call out as loud as he could, "Grandfather, come rescue me, the Wolves are all around me." The child did so. He was a little frightened by all the noise. Then the song leader on the roof shouted to the people, "Now we can hear one of them! Everyone drum as hard as you can!" The men began to drum with all their strength, not trying to keep time—the din was terrific. Then the Wolves began to whistle, and the novices sang their spirit songs. The drumming was stopped so that the people might hear. They began to sing for joy. The song leader and his helper were given a dollar each for their services. A man came in with a halibut hook on a length of heavy rope, asking for two strong men for partners (ōtōpaɫ) to help him catch a Wolf. Others went to the beach to bathe ritually, to be able to kill Wolves. Others set about rigging the rafts. There were to be 10 rafts, 1 for each big house then standing at Ehetisat, plus 2 especially for the Kyuquot. When all was ready, the rafts set out across the cove to a beach on the far side. Men in canoes went ashore to set their traps and snares, and to set up ambushes from which to shoot or harpoon their sworn foe. The first time the Wolves appeared, they came alone (without any novices). Some of the hunters turned and fled at their approach, tripping their comrades, and tipping over those who were offshore in the small canoes. The Wolves returned to the woods, then reappeared, bringing with them two Grizzly Bears and the chief's child. The next time they appeared, they brought with them a giant anīs, "Crane," by which the informant, carrying her child, and accompanied by her nephew, marched. Other novices appeared at this time also. The fourth time, all the novices appeared. All the novices wore garments of fir twigs, and their faces were spattered with blood. This time a wīnatcict, or "Supernatural Canoe," appeared with them, coming halfway down to the beach, and then disappearing into the woods. The people dashed ashore to carry the novices back to the rafts. Once aboard the canoes they began to sing their spirit songs. Arriving at the village beach, the novices made a procession from house to house, marching in, circling about the fire. This was called kwɔmas. Then they went to the chief's house. A big fire was burning there. The novices went to the far end where they took their places on a platform, facing the wall. The people assembled. M's brother ordered some of his men to distribute dried salmon. One woman owned the right to be the first to eat; until she began no one might start eating. No matter how hungry the people were, they had to wait until she began to eat (the informant added that children would sneak bites of fish when no one watched them). She went around the fire four times singing her songs, although the chiefs pleaded with her to begin to eat. Finally a kinswoman brought out some food that the owner of this right was especially fond of, so she ate it, and then everyone could start.

After they had broken their fast, M and her nephew were called on to sing. They, and the rest of the novices, all sang the chief's child's song. M, her child, and her nephew were together (apparently she spoke for the three of them). She said that the Wolves had given them the song that they had just used, and told them to display the privileges that their ancestor saiyatcapis had found long ago. M also danced, then displayed a Supernatural Crystal (meaning that she was going to invite them to a potlatch). All the people pretended to "drop dead," then sat up making a ritual cry, "hō:!" to indicate that they had been brought back to life. Then the rest of the novices sang and announced the new names that the Wolves had bestowed upon them. After this, the people formed themselves into groups to decide what sort of Imitating dances they would have.

That evening, the novices were made to sit on their platform facing the fire. They still wore their garb of fir twigs, and had their novice whistles. The guests from Kyuquot came in and seated themselves about the house. The Ehetisat and the Nuchatlet were going to dance Imitating dances. First a group of young women came in wearing white sheets with multicolored stripes painted on them, and headdresses with two long projections which represented antenna. They were imitating Butterflies. They danced around, and then at the end of their dance, each gave gifts to the Kyuquot women. There was no particular system to their giving: each gave to whomever she wanted to, although they tried to be sure that each of the women guests got something. Next the old women came in, dancing Kelp Cod. They came in without singing, holding their arms outstretched before them, then raising one and lowering the other, then bringing them together again, keeping time to a drum beat (this represented the opening and closing of the cod's mouth). When they were all in, and had completed the circuit of the fire, they sang. Then they gave dishpans to all the Kyuquot women. There was another women's group that danced, but the informant did not remember what they danced, nor what the old men danced. The latter, in their turn gave guns, blankets, and money, to the older Kyuquot men. Two men dressed as Red Cod danced for the middle-aged men's group. They wore red blankets, padded out to represent enormous bellies. They called on the speaker of the Kyuquot first chief to come forward "to gut the Red Cod." He danced forward, took a knife, and pretended to cut, then grasped an end of a piece of cloth under the edge of the blanket. He kept pulling out yards and yards of "guts" (which was a bolt of cloth unrolled and wadded up). Another Kyuquot man was called out to clean the other Red Cod, and given the cloth as his gift. The young man danced a Woodpecker dance, at the end of which they gave new shirts to all the young men from Kyuquot. All these gifts were furnished by the dance group themselves, of course. Then they were through with the Imitating dances.

They made ready to open the curtain at the back of the house. M's mother began to sing for her grandchild (M's child). As the curtain opened, the people all gave a ritual cry, and they saw a great Crane standing there (a dancer wearing a Crane costume). The informant and her nephew went over to the Crane and began to sing their spirit song. When they finished, the people began to drum, and to sing the song, and the Crane began to dance. It danced while four songs were sung. Afterward, the chief's speaker recounted how an ancestor of the family had encountered the Crane Spirit, and how the right to display the privilege had descended to those who now showed it. The chief gave the four leading chiefs from Kyuquot $2 each, for looking at the privilege. Next he gave money and articles of value to all the Kyuquot chiefs who had given "for the canoe" to the inviting party. He was very careful to give different objects back; for instance, to a chief who had given a canoe he gave a gun, to another who had given a trunk of white-man's manufacture, he gave a canoe, and so on, for it would not look well to give back the same kind of things, nor to give the same objects away—"it would look as though he did not care for what they had given him." Then he thanked the Kyuquot for coming, saying he was glad they all had come and thanked them for all their gifts. He did not use a speaker, but spoke himself. The first chief of the Kyuquot replied, saying that the two tribes were always good friends, and tracing out their relationships, showing that they were kin. Then he said his younger brother wanted to give a dance and give a few gifts the following afternoon.

The next afternoon the Ehetisat and the Nuchatlet assembled in the chief's house. He had told the guests to use his brother-in-law's house to make ready for their dance. While they waited, the chief told his people (this was especially for the younger ones), "When you get money from the Kyuquot chiefs, don't spend it or lose it—save it, for we have to return it to them. They were invited here to be given gifts, not to be sent home empty-handed." Three Kyuquot chiefs came in with their people, those of each chief in a group. The first chief's housemates wore head bands with little paddles stuck in them. Each of the three groups had distinct ornaments and dances. After they had danced, the Kyuquot chief took his place at the rear of the house. He made a speech saying, "Now I am using the back end of the house, just as though I were in my own home. If my kinsman the chief of the Ehetisat comes to Kyuquot he can have my house to use if he wishes." Then he gave a (woolen) blanket to M's brother, a shawl to M, and money to all the Ehetisat and Nuchatlet, a dollar to each man and a half-dollar to each woman. His younger brother came forward to dance, wearing a maskette on his forehead. He had four helpers, three of whom danced with him, the fourth coming forward at the end of each dance throwing a double handful of silver dollars and half-dollars among the audience. He danced four dances. Then the second chief of Kyuquot gave a canoe to the informant's brother, and a dollar or a half-dollar to each man of the

Ehetisat and Nuchatlet. The third Kyuquot chief gave money to the men also, and no sooner had he finished than two other Kyuquot, one after the other, began to dance, and gave money to the men. Only the first chief had given to both men and women. Then when they had finished, two Nuchatlet chiefs danced, and after them, several Ehetisat chiefs, each giving presents to the Kyuquot when they had finished. Gifts made after a chief had danced were called ʟūptskwī, "sweating." As he made them, each chief had his speaker "talk about old times," and thank the people for watching the dance.

Next evening, the chief was going to display his Supernatural Canoe (which he had indicated he was going to show at the time the novices were rescued). When the guests were seated and the fire was burning brightly, the Ehetisat and Nuchatlet came into the house dancing the Supernatural Canoe Imitating Dance. They wore wreaths of hemlock, and their faces were spattered with blood. They danced holding their arms extended forward, fists clenched with the thumbs extended upward. After they had entered, the Supernatural Canoe itself appeared. It was all of wood, with 10 paddles on each side, which moved by themselves. (Apparently the object was a mechanical device made to move by means of concealed lines and wires.) The canoe appeared four times during the dance. Then the dancers gave presents of money to the Kyuquot. This was to return the gifts of the five Kyuquot chiefs on the preceding day. The Ehetisat chief gave money to the guest chiefs "for looking at his display privilege." Then a Nuchatlet chieftess wanted to dance. First she had her speaker announce that she was related to the Ehetisat chief, tracing out the relationship. This was why, she said, she had the right to dance and give away property in the house of the Ehetisat chief. Then she danced, and gave away $140 to the Kyuquot men and women, giving them dollars and half-dollars. When she had finished, a Nuchatlet chief gave a Hamatsa dance. All the Nuchatlet women formed a chorus, dancing with him. He gave $3 to each of the leading chiefs of Kyuquot, and 50 cents each to the rest of the guests, giving away about $100 altogether. Then M's husband stood up and began to sing. He was carrying their infant. Then he announced that his son was giving property to the Kyuquot. He gave 5 pairs of wool blankets to the first 5 chiefs, then gave the first 10 chiefs $10 each, and gave $3 to each of the rest of the men. He gave away more than $300. Two more Ehetisat chiefs danced that night. It was daybreak by the time they finished. The people went out to their houses and slept a little while. Then another Ehetisat chief invited the guests to his house. The novices were not allowed to leave the house during this time, but M and two other women slipped out the back way and watched through a little window. The

Kyuquot were given a breakfast of dried salmon and whale oil. Their hosts sang while they ate. Then the Ehetisat women danced wearing headdresses with long wands to which feathers were attached. The chief who had invited them gave the first chief a shotgun, a pair of wool blankets to each of the next three, and a canoe to the fifth. The informant learned afterward that he also gave $130 in cash to the guests, and cloth and dishes to the women, but she did not see this part because she had to return to the Dance House before she was caught. In the afternoon, the guests came back to M's brother's house, after a short nap. The novices were content, for now they could watch the dances. The guests were given food when they arrived, and the novices shared in the feast. (In ancient times, said the informant at this juncture, novices could eat only dried fish, but in recent times people were less careful about such things.) They ate steamed clams, dried fish, boiled fish, boiled potatoes, salmon eggs, and tea. It had been planned that three Ehetisat chiefs should dance and give away property. The one who began made a speech thanking the Kyuquot for coming so far when his "nephew" invited them (he called M's brother "nephew" on the basis of some distant kinship). One of the Kyuquot chiefs replied that they were glad to be there, and that because of the close relationships between all the Kyuquot and the Ehetisat families, they felt themselves to be at home when they came to visit the Ehetisat. The Ehetisat chief who had made the speech announced he wanted to show the people what the Wolves had said should be displayed in honor of his daughter (who had been one of the novices). The curtain opened, revealing two wooden Wolf-masks (i. e., dancers wearing masks), standing one on either side of a slender pole from which a feather was suspended on a string. He then announced that the Kyuquot were to play at catching the feather, the winner to receive a pair of wool blankets and $2. (The pole from which the feather was hung was set in the ground. There was probably some rigging of cords to move it about so the feather would be difficult to catch. This was, of course, a marriage tōpatī, or test-game; these privileges were sometimes used by the Northern Nootkans in honor of a female novice in the Shamans' Dance as an announcement that they would be used on her marriage.) Several young men tried before one of them succeeded in leaping up and catching the elusive feather. He was given the prize. Then the people began to sing for the Wolf Dancers, who turned around counterclockwise, then began to dance. The chief who had displayed the tōpatī sang his "property giving song" (hahaułatcȧknōq), and gave the Kyuquot two canoes, three big rendering kettles, three pairs of wool blankets, and $120 in cash, and announced he was going to invite them to a feast next day. The two other chiefs danced and gave away money, but the informant recalled few details. Then the people scattered to the various houses for a short rest.

After a short time the first chief sent two men from house to house to announce the conclusion of the Shamans' Dance. The novices removed their garments of hemlock branches, then went to the river to bathe ritually. While they bathed, a spruce sapling was stood in each corner of the house. The novices were marched back to the dance house, and made to stand in a circle around the central fireplace. Two men, who owned the right to do so, brought each tree out close to the circle of novices. The two men were singing, while a third stood in the center, leading the song with a rattle. The novices had their hair combed forward over their faces. They held hands and marched around the fire. At the end of the singing, men who likewise owned this duty, came forward with bunches of shredded cedar bark, and went through the motions of drying off the bodies of the novices. There was a special song for this. Then the men with the cedar-bark "towels" raised the bundles of bark over their heads, giving four ritual cries, to "drive away the supernatural power of the Shamans' Dance." This was called matsap. The moon was already waxing (in the first quarter), so the hemlock-branch garments were burned right away. The novices sang their spirit songs while the things were burned. To conclude the ceremony, the novices had to go through the village, entering each house, facing toward the east, then sing their spirit songs. Then they were free of all restrictions.

Meanwhile, the chief of the Queen's Cove group had been making preparations to invite the Kyuquot to a feast. The Ehetisat women assembled; they wanted to give presents to the Kyuquot women. The informant was content, for now she could go about and take part in all the feasts and dances. She joined the Kelp Cod group, and arranged that they should give cloth to the Kyuquot women. M wanted to give away dishes herself, at the last (when her brother, the chief, gave his potlatch). So at the feast given by the Queen's Cove chief, all the Kelp Cod women came in dragging long streamers of cloth, representing the streamers of the kelp. They danced, then gave the strips of cloth to the Kyuquot women. The Butterfly group came in with brightly colored silk kerchiefs, which they gave away after their dance. "They had to give away pretty colored things, because butterflies are prettily colored." M called both these women's groups to her brother's house to a feast (and for a meeting). One woman told her, "The chief of the Kyuquot wanted to buy some potatoes to take home, I heard him say. Let's give them a lot of potatoes." So all the women contributed sacks and half-sacks of potatoes; those who had none, gave something else. The informant had no potatoes to spare, so she gave three new long feast mats.

Then it was arranged that they would dance when a relative (classificatory nephew) of the informant invited the Kyuquot. He planned to use the chief's (his classificatory uncle's) house for this. The chief, M's brother, came in, saying, "I heard that you women had a big meeting." M replied, "Yes, and we decided to give them sacks of potatoes." For a jest, he told her, "All right. But remember that I am part Kyuquot. I want some potatoes too." At the "nephew's" potlatch, the Kelp Cod women came in for their dance. Each had little sticks, which represented one sack of potatoes each, and smaller sticks which represented miscellaneous delicacies, such as bladders of smoked salmon eggs, and the like. They did not hire a speaker, but had one of their number speak for them when their dance was over. Various women gave M's brother sacks of potatoes, including him with the guests. One woman said, as she gave him a half-sack, and a bladder of smoked salmon eggs, "Now you go home with the rest of the Kyuquot." The joke was enjoyed by everyone. Then M's nephew made ready to give his potlatch. First a dancer wearing a headdress representing a Killer Whale came dancing into the house, circled the fire, and sang two songs. Then two Ravens appeared from behind a curtain. They wore wooden headgear with long beaks, carved to represent ravens, and capes of unwoven shredded cedar bark. These dancers were paid by the man who was giving the potlatch. M's "cousin," who was actually giving the potlatch in the name of his son (her "nephew"), spoke. He announced that he himself had obtained these display privileges that had just been shown. The masks he was leaving in the chief's house, but the guests might use the dances if they cared to (i. e., the Kyuquot could use the dances, songs, masks, and all, but could not claim them or transfer them, e. g., in marriage). He did not, he added, have much to give away, but he had just wanted them to see what he had obtained for his son by his spirit-quest. Then he gave away $115 (giving the first and second chiefs $5 each), and his wife gave cloth and dishes to the women. The Kyuquot chief through his speaker, thanked him, saying, "We shall be glad to use the dances. We need not be ashamed to do so, because we Kyuquot are closely (sic) related to your house. We are proud of you, our relative, for 'finding' these privileges yourself—you have shown yourself a real man. Many try, but find nothing in the spirit-quest."

Afterward, at a meeting of the Ehetisat, M's husband announced that his brother-in-law, the chief, wanted to give his potlatch next day, so that would be the end of the affair. He himself intended inviting the guests to a feast in the morning before the chief's potlatch, and he wanted all the Ehetisat to give "going away presents" (ȧtsaqił), at that time. So in the morning he called the Kyuquot to a feast of salted salmon and sea biscuit. People came in, a house group at a time, to dance and give presents. Men, women, and even children brought gifts—men brought blankets, clothes, and the like; women brought dishes, food, and women's apparel, the children brought mats and food. Each person gave to some friend among the guests. As one house group finished, another began. One house gave nothing but sacks of sugar and of flour—they gave away a great number of sacks. The guests sat with their gifts piled up all about them. The feast and "going-away gifts" took so long that the chief could not begin his potlatch, but had to wait till next day.

M's brother sent men to call the Kyuquot to his house early in the morning. (He had told their individual hosts to give them breakfast very early.) For the first time during the ritual, the precedence of rank was observed. The first and second chiefs were called first, and brought in to be seated in their proper places. Then 10 other chiefs were called in order of rank, and shown to their seats. (The interpreter remarked that the chief had undoubtedly called on someone from Kyuquot to tell them the order of seating, so no mistake would be made.) Then the rest of the Kyuquot were called in, the men seated on one side, the women on the other. The chief sang his "property song," and gave the first chief of the Kyuquot $40, the second, $30, and the other 10 seated chiefs $10 each. To the remaining men he gave $5 each, and $2.50 to each Kyuquot woman. The informant and her brother's wife gave cloth, dishes, and various household articles to the women. There were $80 remaining of her brother's potlatch money, so he sang his song again, and all the Ehetisat sang with him. He distributed it among the men, $1 each as far as it went. Finally he began to speak (he seldom hired a speaker for he always preferred to speak for himself). He said that he had invited the Kyuquot in honor of his child and his sister's child, and that he had a right to invite them, for his tribe (the Ehetisat) and the Kyuquot were close kin. They had bought so many wives from each other that they were just like one tribe. The first chief of the Kyuquot replied, through his speaker, thanking the host, and reaffirming the kinship of the two tribes. Then all the people gave a ritual call, four times, to conclude the Shamans' Dance. It was announced that they could dance "play dances" and play lahal now, for the ceremonial was over. All went to eat, then the age groups danced, and gave away household goods. After this they played lahal, and the Kyuquot won two games in a row. At daybreak, they stowed all their gifts aboard their canoes and shoved off. All the Ehetisat, said the informant, did little but sleep the next 3 or 4 days.

A NUCHATLET SHAMANS' DANCE

This account, not altogether complete, of a Shamans' Dance of the Nuchatlet, was given by the Ehetisat informant. It is included here because it brings out certain points of interest as regards the ritual pattern, and because the informant's knack of spicing a narrative with colorful detail adds to the picture of what these performances were really like.

A short time after the Ehetisat Shamans' Dance given by the informant's brother, previously described, the people were at a small feast, when they heard the sound of singing out on the water. A woman went out to see what it was, then returned, saying there was a canoe approaching, with a man standing in the bow singing. The Ehetisat knew something was going to happen, so the men blackened their faces, tied their hair up with fir twigs, and got some long poles to lift the canoe. As the canoe came in, they saw the singer was a chief of the Nuchatlet with six of his men. The Ehetisat waded out waist deep in the water, holding the canoe off before it touched the beach. They put their poles under it, and, chanting, lifted it out of the water. They carried it up into the house in which the feast was being held. The Nuchatlet chief never once stopped singing. When he was inside the house, he called all the Ehetisat chiefs by name, asking them for assistance. He announced he was inviting the Moachat and the Muchalat to a potlatch to celebrate the conclusion of his daughter's puberty rites. Since, he said, his daughter was half-Ehetisat (her mother was an Ehetisat woman), he was calling on them for aid. The Ehetisat felt somewhat embarrassed, for they had just finished a Shamans' Dance, and had little left in the way of money and valuables. Then the visiting chief made clear what he meant by "help." He wanted the Ehetisat to come to reinforce his own tribe (who were very few in number) for the singing and dancing; to assist, in other words, with their physical presence and not with money and goods. In a sense he was inviting them to the celebration. The Ehetisat chief had his people sing, and then he gave the canoemen $2 apiece. The Beach Owner called the Nuchatlet to his house, where he gave them a feast of four different kinds of food, and divided $10 among them. The Nuchatlet stayed for 3 days, during which various chiefs gave feasts and dances in their honor, and gave them the customary "payments for the canoe." When they were ready to return home, the informant's brother gave them $20. Then he called his people to a meeting. He announced, "The Nuchatlet chief has invited us all to the Shamans' Dance he is giving in honor of his daughter. Although he said he was asking us to help him, he was really inviting us as guests. Therefore we can't just go there in an everyday manner—we have to arrange something special. We will arrive as though we were strangers, coming up to the beach singing and dancing. The Nuchatlet chief is going to practice the performance he intends to use for the arrival of the Moachat, so we will sing to answer him." On the day arranged, the Ehetisat set out in their medium-size canoes (they had given away all their big canoes). They came in to the beach singing. The Nuchatlet women were lined up along the beach in all their finery to greet them. The young men came out from one side and the older men from the other, each group leading a Grizzly Bear dancer with ropes (the Nuchatlet chief was going to use his Grizzly Bears in the Shamans' Dance). The two groups met in the middle of the beach. The Grizzly Bears became wild, broke loose, and disappeared into the woods. It looked very fine. Then the Nuchatlet chief danced to display his Supernatural Crystal, which he "threw" to the Ehetisat chief. The latter danced in his turn, then returned the Crystal. This was done four times in all, to show that the Supernatural Crystal which had been "sent to invite the guests" had been brought back. The Nuchatlet gave four Ehetisat chiefs each $1 "in honor of the Supernatural Crystal," and M's brother gave several Nuchatlet chiefs the same amount each. Then the Owner-of-the-Beach, a woman, invited the Ehetisat to a feast of two kinds of dried salmon, beans, and tea. The chief who had invited them told his plans. He said they would have several days in which to learn and practice the songs. He wanted to dance a Frog Imitating dance, and asked for "partners" (ōtōpał) to dance and sing with him. The young men were going to dance a Red Headed Woodpecker Dance, while the old men planned a Codfish Imitating Dance. The Women's groups were going to dance ū'ūłinik (u'uł, some kind of small bird), a Red-Winged Blackbird dance, and a Sea Gull Imitating Dance. The Ehetisat aligned themselves with the various groups that they wanted to dance with. They practiced the songs and dances for 3 days and nights. One night they learned the Moachat had arrived nearby, and were waiting for daylight to come to the village. They had just finished an early morning feast of spring salmon when they heard four shots. It was the Moachat. Two men were sent to meet the guests, to tell them to stop in a cove across from the village until they heard a signal for them to come in. The messengers took a quantity of dried salmon and sea-biscuit, on which the guests might break their fast while waiting. The people dressed and painted as rapidly as possible. When they were ready, they fired two cannon as a signal. The Moachat came paddling toward the beach. As when the Ehetisat arrived, the women were lined up along the beach. The Nuchatlet chief stood in front of the center of the line with his daughter, singing, while the two men's groups came in with their captive Grizzly Bear dancers. Four Wolves appeared and sounded their whistles. At the sound, the Grizzly Bears became enraged—they struggled and fought, and then, bursting the bonds with which they were tied, they ran over, seized the chief's daughter, and carried her away bodily into the woods. A Nuchatlet man came forward and said, "You Moachat have come for nothing. You saw the one in whose honor the chief invited you; you saw the Grizzly Bears take her away. I think you'll have to go home. It's too bad you came all this way for nothing." Some one among the Moachat replied, "Yes, we'll go home now. It's sad that this happened. We are sorry to have come so far to no purpose."

All this time the Moachat canoes were lying to off the beach. Suddenly the Nuchatlet chief appeared on the roof of his house in a Thunderbird costume. The Moachat danced in their canoes in front of the beach. One of the Nuchatlet chiefs danced to display and "throw" a Supernatural Crystal; it was returned by one of the guests. This was done the proper number of times, after which the second chief of the Moachat and one of the Nuchatlet chiefs each gave small gifts of money. The Beach Owner then invited the guests to a feast. That evening the Muchalat arrived.[96] Two men were sent to tell them to come ashore informally, to spend the night, then to make their ceremonial arrival in the morning. They were met by friends at the beach who helped them bring their gear up to the houses, and gave them places to stay. During the ensuing commotion, one of the Moachat chiefs overheard a slighting remark someone made about the Moachat. He became angry, and began trying to find out who had made the remark, to answer him, and start a fight. The Ehetisat chief got him to one side, and said to him, "Chief, it was the chief of the Nuchatlet that invited you here. Why should you pay attention to what some commoner says? That must have been some commoner that you heard, somebody without a name [i. e., someone whose name was not respected]. Pay no attention to people like that. It is not right to fight and make trouble during the time of feasts and dancing." Finally the Moachat chief regained his calm. A group of Nuchatlet men went about from house to house, to announce the abduction of the chief's daughter. They told the Muchalat, "The girl who invited you [the chief had invited them in his daughter's name], has been kidnaped by the Grizzly Bears. You people must decide for yourselves what you will do. You can go back home if you want to; we won't stop you. It's too bad that you came so far for nothing. If you want to stay, that will be all right too." In the middle of the night when everyone was asleep, a man went shouting through the village, "Wake up, everyone. A canoe, with two men and a woman, is leaving the beach. We must follow them." Two canoes set out in pursuit. At daybreak the two canoes returned, towing three pieces of canoe. They announced, "Those three people ran away, leaving the broken canoe adrift." All the people went down to the beach to try to fit the three pieces together, to see whose canoe it was. Various men claimed it. Actually, the three pieces were from three different old broken canoes, but the people kept on pretending to fit them together, and speculating on who the run-aways were. The Muchalat made their formal arrival, during which the Supernatural Crystal was displayed and returned. The Beach Owner invited them and the Moachat to a feast. After the feast, the Beach Owner sang for the guest tribes, and danced for them wearing a maskette. Afterward she distributed $40 among the chiefs of the Moachat and the Muchalat. She made a speech to the guests, not using a speaker, telling them of the source of her right of Beach Owner. She said, "I shall continue to exercise my right to give feasts to all the people who come to the beach as long as I am able. I have no children of my own, but I do it to keep my name respected. When I am too old, I will give the privilege to one of my younger brother's children." As the people were leaving the house, a Grizzly Bear suddenly appeared and seized a young man whom he dragged away into the bush. The people all fled to the beach. Someone spied the young man's parents there, so they all began to maltreat them. They threw the mother into the water; the youth's father they put into an old canoe with no paddle, and shoved him out to get back ashore as best he could.

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[96] I do not know whether the "in-the-house" performance was omitted, i. e., the rite in which the átsa dropped "dead" and were revived, or whether the informant skipped it.

The Nuchatlet and Ehetisat assembled for a meeting. Behind the house the Wolves could be heard whistling. When the people had made their plans, they sent men to call in the guest tribes. The Moachat were seated on one side of the house, the Muchalat on the other. The second chief of the Moachat spoke, saying that he wanted to display a dance also. So they gave him time to make ready. Then he began to sing, and a Hametsa dancer came out on the center of the floor, with a chorus of women. They sang one set of songs and the Moachat chief gave away $20; after a second set of songs, he distributed $80. Then another of the guest chiefs gave a dance. Four of them in all displayed dances and distributed small amounts of money among their hosts. When they were through, the Wolf whistles could be heard very close by. Without warning four Wolves came into the house, seized a child, and ran out. The people, after their first fright, set upon the child's mother for her failure to care for the youngster, and finally dragged her out of the house and threw her in the water. The following night, in the midst of a feast, someone came in shouting, "A canoe is coming! A canoe is coming! It looks like the Kyuquot!" Everyone ran out to see. Suddenly four i'iniqwɔł, "Fire Tenders," appeared among them. These were beings who tended the chief's fire. They were represented by men wearing large masks, and old ragged blankets. The Nuchatlet chief was the only one on the coast who owned the right to use four of these, though several other chiefs had two of them. The i'iniqwɔł seized four women, including the Beach Owner, and carried them off amidst a chorus of Wolf whistles. There was great excitement. A mob of people set upon the relatives of the four women pretending to be trying to drown their unfortunate victims; some men got guns and spears to kill them with. Children, who believed that the fighting was real, were frightened and began to cry.

Twelve novices were taken altogether. A party of men was sent from house to house to search for them, making four rounds. They were very rough, dragging people out of their beds, mauling them about, and making them stand up and sing. They took some women "captives," making them march around with the searching party, singing. Then a group of men was sent through the houses to call all the people to help in the singing. The father of the Moachat second chief came to the informant's husband, saying, "I want you and your wife to come dance with us. The men and women will dance separately, using different dances. The Muchalat are going to do the same." M went to her dance group to tell them, "I have to dance with the Moachat. You can do as you please. I won't be there to tell you what to do." Then she went to join the Moachat women. They went into the house dancing yàtsyàtsa; the Moachat men danced a dance they called nūłàm. When they finished dancing, the dancers gave presents to individuals among the spectators (the Nuchatlet and the Ehetisat). A few people didn't give anything, but just left the center of the floor and sat down. Next the Muchalat men and women came in, in two groups. They danced and then gave away presents to the hosts. Most of the men gave one or two dollars, but Muchalat Peter gave more than anyone else. He distributed $100. Then the Nuchatlet chief announced that all the tribes were to help with the singing, and ordered planks and drumsticks distributed. When all was ready, one man went up on the roof. He stood facing the east, and prayed to the Four Chiefs. Then he gave the signal to begin drumming. During the first rests, he called down to ask them if they had been able to hear any answer to their drumming, saying that he could hear nothing. The people would shout, "Let me go up there on the roof. You come back down. You're no use! You are the one who must hear something—why don't you wash your ears so you can hear?" Then he would give the signal for them to begin again. In later rests, he would call down to tell them what he saw and heard: great trees trembling, lightning flashing across the sky, peals of thunder. He exhorted them to drum harder, to finish their task. Some would answer, "We don't hear anything yet—you must be crazy, or dreaming. Why do you want to finish so soon? Is your woman home in bed, that you are in such a hurry? We'll finish when the right time comes." Finally they heard a whistle resembling the call of an owl (a special property of the Nuchatlet chief). All drummed their hardest, until the voice of the chief's daughter was heard, singing a spirit song, and then all the Wolf whistles sounded. The chief who had led the drumming came down from the roof, to announce, "They are pretty close now. I could hear all the lost ones. You people all bathe ritually early in the morning, and we will try to kill the Wolves." The people went to the houses in which they were staying for a few hours' sleep. The informant and her husband were staying in the Nuchatlet chief's house, and what with the to-do of dressing the novices, and giving them their last-minute instructions, and so on, no one in the house managed to sleep. Before daylight the novices were taken stealthily out of the house. In the morning, rafts were prepared, and the Nuchatlet and Ehetisat set out on them and in canoes to cross the cove. The Moachat and the Muchalat went dancing along the beach. A Nuchatlet woman came to ask the informant to be steersman of her canoe; she had a sea urchin pole, with which she intended to "harpoon" a Wolf. When the Wolves came down on the beach, she went ashore, M remaining in the canoe, holding the bitter end of the "harpoon" line. When the Wolves came running toward them, M's companion got herself tangled up in the line and fell flat on her face. On their second appearance, the Wolves brought out the chief's daughter and a young man, both of whom had been "given" the Hametsa dance. Finally, on the fourth round, all the novices were brought out, rescued, and taken back to the village on the rafts. The novices were taken to the chief's house, where the people assembled to eat. The male Hametsa novice danced first (because males took precedence, although the girl was of higher rank), and his father gave gifts of money in the young man's name to 15 chiefs, 5 Moachat, 5 Muchalat, and 5 Ehetisat. Next the chief's daughter danced. (When a woman "danced Hametsa," she stood singing in the center of the floor, with a dancer actually doing the dance for her.) Her father likewise gave presents to the guests. One by one the privileges of the other novices were shown, the origin of each right was recounted by a speaker, and the novice (or a kinsman acting in his name), distributed small amounts of money. The Nuchatlet chief was singing, and about to distribute gifts to return the "payments for the canoe," that had been given to his inviting parties, when one of the Moachat committed some violation of the rules of the ceremonial. All the novices (probably their representatives) became angry, and came dancing down among the people carrying short spears. They seized an Ehetisat war chief instead of the erring Moachat, and prepared to "harpoon" him. The Nuchatlet chief called on certain Moachat men to do the actual "harpooning." These were men who owned the right to make the cuts and insert the harpoon. One of the Moachat chiefs stood up to admonish his people, "See, now, Moachat, see what I have been telling you—you must always be quiet and careful when you go visiting. These people's ways are different from ours. See now the trouble you have caused by your carelessness." According to the informant, "The Nuchatlet chief lost a lot of money over the 'harpooning.'" He had to pay a number of people for their services, the Moachat who cut and inserted the harpoon points and later those who cut the harpoon points free, and the war chief who was harpooned (this latter payment was called "putting a bandage on"). The war chief distributed $25 of his own money among the chiefs present. (It is quite probable that the whole incident had been arranged beforehand, of course. Otherwise the Nuchatlet chief would hardly have known who, among the Moachat, had the right to insert the harpoons, etc.). Finally, the chief was able to finish his song, and to give gifts to those who had made payments for the canoes of the inviting parties. Then the dance groups came in. First the young women came in, with their Seagull Imitating Dance. They had "beaks" made of cloth sewn onto head bands so that they projected forward, and wore white dresses, with arm-long "mittens" of white canvas, which they held extended to represent wings. They danced and gave away presents. Another women's group came in dancing and dressed to represent the small birds called u'uł. The chief's group came in hopping, costumed as Frogs. The chief had wanted this dance, because the Frogs represented, or better, alluded to, the frogs that abounded in the swampy area surrounding a "sockeye lake" (a lake into which sockeye ran to spawn) which he owned.

This group gave away a great quantity of things—money, utensils, and food. They gave to all the guests. The chief himself called out the informant's name, held up a stick, saying, "This is 40 sockeye, when they run." He threw the stick out on the floor, and the informant had to go pick it up, saying, "ʟa'kaō, ha'wił (Thank you, chief)." (Gifts were commonly given thus during the Shamans' Dance. In a formal potlatch, of course, the gift or the token representing it, had to be carried to the recipient, who did not stir from his place). The old women's dance group came in next. Their gifts consisted principally of food. One of them gave a sea-biscuit box of dried and smoked clams to the second chief of the Moachat, and a similar box to another chief, and gave them a dollar each as well. She gave the most of all of the old women. The old men came in dancing their Codfish Imitating dance. They had a young woman with them to sing and dance. They gave away presents of cloth, and a little money.

When the Imitating dances were over, the chief made a speech. He told his guests he had the right to invite them, because he was related to all three of the guest tribes, the Moachat, the Muchalat, and the Ehetisat. He thanked them for coming to honor his daughter, and to "make her name big," as the interpreter expressed it. The Moachat second chief's father replied, saying that they all knew the chief of the Nuchatlet, and were proud to be related to him, and that they were happy to see that he was making his daughter's name respected. Next a Muchalat chief spoke, tracing out the numerous ties of kinship between the Muchalat and the Nuchatlet, and bringing his history up to date by including a marriage recently contracted between two families of the two tribes. "Some of these old men used to talk for a long time," remarked the informant. "They began with the beginnings of history [i.e., as opposed to myths]. This was done to instruct the young people, who were supposed to listen and learn the history of the tribes."

When the speech making was done, the people whose children had been abducted in the ritual began to give the chief their ʟūkwâtqân, payments for the novices (literally, "shaman's fees"). This was a Nuchatlet custom, to give these gifts or payments to the chief during the ritual. Elsewhere this was done prior to the opening of the ceremonial. They gave from $10 to $50, as they wished. There was no set amount, of course. Altogether they gave him $250. A few people who had no children among the novices gave small amounts (the informant gave him $5).

The chief of the Nuchatlet then announced that the Wolves had given his daughter, among other things, some games for the people, and the people were to practice them now, so they would be ready when they came to get her in marriage (i.e., these were marriage tōpatī, or tests). He was going to use four tōpatī, two from his family, and two from his wife's side. The first he showed was the Shark (mamatcaʟ), in which 10 pairs of men lined up with blazing torches, forming a gauntlet through which the aspirant to his daughter's hand (or his representative) was to run. Then he called out two common men from among the guests, giving them presents of money which he said were payments for running the gauntlet. These two did not have to brave the torches to get their gifts. The next was an inclined greased plank which had to be climbed.

As before, two men were called out and given presents referred to as "payments" for successfully completing the ordeal (although they did not really undertake the test). The third and fourth tōpatī were described but not shown. One represented a rocky islet (one which belonged to the chief, of course), which had to be climbed; the other was a greased rope suspended from a tall tripod. There were songs for all these tōpatī. Although these devices were not shown, men were called out and given gifts for successfully passing them.

That night the Shamans' Dance was formally concluded. Next day, in the afternoon, the chief sent formal parties to invite the guests to his potlatch. The guest chiefs were called first, in order of rank within their own tribal assembly, and escorted to their places. The Moachat chiefs were called first, and seated in proper order along the inland wall of the house. The Muchalat chiefs were similarly called, and seated across the rear end of the house, and the Ehetisat chiefs were conducted to places along the seaward wall. Then the rest of the people were called in, and made to sit in the part of the house where their chiefs were. The Nuchatlet seated themselves at the door end. The chief sang, and showed certain display privileges "which the Wolves had given his daughter" and then commenced to give to the chiefs. He gave to the Moachat chiefs, in order of rank; then to the Muchalat chiefs; next the Ehetisat; and finally, to the other Nuchatlet chiefs. Then he sang his potlatch song, and gave to the rest of the people. The gifts were not unceremoniously thrown on the floor this time, but carried to each recipient. It was nearly dawn before the potlatch was finished. The guests were ready to leave, but the weather turned bad so they stayed a few days more. Since the Shamans' Dance was finished they could play cards and lahal. Finally the storm lifted and they went home.

Comparisons with previous accounts of the ceremonial.—Before leaving the subject of the Shamans' Dance, it is necessary to account for some differences between the present descriptions and those published some years ago by Sapir (1911). Some of these are explicable on the basis of different usage of the groups at the head of Alberni Canal whose rituals Sapir saw as well as had described to him. Others, such as the statement that *all* the Nootkan groups attribute the origin of the ritual to a locality in Barkley Sound, are due to misstatements by his informants—as I have remarked, a member of each tribe or confederacy can take you to the precise spot in his own territory where the Wolves carried off the ancestral chief who "found" the ceremonial, and, as well, to a specific place in the same territory where the short form of the rite was first obtained from the supernatural beings. Likewise, the statement that the tribes north of Barkley Sound have only recently borrowed the "age-grade clubs" (ōtōpał) from the Barkley Sound groups is to be ascribed to the overweening local patriotism of the informants. There is no evidence that they are earlier one place than the other.

Sapir's interpretation of the Supernatural Quartz Crystals as representing the spirit of the ceremonial is a point more difficult to resolve. The concept smacks more of Kwakiutl usage than of that of the Nootkan tribes up the coast, and may have come to the Alberni groups via the Comox. The other Nootkans end the ritual by "sending away" the spirit or aura of the affair, but use no material object to represent it. Among them, the Supernatural Quartz Crystals are wealth spirits, and "sent" only for the purpose of inviting other groups to potlatches (at a future date). Also, Sapir's use of the term tōpatī to refer to rights held in the Shamans' Dance runs counter to usage among the groups from whom I collected data, among whom tōpatī refers only to wedding privileges—special tests or games used by the bride's group, and displays by that of the groom. Other differences in the accounts are probably due to actual differences in local custom, with varying sequences of events, different methods of restoring the novices to normalcy, and the like.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SHAMANS' DANCE

In introducing the description of the Shamans' Dance, I remarked that it was the most important ceremonial of the Nootkan tribes. That it was, but its importance was social rather than religious. Although it was supposed to be a period in which supernatural powers were close at hand, the attitude of the Indians seems to have been about as little imbued with religious awe or fervor as a Carnival (Mardi Gras) crowd in modern Latin-American countries. The social aspect of the ritual had two sides. The first was that of the chiefs who sponsored the affairs. For them the Shamans' Dance was at once a heavy duty and a source of gratification. The duty was that of validating the hereditary prerogatives of their heirs; the gratification derived from the respect and admiration of the people of high and low degree for one who commanded the resources to stage the ceremonial. For people of lesser rank the Shamans' Dance was the ultimate in entertainment and good fun. There was no work to be done (the practicing of songs and dances, and the labor of preparing stage properties was not counted as "work" by them), food was abundant at the innumerable feasts, horseplay and buffoonery went on well-nigh endlessly to delight their risibilities, and now and again, they had opportunities, flattering to the ego, of occupying the spotlight in the performance of some dance or special act. Appreciation of this high entertainment value of the affair is implicit in chiefs' opinions, often repeated in advice to their heirs, that it was necessary for a chief to give Shamans' Dances to maintain the allegiance of his commoners on whose support he depended.

SHAMANS' DANCE MISCELLANY

From the descriptions of the Ehetisat informant of various Shamans' Dances she had witnessed, several were of special interest in indicating the flexibility of the pattern, and the way the ceremonial, or short forms of it, could be adapted to events in the lives of the people. Although the ritual normally had nothing to do with death rites or mourning for deceased relatives, it was occasionally used in connection with them. Such usage, with its prestige implications, did great honor to the memory of the deceased. The tale of the errant house post is included to illustrate the ingenuity expended in developing new features to enrich the performance.

At a Shamans' Dance given by the chief of the Ehetisat ʟitcyaȧth, for an unborn heir, a novel feature was added to the performance. On the morning of the fifth day, when the people were making ready to go on the rafts to rescue the novices, a man came running down to the beach shouting, "I bring bad news! One of the (named) house posts of our chief's house has disappeared!" So they had to go in with poles to prop the beam up (presumably the beam was already propped up, and this was just a gesture, for effect). Scarcely had they finished when another man called to them to come outside, for something strange was happening. When they got outside, they saw the house post going along the beach, dressed in white fir branches, like a novice, and singing a spirit song. It marched to the place at which the novices were to appear, then disappeared into the woods. (This was, of course, a copy of the house post made of canvas and light poles.) The post did not appear with the novices, but after the latter had been rescued, brought to the beach for their preliminary dances, and then taken to the house, they found the errant house post standing in the middle of the platform arranged for the novices. Afterward, in the potlatch, among the other privileges which the chief's heir was to have, the post was included.

The daughter of an Ehetisat chief (the informant's great-grandfather), died in childbirth at Nuchatlitz. When they cut her open they found her baby was turned head up. They buried the baby separately. Her parents' grief was made the more bitter by the agonized girl's accusations. She had been married off against her will to the son of the Nuchatlet chief, and on her deathbed she threw her parents' insistence on her marriage in their faces. "Now you are going to lose me. It's your fault, because you made me marry this man. I'd have lived if I hadn't married him."

Her father told her husband's father, "Don't destroy any property over your daughter-in-law's death. It was my fault, for making her marry against her will. I wanted to make our tribes close in kinship, but it turned out badly. Don't throw anything away for her, and I won't either. It is just as though the Wolves carried her away."

When he returned to hōhk the news had preceded him. All his people were in the house wailing. He walked from his canoe to the door, then began to sing his Shamans' Dance song. He had a gun fired to call all the people in, then called his daughter's name, saying, "She will be brought back by the Wolves." They had men dress up as Wolves out in the brush, and dressed up a slave girl to represent the chief's daughter. The people, some wailing and some singing Shamans' Dance songs, made rafts. They crossed the cove, and the Wolves, with the slave who represented the chief's daughter, appeared four times, but the fourth time, instead of waiting for the "novices" to be rescued, the Wolves carried her away into the woods. (It is probable that they killed the slave double, though the informant did not so state.) The people returned to the chief's house. He announced, instead of making the usual lengthy speech, that, "Two hundred Wolves came to abduct my daughter, and will never bring her back." Then he gave away all his wealth.

After this he began training to bring whales up on the beach. That first winter he got one. He told the people, "You can cut a few pieces to eat. The rest I am going to throw away [in memory of his daughter]." A few people began to cut off small pieces, but their chiefs stopped them, saying, "He must want the whole thing for his daughter." The next winter he got two whales. One he "threw away," the other he let the people cut up. They thanked him for this. His own share he sent to his ex-son-in-law at Nuchatlitz, to give a feast to the people there.

On another occasion, much later, a small party of Ehetisat men and women had gone to Friendly Cove to visit their Moachat friends and to trade at the store. During their visit one of the women became violently ill, and died despite the efforts of a number of shamans who were called in to her aid. The informant M hired five men to bring the body back to Ehetisat, while she and the rest of the party returned, bringing the dead woman's daughter, a child of 5 or 6 years. The dead woman's mother was an Ehetisat; her husband, a Nuchatlet chief, and her father, had shipped aboard a sealing schooner some months before. The dead woman's mother gave a small feast after the funeral, at which she gave away everything she and her husband owned to the five men who had brought the body home.

After this she burned down their house. The old woman went down to the beach day after day, with her little granddaughter, to cry. She kept on for two or three months this way, eating little or nothing. Other women feared she was not taking proper care of the child, and would ask permission to take care of her granddaughter, but she always refused. Finally the informant gave a feast to let the people know she intended to take care of the old woman and the little girl. She had them brought in, and gave them a pair of wool blankets, a new shawl, and a small amount of money. Then the rest of the people, both men and women, gave them presents: money, clothing, blankets, household utensils, and the like. The old woman thanked them, saying she would never forget the way her people took care of her. Afterward, M persuaded her to accompany a group of women who were going up the inlet to plant potatoes. A month or so later the sealing schooner stood in. The dead woman's father could not eat or sleep, so shocked was he at the news. On the second morning after his return, he composed his feelings. He invited 10 chiefs to a feast, and announced to them, "I will not kill myself [as parents sometimes did when they lost an only child], because of my little granddaughter. I am going to do as I have always done, go hunting hair seal, but I shall not bring them home when I kill them; I shall throw them away, in memory of my daughter." Then he asked the chief (the informant's brother) for two Wolf whistles to use for his granddaughter (i. e., he asked the chief's permission to give a short form of the Shamans' Dance for the child. He was not of high rank, and although he owned certain privileges, he could not give a Shamans' Dance himself. His wife was of higher rank than he, and had certain Shamans' Dance privileges, which he wanted to use at this time). The chief gave the necessary permission. Messengers were sent by canoe to the various stations at which people were camping to assemble them. A canoe was sent to Nuchatlitz to invite the parents of the dead woman's husband. Early one morning all assembled in the chief's house. They seated themselves without regard for rank, for it was to be a Shamans' Dance. Soon the whistles of the Wolves were heard around the house. Two ma'yixtuq appeared suddenly in the doorway, and shuffled to the center of the house. (The ma'yixtuq are the masks representing an aged couple. This pair belonged to the mother of the dead woman.) The two beings pointed here and there about the house, whispering and muttering to each other, until someone went forward to ask what they wished, offering to serve as their speaker. The ma'yixtuq then announced that the whistles that had been heard were the voice of the dead woman saying that she wanted her parents to give to those who had given presents to her mother and daughter, and to all the people who had cared for the child. The woman's father and daughter came forward. The child carried a small sack of money. The grandfather announced that the child was going to pay to save her grandparents' lives, and for being cared for. Everyone was glad to learn he was going to remain with the people, and not kill himself. One Wolf came into the house, making four ceremonial circuits about the fire, then went out. It was announced that this meant that the dead woman wanted the Shamans' Dance to be used at her daughter's puberty. (This apparently had been arranged by the girl's father, who had the right to give the ritual at his home.) The dead woman's husband was called forward. His father-in-law announced that he should retain the various rights that had been given to him in marriage (including the ma'yixtuq, and some other privileges). This meant that they were to be retained for the child, and would become her property, which, of course, was understood from the time they were given to the son-in-law. The young man replied, saying that he would not forget his wife's parents, as some men did, but would always consider them his parents-in-law; nor would he forget the kindness of the Ehetisat who had taken care of his daughter after his wife's death. Then he began to dance, and displayed a Supernatural Crystal which he "threw" to the Ehetisat chief, to invite the Ehetisat to a potlatch in honor of his daughter during the coming winter. To conclude the affair, the dead woman's father gave away $190, giving special gifts to those who had given presents to his wife and who had taken care of his grandchild. The people gave a ceremonial cry four times to drive away the power of the Shamans' Dance, and it was over. The affair had taken most of the day and they had not eaten, so the chief invited them all to a feast of spring salmon.

OLDER FESTIVALS

There is a tradition to the effect that before the Shamans' Festival was introduced, there was a ceremonial called the tc'ɛknakȧtsaʟ. In this rite, the novice was said to have been carried away by "birds," apparently into the sky, and then "came down" by himself (i. e., appeared after his fictional abduction), at which time a potlatch was given for him. "They had some kind of dances for him [the novice] to dance when he came down." It is just possible that this fragment represents a real bit of folk memory referring to an ancient ceremonial, especially since the references to birds, and the novice's "coming down" hint at a performance similar to the Northern Kwakiutl dluwulaxa or miʟa ritual. (See Drucker, 1940, passim.)

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

The Nootkans had a considerable variety of games, ranging from strenuous athletic contests to rather simple pastimes to see which of the two people could keep a straight face the longer. They also have been enthusiastic gamblers for some time, but I believe that gambling games are a recent innovation. A rough classification of their games can be made into: gambling games, guessing games, athletic contests and other games of skill, laughing games (by which is meant contests to see who could be made to laugh first), and miscellaneous diversions (like cat's cradles). There are a few hints that some of the games may have been played only at certain seasons, having thus a sort of ritual significance, but this feature if more general has gone out of use for some time past.

Of gambling games, the two most popular now and for some time past are blackjack (played with cards by both men and women, according to Hoyle's rules, that need not be described here), and the stick game, "lahal," popular over a wide area of the Northwest Coast (there are said to be some bitterly contested games with very large bets at some of the canneries where many different tribes assemble at the end of the fishing season). Lahal is called hänȧ, a word that sounds un-Nootkan. The marked bone of each pair is called hänȧ'ätcȧk, the unmarked, sū'yik, neither of which terms is translatable. Two pairs of the bones are "shuffled" behind the backs and concealed in the clenched fists of two men on the "team" winning the initial play (in which one man of each side holds the bones and both "guess" each other simultaneously, trying to point to the hand in which the unmarked bone is held). The proper number of points for a game is 21, but by agreement a lesser number may be set. Sticks representing the points are divided into two equal lots, one lot for each "team," the odd counter being stood up in the middle of the floor and a 10-stick lot of counters being placed in front of each team. The side winning the initial guess and the bones wins the odd stick. The side holding the bones wins one point if their opponents fail to guess the position (right or left) of one of the unmarked bones, two points if they fail to ascertain the position of either of the bones. Guesses are indicated by gestures: a motion of the hand toward the guesser's right means both bones are thought to be in their holders' left hands; to the guesser's left, the opposite; moving the hand downward with a chopping motion means they are believed to be "in the middle", i. e., in the right-hand holder's left hand, and in his partner's right; a gesture in which thumb and little finger of the hand are extended means they are both "outside" (opposite to the preceding). All sorts of feints and incomplete gestures are permitted to betray the holders into indicating the position of the bones. The guessing side can win no points; by guessing both bones they have the privilege of concealing them in their turn. When a team has won a point, they draw one stick from the pile of counters in front of them (half the total number less the odd one, usually 10); when all 10 have been drawn, each additional point scored must be paid from the counters of the other team. When one team has all 21 counters, they have won. Bets on the outcome of a game are often sizable—anyone can bet whether he participates by singing on one side or the other or not at all. The teammates of the pair of men holding the bones sing lustily, drumming on a board placed in front of them with short batons. The songs are invariably nonsense syllables. Cheating (that is, it would be "cheating" in our view) by switching the bones after the guess has been made is part of the game if one can get away with it, but because of the size of the bones (about an inch in diameter and three inches or so long—about as large as can be effectively concealed in the hand) is quite difficult. If someone were to be caught cheating there would be quite a squabble. The evidence suggests that this is not an ancient game. The oldest of my informants, a Muchalat, claimed to remember that when he was a small boy, a part-Muchalat man from Hesquiat came for a visit and taught the game to the Muchalat. That tribe, of course, might well be expected to have been the last people to have received an innovation during the period 1850 to 1880, for they were keeping to themselves, not venturing down the Sound for fear of their Moachat enemies. Other Northern Nootkan informants could not recall having heard of any time when their people did not play the game although those from the Central tribes believed it to be fairly recent, though introduced before their time. The game is not recorded, so far as I know, in any early historic account—yet it could scarcely pass unobserved, with the "teams" sitting singing at the tops of their lungs, if it had been anywhere near as popular as it is nowadays. Further, Swan (1868, p. 44), in speaking of Makah games, mentions a gambling game in which but one bone was used as a relatively minor guessing game, minor, at least in relation to the disk "slahal," which he describes at length. I am of the opinion that the entire Northwest Coast distribution of this bone game, or hand game (the disk form may be older), has probably taken place since the middle of the nineteenth century, although detailed evidence of its spread is difficult to collect nowadays.

The corresponding woman's game was played with beaver-tooth dice, tūʟtūya (sometimes they were made of sperm whale teeth). The dice themselves were called tūtcak, and consisted of two pairs, one marked with circles, the other with lines (sometimes zigzags, sometimes rows of lines parallel to the long axis of the tooth). One of the pair marked with circles had a ring, or a double ring, cut around its circumference. It was called mȧʟwȧn. The others were plain on the backs. The plain-backed mate to the one just described was called tiłtiłyū, the pair with lines, tciqōł, "striped." Two women played facing each other over a mat; their friends lined up in a row alongside of one or the other. I do not know how the game was begun; whichever of the two won the right to throw first threw the dice until she failed to make a pass, then gave them to her opponent. Play was ordinarily for 42 points, marked by stick counters. The scoring method differs slightly from that recorded from neighboring groups, but I do not know whether this indicates misunderstanding on my part, or Nootkan specialization. Of the 16 possible combinations when the dice were thrown, the following six scored: The encircled die (mȧʟwȧn) face up, rest face down, 4 points; encircled die face down, rest up, 4 points; all dice face up, 2 points; all down, 2 points; one pair up, one down (either pair, i. e., two possible combinations), 1 point. Any other combination lost the dice. The same informant who believed lahal a recent introduction asserted that the beaver-tooth dice game was learned from Coast Salish during his youth. Others thought it an old game.

The mention of cards, made previously (p. 444), brings up the matter of the time of their introduction. Unfortunately this complex too could not be dated exactly, though informants were quite aware that it was a white man's, not an Indian diversion. The people had been playing cards ever since the informants could remember.[97]

These were the only gambling games, properly speaking. Modern informants say that small bets were sometimes made on guessing games and some athletic contests, but they always make much of the point that the bets were small and not an important feature of the games. That such bets were made in their day is probably true enough, but it suggests that anciently gambling may have been unknown entirely.

The guessing games suggest forms of a sort of elementary lahal. One of these, played in evenings in the house, was called tī'titsakał. The players formed two groups. One group or "team" covered their heads with a blanket while the others passed a small stone along from one to the other behind their backs. When they were ready, their opponents uncovered and tried to guess who had the stone. If correct, it was their turn to pass the stone along; if wrong they lost a point. Children played for an indefinite number of points; adults, usually for 10. Adults sometimes made small bets, it was said. A variant, described by a Muchalat informant, was called hūʟa'an. The game was played about the same way, except that the guess was made as to which hand the stick or pebble was in; the man holding it did not have to be pointed out. This was played for 4 or 10 points, counted as before. Central Nootkans said no bets were made in this type of game, but the losers were said to be "bald-headed" (asquinł) and jeered at. Another game, though perhaps it should be considered a memory test, according to one description of the way it was played, was called ūnatsaq, or ūnū'płan (from ūnū'pał?, "how many?"). Ten sticks were laid out on the ground in groups of one, two, or more, or from another description, in ones and twos. The opponent looked, then faced away and recited the numbers in each group (i. e., "two, one, one, three, two, one," or however they were arranged), or, according to the informant who described them being placed in singles and pairs, guessed the sequence without looking at them (they were concealed under a piece of mat).

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[97] The Rev. Jos. Nicolaye, in an appendix to Father Brabant's "Reminiscences," mentions a trip he made to the Ehetisat village of hōʼhk (on December 20, 1885), where "gambling with cards was the order of the day," with no indication that this was novel or unusual (Moser, 1926, p. 145).

Athletic games were more varied. They included a kind of shinny played by the Central Tribes with a ball made of cartilage (?) from a dead whale. It was hit with clubs curved at one end, the aim being to drive it across a goal, which was marked by poles set up on the beach. Teams consisted of equal numbers of men, usually more than 10 on a side. Each side defended its own goal and attacked that of the opponents. Shinny was known as ʟáphstał. It was not played by Northern Nootkan tribes.

The hoop-and-pole game (a'anshwɔ'yū, or anatswīs) was played by men with a small hoop wrapped with cedar bark, and long slender lances. It was said to have been a favorite sport formerly, intertribal and interconfederacy contests being staged at times. Such occasions might be accompanied by betting. Four men usually comprised a team, taking turns at rolling the hoop and throwing the lances at it. The exact method of scoring was not recalled, but it was said that the lance had to transfix the hoop and stop it to score; if it passed clear through, it did not count. According to one informant, after a game the winners threw the hoop into the air, and the losers had to catch it on their lances; if they let it drop to the ground they were jeered at. Another informant had it that the winners of a game had the right to chase the losers, beating them with the lances.

There was a widespread game consisting of throwing a bundle of grass into the air, catching it on the points of long two-pronged "spears." The bundle, or "ball," was not passed back and forth, but tossed in the air after each catch. This was said to be a rough game, any sort of interference with a potential receiver being permissible. Young men used to play it during the dog salmon run, it is said, those of one local group competing against another. Ten catches won the game (or ten successive catches?). This game was called qawɔ'asik.

A dart game was called tsaxhwȧ. There was a target consisting of a cedar board about 4 inches wide by 18 high, set up in the ground (I understood one informant to say each player had his own target). Each player had 10 darts made of eagle plumes with sharp points of yew wood inserted in the quill. In recent times wire nails, set with pitch, were used. The darts were painted with identifying marks. The players took position at whatever distance was agreed on. Each threw his set of darts in turn. Each time a dart stuck it was laid aside; for example, if on his first turn a player stuck two darts in the target, on his next turn he threw the remaining eight only. The one who used up all his darts first won. "This was a nice quiet game. They used to play it all day long."

A rough and tumble game, a sort of "King o' the Castle," called ta'nitsma' was very popular with children. Both boys and girls played. One team made a pile of sand in which they buried a clam shell. One of their number sat on the sand pile and his partners defended him, while the opponents tried to drag him off and get the shell. When they recovered it, it was their turn to bury it. Young men used to play this at times, also. When they tired of this game, they changed it into hū'hwɔ'an, by throwing the shell as far as they could down the beach, then running after it and scrambling to see who got it. When someone recovered the shell and broke from the tangle of players, they chased him till he threw it away again. "This was a fine game for getting warm on cold days."

There were numerous games involving marksmanship, either with lances or stones. Young men often set up bundles of grass on sticks, and, forming two sides, threw at them with two-pronged lances. The first side to score 10 hits won. Many of these games were less formalized, but consisted in throwing or shooting at targets of various kinds.

Tugs-of-war (hitcūkwɔna; also, canaiyū, referring to a hook) were held, using either a stout stick, which two men grasped while their teammates lined up behind them grasping each other around the waist, or wooden hooks made of forked yew branches fastened to long ropes. The opposing teams had songs which they sang while dancing with their hook before the contest. One informant, a Moachat, said that he understood that in former times tugs-of-war were held only during the herring-spawning season. Pushes-of-war, in which poles were used, were also reported by Central Nootkans. Foot races, canoe races, wrestling with backholds, and lifting contests were other popular amusements of young men. The lifting usually involved lifting a heavy stone, then seeing who could walk the farthest with it. The men were proud of their strength or agility, but did not bet on these contests.

Children had a game of tag called haiyīqo′an. They joined hands in a ring, and began to run sideways, revolving the ring until they were going as fast as they could All at once they let go of hands. Those who were dizzy or off balance and consequently fell down, were "it" (aitciʟ, "rotten"). They chased the rest. Each one caught also became "it" and helped catch others, until all had been caught.

Perhaps the most popular of the games of skill was a form of the ring-and-pin game played with a slender stick and a seal humerus. It was called cacaiyiktsōkuc. The bone was hooked over the stick, flipped into the air, and caught, if the player were skillful, through the small perforation at one end. There were several ways of playing. Two groups of men, numbering up to 10 in each group, formed the sides. Each player took one or two tries, depending on the play agreed upon. If each player tried once, the game was 10 points; if twice, 20 points. There was another procedure that might be used, for a 20-point game, in which a player tried until he missed a catch. Some men, it was claimed, could make 20 consecutive catches, but this was very unusual.

Another game of skill was called yahyahc. A stick about 16 inches long had a small hoop fastened to one end, the plane of the hoop at right angles to the axis of the stick. The stick was set up in the ground like a miniature basketball goal. The players stood over the hoop holding overhead at arm's length a bundle of fine splints (a little longer than the distance from the hoop to the ground), then released the sticks trying to drop them through the hoop. Probably luck counted more than skill in this game.

Jackstraws (aphápc, also called qōqōth by the Kyuquot) were played by the Northern tribes, but not by the Central ones. A bunch of small sticks were dropped in a pile. The players took turns at seeing how many they could lift off the pile with their fingers or with small bent sticks, without shaking or moving the pile. As one worked, the other players alternately cheered and jeered. Men, women, and children all played this game.

Another game of skill was a sort of battledore-and-shuttlecock, called ʟathatyák (at Kyuquot it was called ʟimo'án). The cock was a small cylinder, that is, a short section of a branch of some hard wood, with three feathers lashed and pitched at one end; the paddle was small, with a short handle. The game consisted in seeing who could bat the shuttlecock up into the air the greatest number of times, without letting it drop to the ground. People could compete individually, or form teams.

The laughing games were considered great sport. They could be played by individuals, but usually the players formed "teams" (adults as well as children played the games). tsumh was one of the simpler of these. One of the players shouted, "tsumh!" and they all stood staring at each other with as complete lack of expression as they could manage. The first to smile or laugh lost. Sometimes two persons, for example, a husband and wife, played this. A more elaborate form was necessarily played by teams, and was called no'awá (or mánō'án, as the Kyuquot called it). One team set up a stick in the sand on the beach, forming up behind it. One of them knelt behind the stick. They had a song they sang, then called the name of one of the opponents. The person named had to walk forward toward them slowly, and lift the stick out of the sand, with a serious expression. The side "defending" the stick made gestures, shouted humorous remarks, made faces at him, and everything they could think of to try to make him smile or laugh. Should he do so he was sent back and another of his teammates was called forth. When one side finally got the stick they set it up and called on their opponents to come forward to get it. An even more hilarious game was pah. The contestants belted their blankets up tight, and one from each team walked forward until they met in the middle of the field. The teams each did what they could to make the champion of the other side laugh; the two contestants could likewise gesture, but could not speak or change expression. When they were face to face they tickled each other until one or the other laughed and was sent back to be replaced by a teammate. There were a number of other variations of these games, and they were said to have been played quite frequently.

Among the miscellaneous diversions were cat's cradles (tciłtciłnukw, "weaving together"). There were said to have been a wide variety of these, with both moving and stationary forms. Most of the names of the figures mentioned were of animals. People tried to see who could make the most of these figures, at times. Several people mentioned that it was believed that children of fishermen and trappers should not make cat's cradles while their fathers were fishing or had sets out; presumably the snarls in the strings would foul the fish lines, and the trip lines of the deadfalls. A game called pina'án was a test of lung capacity. A group of children picked the longest frond of bracken fern they could find, and broke out the alternate branches down the stalk. Each in turn took the frond, touching one branchlet after the other with his finger saying "pina" each time without taking a breath. The one who went farthest down the stalk won. They all clapped and shouted in derision when someone ran out of breath early. A form of hide-and-seek was called hapsokstał. The players formed two teams; one hid and then the other side searched for them.

If someone hid so well he or she could not be found, the searchers called his name, shouting, "so-and-so is bald!" or like insults to make him answer and give his hiding place away. Another children's game was hū'ukti'ił, "pretending geese." Two "hunters" joined hands, holding their arms up in the air while the others filed past underneath, singing. At Kyuquot, they took turns "trapping fat geese" by dropping their arms over them in the fashion of our London Bridge game; at Ehetisat, the two hunters were the largest children of the group, and made the smaller ones lie across their joined arms, rocking them back and forth in time to a song. Those who fell off (or were dropped), were the "fat geese." Finally when they had enough fat geese, they made them huddle up in a bunch and covered them with a mat "to cook them." The others became guests at a feast. When the fat geese were thought to be "cooked," they were released from under the mat, and then assisted the leaders at passing out the clamshells from which the guests pretended to eat. Miscellaneous toys and amusements of children included drawing straws (trying to choose a marked stick from a bundle); making popguns of kelp stems; staging mock battles between sides who threw kelp stems, seagull eggs, or clamshells at each other; spinning tops made with a wooden disk (and spun by hand, not by a string); and trapping hummingbirds by smearing slug slime on twigs in the vicinity of flowering plants. The unfortunate birds so captured were fastened to a string, threaded through their nostrils, so the children could play with them, making them fly round and round. Other small birds, when they could be caught alive, were similarly maltreated, the string being sewn either through their nostrils or through from one eye to the other. I did not hear of the custom reported by Gunther for the Makah of breaking captive birds' wings; it may have been done, but the preferred sport was to leave the birds in condition to fly when made fast to a string.

In addition, children played at various things that were imitations of their elders' activities. They were often encouraged at some of these "games," such as the play feasts and potlatches, and the play-Shamans' Dance, although their elders sought to exercise some control over them, especially in regard to the last named. They were not supposed to use the real Shamans' Dance songs in their game, but had special play songs for it. Nor were they allowed to use whistles. They actually did use real songs and whistles, however, when playing away from the village where adults did not notice them. They also played mamaqin, "playing house?," imitating the everyday activities of grownups. A game called qaiyickin, "shells playing," was a sort of solitary "playing house." The personages were shells picked up along the beach rather than children; the operator usually played alone. Feasts, dances, and the like were all performed. Shamanizing was a favorite theme. A child often used songs he had heard real shamans sing. Sometimes a shaman, the owner of the songs, would pretend to be angry if he overheard the singing, to tease the child, "but afterward he just laughed about it."

No discussion of diversions would be complete without referring to mythology and tales. Many evenings were whiled away by yarn spinning, and the characteristics of the lay figures of mythology—Raven's gluttony and Mink's lechery, and the like—were so well known by everyone that ordinary speech was, and is, frequently flavored by allusions to the characters, and even to specific incidents. When someone goes on an errand, a friend will often call after him, "Don't duck your head!" to the amusement of the rest of the company—the reference, which all know, is to a myth incident in which the Wolf Messengers duck under a fallen tree across the trail and forget what they had been sent for. Anecdotes, both personal adventures and the private affairs of others, furnished the substance of many story-telling sessions. Any tale with a humorous twist, or one that could be given a humorous twist, was received with glee by the appreciative audiences of young and old.

Myths (hεmo’itsaqεq, as opposed to "true stories," i. e., traditions and anecdotes, anåqhmīs), included a very full cycle of the common Northwest Coast Raven myths, and a companion cycle in which Mink was the protagonist. Kwatyåt was not the Culture Hero of all the Nootkan Indians, as Sapir and Swadesh (1939, p. 217, note 107) were told. In the myths of the Northern tribes, and the Central groups above Barkley Sound, he was a buffoon only. Snot-boy (antōkt) was the Transformer-Culture Hero of these divisions. The Kyuquot had a tale of two Creators, an Elder and a Younger Brother, whose names were said to be Kwakiutl, not Nootkan words. Characteristic of all the myths are the special types of speech that were used by each of the lay figures, as Sapir (1913) has pointed out.

THE PATTERNS OF THE CULTURE

It is interesting to review the sanctioned patterns of social behavior which functioned as prime determinants in the personality formation of the bearers of the culture, or to phrase the matter in another way, the social patterns that defined the culturally approved personality type or types. Our discussion of social life has brought out a variety of traits and sanctions which were of importance in this regard. In ordinary social situations the predominant pattern required avoidance of aggressive behavior and included a strong feeling against physical violence in conflict situations. Our data from social life reveal a people who regarded as ideal the individual noted for mildness of temper. This was more than a vague ideal. The many cases recorded of social situations show that for chiefs of high and low degree, and commoners as well, the amiable, nonaggressive individual held the esteem of his fellows, and—this is important—because of their esteem secured their very essential cooperation in economic and ceremonial matters. Person after person of whom informants tell, and who were regarded as estimable, were in all their lives involved in no conflicts more serious than the "swearings," the verbal quarrels in which angered people indulged. It appears that these vituperative outbursts usually provided sufficient outlet for overwrought emotions. To come to blows, to tussle with an adversary, was to overstep bounds of propriety. To carry physical conflicts into the rituals associated with status and hereditary honors, that is, the potlatches, was considered disgraceful. In other words aggressiveness was not fostered; it was inhibited at every turn. That it was pretty thoroughly stifled, not just repressed on the overt level, is indicated by the relatively low frequency of witchcraft. The black arts were practiced, it is true, but less than among many Indian groups in which the culture provided more outlets for aggressive tendencies than did the Nootkan one.

In harmony with its own ideals, the culture provided no formal mechanism supplying force to deal with nonconformists. There were no police powers to regulate social behavior (there were ceremonial police to punish tabu-breakers during the Shamans' Dance). Anyone—and everyone—intervened to separate quarrelers who came to grips. Any close kinsman whose age and level-headedness inspired respect set about placating an angry person, advising him to forget his grievance. Any person high in public esteem would take it on himself to reprimand a malefactor. The weight of public opinion thus expressed was implemented by knowledge that people would pointedly cease to help the nonconformist in his daily affairs. Were he a chief they moved out of his house. They could not send him into exile, but they could make life so unpleasant that he would have to move away of his own accord. Thus it was that public opinion served as a control on the quarrelsome, self-assertive, and rebellious. It was not 100 percent effective, but it had a very high degree of effectiveness.

The reasons for this pacific pattern of social behavior are not altogether clear. I believe that the absence of the wergild complex was one factor, negative in a way, of course. At least, attention was not focused on injuries as it was among people who exacted compensation for injury—the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, for example, and the northwest Californians. Lacking the concept that something had to be done about a wrong—a payment exacted or vengeance wreaked—the Nootkans, after loudly and profanely expounding their displeasure, nearly always let the matter drop. Thus we hear from them so many anticlimactic conclusions to instances of conflict. Wrongs that elsewhere often stirred men to drastic action, such as witchcraft, adultery, and the like, usually ended after an exchange of insults. Informants say of the principals, "They just let the matter go. They weren't friends for awhile, and didn't speak to each other, but after a bit they forgot about it."

Another factor that may have had a more positive effect was the interaction of several traits: first, the absolute ownership of all important economic and ceremonial rights by the chiefs; second, the clear recognition that cooperation of many individuals was necessary to exploit these rights; and, third, the fluidity of group membership and rules of residence. In other words both the chief and his tenants knew that the former's effective performance of his role, his greatness, depended on the assistance of his tenants. If he offended them and treated them ill, they would help him but little, or even move away. This was the reason for the advice to young chiefs to "be good to their people, treat them kindly, and give them many feasts to make them happy." A person of low rank could be made to feel the pressure of unfavorable opinion as easily as a chief, or perhaps more easily. There is, of course, little that is novel in a society in which one class rules and owns, and another class does the productive work. There are many such in the world. The exceptional feature was not the symbiotic relationship, but in other aspects of their relationship: the freedom of the lower class to affiliate themselves with whatever chief they pleased (on the pretext of some remote, or perhaps fictional kinship), and the very practical recognition of the fact that the chief had to consider their welfare and treat them well to win their aid. Young chiefs were told time and again, "That is the way with a chief. If his tenants are good to him, and help him, working for him and giving him wealth, then he can make his name great. If his tenants don't care for him, he is nothing, no matter how high a name he has."

I have deliberately left warfare out of consideration up to this point. For one thing, intertribal warfare had been abandoned at the time to which most of the present information refers. If we now step over the time boundary to consider the cultural scene when the ruthless wars were fought, we note first of all that along with the complex of weapons, head taking, tactics, and the rest went a set of attitudes that were completely and thoroughly the opposite of peacetime social behavior. Violence was honored, savagery and sadism esteemed. Yet the evidence very plainly indicates that the attitudes of war were kept separate from those of ordinary social intercourse, just as the war chief kept his whale-bone club and his "medicines" for war in a separate box, to be taken out at certain times. We have as evidence the clear statements of observers during the fighting days—Sproat, Jewitt, Moziño, and others—that the same lack of violence characterized relationships within the group in their day as in the times my informants described. That warfare did not provide a necessary outlet for otherwise repressed aggressive tendencies is clear from the fact that with the coming of peace, the Nootkans did not develop new outlets—they did not become more prone to violence in intragroup situations.

Concomitant with the major social attitude were two others of different order of importance. The main trend served to regulate the contacts between the individuals in day-to-day life; these others came to expression elsewhere. The first was a very keen interest in ceremonialism. As has been noted in connection with the importance of chiefs' ritual prerogatives, one receives the impression that ceremonies were the axis about which all life revolves. Modern Nootkans say, "That's all they used to do all winter long in the old days; have Shamans' Dances, potlatches, and feasts. That was all they cared about." And they often add a bit wistfully, "They always were having a good time; not like us today." The Nootkans are not, of course, unique in the area in their emphasis on ritual. Just what effect this may have had on the rest of the culture is difficult to say. The neighboring Kwakiutl had just as much interest in ritual elaboration. Nevertheless, the contrast between the groups from Cape Flattery northward and those to the south of that point and inland, where ritual was at a minimum, is worth noting.

The second subordinate strand characteristic of Nootkan life was their very well-developed sense of humor. They were and still are a light-hearted people, quick with a jest or a laugh. The subject matter of their jokes is often ribald; favorite anecdotes are still told with glee at feasts and other gatherings. Horseplay and buffoonery were used to give relief to the seriousness of the Shamans' Dance. Nootkan satire, exemplified in some of the clown performances and in the t'ama songs, was of a rather high order. This may seem a strange matter to stress, yet it was so prominent an aspect of daily and ritual life that it gave the typical personality a cast quite different from the gloomy sullen one sometimes pictured as characteristic of the Northwest Coast.

This appraisal of the Nootkan personality—nonaggressive, rather amiable, disliking and disapproving violence in conflict situations, with a deep interest in that type of ceremonial that was essentially a theatrical performance, and a keen and lively sense of humor—differs radically from that depicted for the neighboring and closely related Southern Kwakiutl (Benedict, 1934). Only in the warfare situation, in which the Nootkan social values were drastically altered with aggressiveness substituted for mildness and sadism for amiability, do the two personality types correspond. In view of the remarkably close general cultural similarity between the two nations, this contrast is the more surprising. Our Nootkan data is too full and their pattern is too clean-cut for there to be any doubt regarding the correctness of our appraisal. Possible explanations for the differences between the Nootkan personality pattern and the "Dionysian" one of Benedict's appraisal of the Kwakiutl, are these: The appraisal of the Kwakiutl pattern may be considerably overdrawn. There are numerous points in Ford's (1946) recently published Kwakiutl study that indicate that the Southern Kwakiutl had many other fields of interest in addition to the one of competitive potlatching so stressed in Benedict's analysis. Such interests as that in ceremonialism for its own sake, similar to that of the Nootkans; in humorous situations; and strong sexual interest; all seem to have had an important place in Kwakiutl life to judge by Ford's account. Indeed, in the material of Boas which Benedict (1934) used as source material, there are to be found numerous hints as to the importance of these same fields of interest. Mention might be made of the feature of horseplay and buffoonery during the dancing society rituals (which both Nootkan and Kwakiutl informants have assured me were of the same ribald sort that delighted Nootkan audiences). The use of terms of endearment in ordinary address and in ceremonial speeches, occurs time and again in the texts. Such traits as these do not seem in keeping with the sullen vindictive "meglomaniac paranoid" personality that Benedict defines.

There is another possible basis for some of the contrast between Nootkan and Kwakiutl personality patterns. It may be that the Fort Rupert tribes, whom Boas studied, may themselves be an anomalous group even among other Southern Kwakiutl. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the Fort Rupert tribes who assembled in historic times at the Hudson Bay Company post were faced with the knotty problem of integrating their respective series of ranked chiefs into a single order of precedence. We have seen the difficulties the Muchalat Arm Nootkans had in working out a solution to this same task. The concept of the competitive potlatch which the Fort Rupert tribes carried to extreme lengths may very well have grown out of this historical situation. As a matter of fact, information from them and from the closely related groups of Quatsino Sound indicate very strongly that this is so. (Drucker, MS.)

At this range and with the present lacunae in basic information, it is difficult to say which of these explanations bearing on Benedict's interpretation of Kwakiutl personal norms is correct. Probably both need to be taken into account. It is hoped that material can still be collected from the various Southern Kwakiutl tribes which will aid in the solution of this problem.

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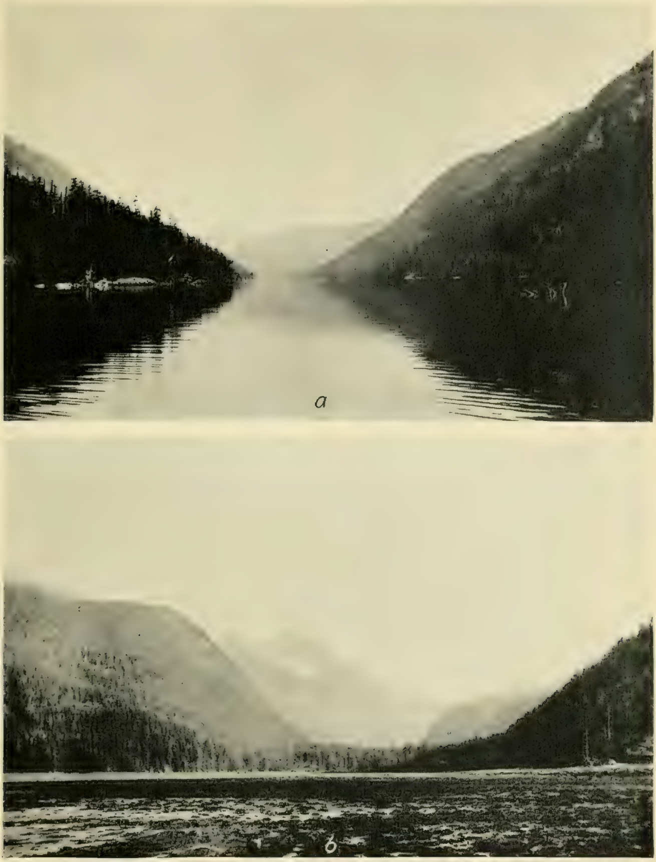
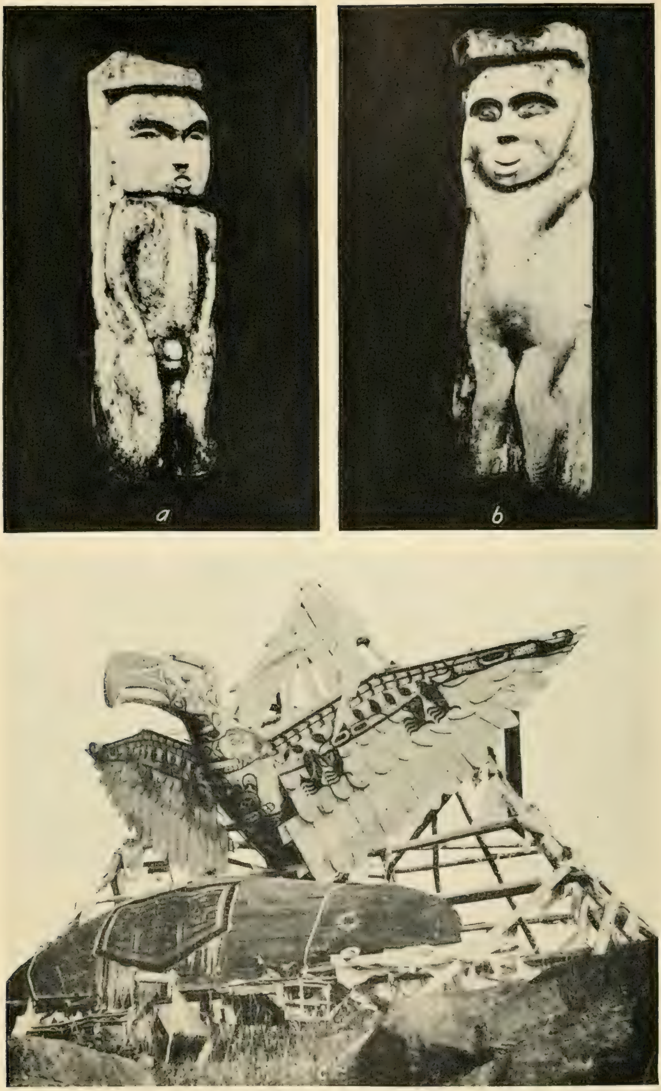


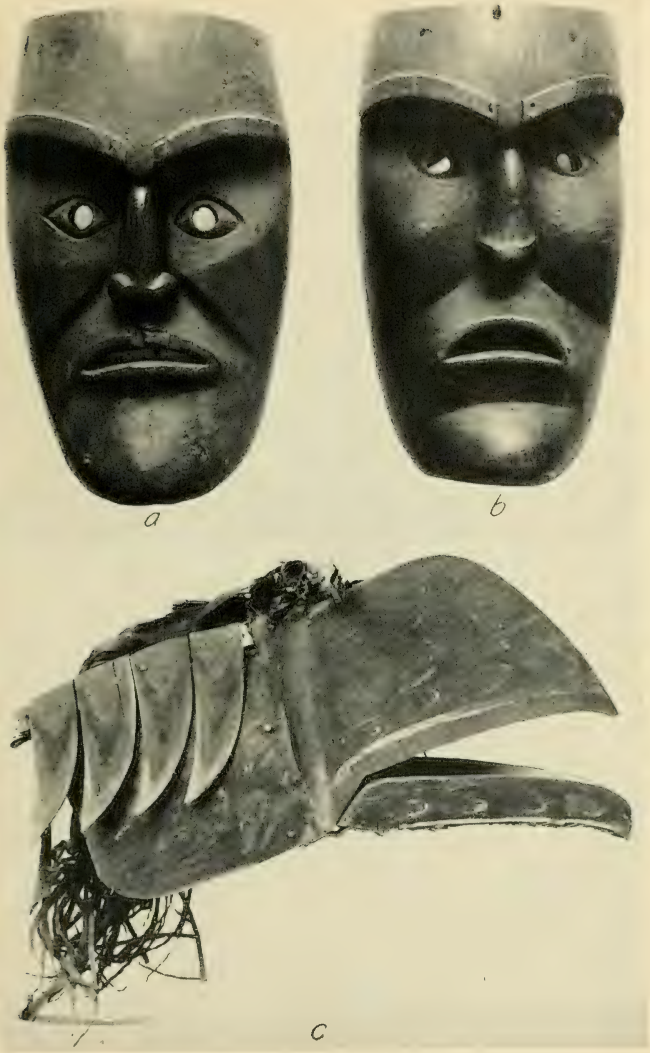
NOOTKAN TERRITORY

a, View up Tasis Canal, Nootkan Sound, from lower channel. *b*, Tide flats at head of Tasis Canal. (Photographs from W. A. Newcombe Collection.)



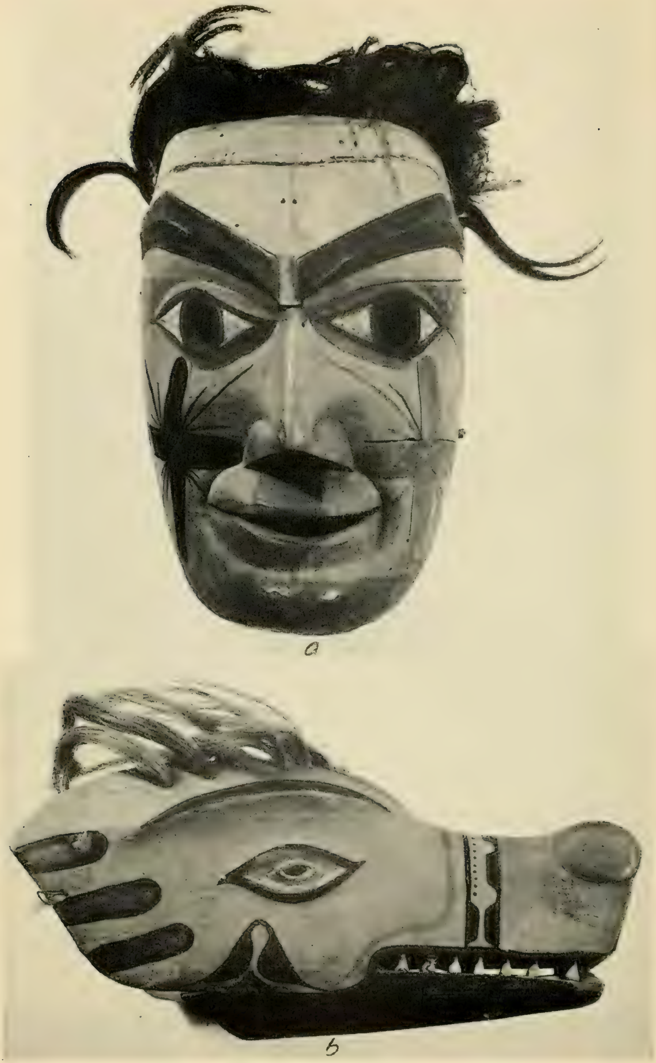
NORTHERN NOOTKAN ART

a, *b*, Old houseposts at Kyuquot (from photograph taken in 1928). *c*, Thunderbird-and-whale memorial erected 1902–3 at death of Chief Mōqwinna. (From photographs in W. A. Newcombe Collection.)



NORTHERN NOOTKAN MASKS

a, U. S. N. M. No. 219891, length 14¼ in.; *b*, U. S. N. M. No. 219891, length 15⅛ in.; *c*, U. S. N. M. No. 219893, length (horizontal), ca. 20 in. *c* was originally movable, the beak snapping shut and the "crests" over the eyes raising and lowering as the dancer manipulated the parts with strings.



NOOTKAN MASKS

a, U. S. N. M. No. 54084, length, 11¼ in.; *b*, U. S. N. M. No. 56464, length (horizontal) 12¾ in.

INDEX

Abalones, 39, 100, 113
Abalone shells, 113–114
    used for ornaments, 111, 244
Abies grandis, 8
Abortion, 300
Above Chief, mythical being, 152
Aconite poison, use of, 173
"Adoratory," 171
Adultery, 302, 306, 307, 309, 310
Adzes, 77, 78 80, 81, 82, 121
Afterbirth, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124
Age-grade groups, 270, 392, 399, 402, 403, 404, 439
Ahousat tribe, 5, 6, 7, 13, 49, 50, 55, 116, 134, 174, 178, 217, 234, 237, 238–240, 296, 297, 305, 332, 333, 339, 340, 344, 357, 358, 359, 364, 365, 389, 393, 399, 405, 408, 411, 416
    chief, 11
    Hesquiat tribes attacked by, 237
    massacre of whites by, 13
    war between Otsosat and, 344–353
    village sites, 236 (map), 239 (map), 242
Ahousat Amos, Indian whaler, 49, 50, 55
ai'qō'ȧs, Chickliset village, 222
Airplanes, still a novelty, 142
Alberni Canal, 5, 10, 21, 57, 60, 75, 79, 100
Alberni Canal groups, 5, 6, 10, 72, 75, 93, 99, 151, 215, 258, 312, 438, 439
Alberni settlement, 12
Alder (*Alnus oregona*), 8, 77, 95, 97
Alder bark, used for dye, 102
Alert Bay, 332
Aleut, 48, 107, 108
Aleut-Koniag, 173
Alexander, Pascal (informant), 6
Alnus oregonia, 8
Amos, Alex (interpreter), 6
Amos, Mary (interpreter), 6
Amusements, Games and, 444–452
Ancestors, emulation of, 383, 384
Anchors, 86
"Ancients," part in ceremonies, 369, 370
Anemones, sea, 39
Anklets, cedar bark, 97, 102, 397
    fur, 101
Anthropomorphic beings, myths about, 152, 153
Apparitions, myths about, 154
Aprons, dance, 103
    women's, 94, 95, 100
ȧpsūwīs, Chickliset summer village, 222
Arm-bands, 192, 397, 409
Armor, cedar-bark, 335
    elk-skin, 103, 104, 207, 211, 335
    twined hardwood rod, 335
Arrows, 31–32, 47, 334
Athletic contests, 444, 446, 447
ȧtsa, *see* novices, 419, 420, 432
Augers, steel, 79
Autopsies, practice of, 149
Awl, bone, 65, 91
Axes, iron, 77, 81
Back rests, wooden, 75
Baggage, transportation of, 104
Bags, cedar-bark, 66, 92, 96
    ditty, 96, 105
    tackle, 96
Bailer, 254
    Makah type, 85
Bajo Point, 189
Baling loads, method, 104
Balls, scramble, 295
Bandannas, worn by men, 101
Bark and feather fibers, not used, 94
Barkley, [Charles William], explorer, 11
Barkley Sound, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 112, 241 (map), 340, 352, 353, 438
Barkley Sound group, 5, 6, 239, 342, 439, 452
Barnacles, 39, 170
Barnett, H. G., ix, 1
    on canoes, 84
    on clothing, 100
    on potlatching, 386
Bartlett Island, 56, 239 (map), 346
Basketry, 136
    coiled, 92
Baskets, 51, 66, 71, 72, 92, 120, 121, 187
    berry, 98, 104
    burden, 39, 57, 98, 104
    cedar bark, 30, 65, 95, 96, 97, 98, 104, 113
    dried-salmon, 96, 104
    "hand," 39, 98
    harpoon, 96
    tabus regarding making of, 388
    tool, 96, 98
    "wedge," 79, 96
    wood, 190
Bass, sea, 125
Bastards, 300, 301
Bath, steam, curative method for spirit-sickness, 146
Bathing, ceremonial, 138, 139, 140
    ritual, 101, 102, 115, 116, 117, 126, 127, 133, 137, 143, 165, 166, 167–168, 170, 173, 174, 176, 183, 184, 189, 196, 197, 198, 217, 270, 334, 372, 373, 422, 427, 435
    salt water, 168, 184
Battle practice, 134
Beach-Owner, *see* Owner-of-the-Beach, 432, 433, 434
Beads, 90, 114, 139, 148, 296, 298
    glass, 100, 111

Beams, 104
  carved and painted, 72
  construction of, 80
  raising methods, 74
Beans, 431
Bear-bone knives, 91
"Bear Ceremonialism," 180
Bear cubs, pet, 109, 145
  hunters, 375
  supernatural character, 166
  trap, 33
  trapper, 180, 181
Bears, 36, 65, 79, 273
  black, 9, 33
  grizzly, 9, 103, 259
  observances in honor of, 175, 180–181
Beaters, whale bone, 94
Beaver, 9, 27, 33, 59, 61, 100, 114
Beaver-tooth dice, 445, 446
Beds, plank, 71
Bedwell Sound, 239 (map)
Beheading, practice in war, 339, 341, 345, 347, 359, 363
Bela Bela, 76, 85
Belts, cedar bark, 97, 99, 102, 207, 212, 397, 407
"Benches," 76, 144
Benedict, Ruth, 456, 457
Benson, Mrs. (informant), 217
Bering Sea, voyages to, 13
Bering Sea fur sealing, effect on people, 151
Berries, 63, 104, 252
Berrying, baskets for, 98, 104
Berry patches, rights to, 252
Berry pickers, payment to, 252
Bets, made on games, 444, 445, 446, 447
Bibliography, 457–460
Bird beaks, decorative use of, 106
  bone, uses, 79
  Dancers, mythical characters, 159
  spears, 35
Birds, 9, 43
  maltreatment of, 451
Birth customs, Pregnancy and, 119–127
  huts, 120
Births, illegitimate, 309
  multiple, 128
Blackberries, 57
Blackjack, game, 444
Bladders, used as containers, 92
Blankets, 47, 48, 89, 105, 114–115, 125, 126, 131, 140, 144, 148, 172, 255, 268, 287, 288, 291, 292, 296, 358, 376, 395, 416
  black, 397, 403, 405
  bought from white traders, 12, 56, 99, 101, 103, 111, 114, 385
  cedar-bark, 114, 147, 294, 300, 377
  Chilkat, 94, 103, 147, 296, 418
  four-colored, 115
  gifts of, 379
  red, 423
  value of, 114, 140, 203, 204
  white, 397
Bleeding, method of, 146
  treatment for, 146
Bligh Island, 229 (map)
Blind Harry (informant), 6
Blocks, cutting, 63
Blood, face painting with, 103
Blunden Island, 239 (map)
Board bending methods, 79, 89
Boards, making of, 80, 81
Boas, Franz, on beam-raising methods, 74
  on ceremonials, 259, 369, 405, 456
  on clothes, 99, 100
  on magic, 174, 318
  on manufactures, 78, 81, 82, 89, 90, 91, 94, 97
  on political groups, 220, 246
  on secret societies, 102, 215
  on social customs, 332
  on "totem poles," 76
Boas, Franz, and Hunt, George; on cooking methods, 61
  on shrines, 171
Bobcat, 9
Bodega y Quadra, Don Juan Francisco de la, 11
Body painting, 128, 394
Boiling, method, 62
Boit [John], explorer, 11
Bojo Point, 226 (map), 229 (map)
Bones, used in game of "lahal," 444, 445
Boston, trading ship, 12, 338
Bottles, basketry-covered, 93
  kelp, 375, 376
Boulder Point, 236 (map)
Bow, fire, 107
Bowls, wooden, 415
Bows and arrows, 31–32, 43, 46, 47, 335
Bows, toy, 135
Box, cooking, 89, 90, 91, 113, 119, 125, 394
Boxes, burial, 147, 149
  construction of, 88–89
  ditty, 31, 88, 90
  food, 388
  grave, 214, 353
  hunting, 90
  ornamented, 89
  steam, 79
  storage, 88, 89, 92
  trinket, 90
  water, 88
Boxes, wooden, 71, 72, 76, 88
Boys, clubs, 399
  cradles of, 124
  deformation of, 126
  first game celebration, 137
  function in girl's puberty rites, 138
  hair cutting, 128–129
  marriage, 145
  novitiate served by, 145
  teaching of, 136, 145, 305
  toys for, 135
Brabant, Father A. J., missionary, 13, 37, 99, 147, 181, 182, 213, 385, 446
Bracelets, 101, 102

Bread, baked, 71
Bread, pilot, introduction of, 62
Bride price, 111, 275, 276, 289, 290, 294, 296, 299
Bride-purchase, ceremony connected with, 295–296
Bride's privileges, list of, 290–291
Broiling, method, 62
Broken Channel, 239 (map)
"Broom," used in dentalia fishing, 112
Brothers, 125
Buckets, 187, 189
    "water," 31, 89, 90, 125
    wooden, 388
Buckskin, 103
Buffoonery, practice of, 455
Bull-roarer, 106, 388, 394, 395
Bundles of sticks, mnemonic devices, 117
Bunglers, 329, 330
Burial Cave, 147, 149
Burial, cedar-bark wrapping for, 93, 149
    customs, 147–150
    destruction of personal effects at, 149, 150
    secondary, 149
Burman River, 233 (map)
Buttons, ornamental brass, 139
Caesarian operations, 150
Caldwell, Mr., missionary, IX
Calendars and mnemonics, 115–117
Canneries, establishment of, 14
Cannibalism, denial of, 342
Canoe paddling, teaching of, 136
Canoes, 4, 10, 11, 13, 31, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 57, 58, 75, 79, 80, 82, 84, 86, 82–88, 94, 96, 104, 105, 109, 111, 128, 141, 142, 147, 148, 172, 179, 203, 254, 268, 295, 409 435
    birchbark, 87
    building of, 82–83, 110, 273, 383
    California, 90
    destruction of, 340
    fishing, 84, 87, 347
    "freight," 83, 84, 88
    gifts of, 376
    hunting, 84
    Kwakiutl, 82, 84
    makers, 82, 110
    marriage, 289
    mast-sockets in, 85
    names of, 83–84, 257, 259
    paddles, 46, 47, 85, 136
    postures in, 86–87
    preparation of, 47
    rough, 84
    sails for, 85–86
    sea otter, 47, 48, 84
    sealing, 84, 87, 88, 110, 373
    sizes of, 83, 84
    toy, 135, 410
    use at potlatch time, 378, 381, 431
    war, 110, 339, 346, 347, 354, 355, 359
Canoes and their appurtenances, 82–88
Canoes, whaling, 50 (fig.), 51, 53, 54 (fig.), 55, 84, 87, 88
Cape Cook, 3, 5, 222
Cape Flattery, 3, 85, 108, 455
Cape Mudge, 3
Capes, 94, 95, 100
    cedar-bark, 428
    hemlock-twig, 143, 409
    rain, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100
Caps, fur, 100
Captives, 332, 342, 356, 359
Cards, game, 438, 446
Carpenters, 77, 78, 79
Carpenter's kit, 77
Carpentry, 77–79
Carver, 286
Carving, 273
Cash, exchange of, 111, 385
Caste structure, 245
Catface Mountain, 344, 346
Cats, 176
Cat's cradle, pastimes, 120, 444, 450
Cedar, red (*Thuja plicata*), 8, 77, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 106, 123, 169, 170, 172
Cedar, yellow (*Chamaecyparis nootkaensis*), 8, 77, 92, 93, 95, 99, 100, 114, 117, 123, 217
Cedar bark, collecting method, 93, 94, 95, 104, 105 (fig.), 315
    dyeing methods, 95, 97
    shredding method, 97
    spirit manifestation, 186, 189, 190
    uses of, 92, 93, 94, 97, 106, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 135, 146, 172, 173, 179, 180, 189, 192, 379
Cedar brooms, used for dentalia, 112
Cedars, 79, 80
Central Nootkan tribes, 5, 6, 25, 33, 35, 59, 61, 71, 103, 106, 119, 127, 138, 141, 142, 149, 151, 157, 174, 177, 183, 191, 193, 206, 210, 213, 215, 216, 217, 219, 221, 246, 247, 252, 258, 270, 277, 369, 392, 394, 404, 405, 409, 445, 447, 448, 449, 452
Centre Island, 227
Ceremonial rights, lost in war, 343
Ceremonial seats, 260–266
Ceremonies, 101, 102, 175-181, 215–218, 438, 455
    rights to, 257–260
Chamaecyparis nootkaensis, 8
Chanteyman, 74, 87
Charcoal, used as paint, 103, 376
Chastity, 305
    premarital, 286, 304, 305
Cheating, part of games, 445
Chemakum, 3
Cherry bark, used for baskets, 98
Cherry, wild (*Prunuse marginata*), 8, 92, 98
Chests, chief's, 89
    tool, 77
    wooden storage, 72

Chickliset tribe, 5, 6, 221, 222, 256, 292, 293, 301, 320, 321, 322, 332, 337, 342, 384
Chief ȧʟīyū (informant), 6, 28, 30, 49, 50, 55, 56
Chief amī'ʟac, 360
Chief anapinūł, 234, 361
Chief cīwuc, 234, 242, 243, 255, 317, 318, 338, 343, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 365
Chief hai'nȧqtsōkwɔ, 163
Chief ha'iyah, 363
Chief haiyū'ɛh, 218, 242
Chief haiyūpinūł, 339, 344, 345, 346, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353
Chief hakʟīsanȧpcił, 293, 383
Chief hicqȧ, great warrior, 125
Chief kapinʟȧcōwa, or haha'umɛhic, 177
Chief kwaiyatsiqcił, 235
Chief kwatyiłmȧłnī, 351
Chief ʟaniniʟ, 283
Chief ʟaqicqi'is, 236
Chief ʟɛhaisim, 346
Chief ʟɛhōmȧłnī, 350
Chief "Maquinna," 231, 234, 243
Chief mōqwinȧ, 234, 318, 319, 326, 345, 346, 348, 350, 351, 352, 353, 369, 372, 373
Chief nasatsōis, 163
Chief naswinis, 211, 285, 292, 383
  marriage to commoner, 292
Chief nahwinic, 383
Chief nūqmīs, 241, 242, 243
Chief qȧłka, 315
Chief qanīmȧ, 346, 347, 348, 351, 352, 353, 357, 358, 359
Chief qɛmictup, 347
Chief qīqīmaxcīa, *see* Chief saiyatcapis.
Chief saiyatcapis, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161
Chief stasaxsos, 361
Chief tawinisam, 236, 237
Chief tcɛha, 355, 356, 358, 363
Chief titsqɛnuqc, 360
Chief "Tlu-pana-nutl" (ʟupananoł), 231
Chief tsaxhwɔsip, 353
Chief tuckai'iłam, 343, 361, 364
Chief ūmakʟa'a, 162
Chief ūma'ʟa'a, 364
Chief wai'enȧq, 356
"Chief Wikananish," 125, 240
Chief wikɛnanic, *see* "Chief Wikananish."
Chief winuwɔ, 268
Chief witamis, 216
Chief wɔʟasȧpȧł, 242
Chief ya'aistōhsmȧłnī, 125, 240, 241, 242
Chiefs, 46, 47, 71, 72, 73, 76, 87, 88, 89, 109, 110, 117, 124, 131, 134, 135, 146, 171, 181, 243, 246
  advice to, 454
  burial, 353
  canoes of, 83–84, 88
  celebrations connected with, 118
  chests of, 89, 270
  children, 125, 131, 132, 133, 139, 140, 141, 145, 146
Chiefs, clothing, 94, 99, 101, 244
  clubs, 402
  daughters, 123, 139
  display privileges, 289
  duties, 244, 336
  duties owed to, 271–272
  fishing and hunting rites, 248
  gifts of, 124, 251, 378, 379, 437
  gifts to, 105, 111, 140, 149, 247, 378, 437
  hereditary rights, 69, 71, 90, 111, 139, 140, 141, 148, 161, 174, 221, 251, 265, 266, 267, 274, 288, 387
  inheritance of display privileges, 266, 392
  invitations from, 368, 369
  killing of, 351
  lineage, 125, 245, 246, 274, 281, 392
  "low rank," 245
  marriage customs, 244
  mortuary customs for, 147–149
  myths about, 157, 163–167
  native name for, 246
  payment to, 139, 140
  pets of, 109
  possessions, 139, 140
  potlatches given by, 247
  privileges, 244, 247–260, 291
  property rights, 247–257
  residence customs, 278
  retired, 263, 264, 268, 269, 379, 380, 385
  seating of, 371, 378, 379, 380
  spirit rights of, 181
  tales of, 170–174, 383
  war, 264, 269–270, 285, 286, 334, 335, 341, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376
  war rites, 170
  weapons, 335
Chiefs and their people, summary, 273
"Chief's wife," term for whale, 178
Chief's wife, title for, 244
Childbirth, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125–126
Children, allocation of, after father's death or divorce, 303
  education, 129–137
  games, 446, 448, 449, 450, 451
  hair cutting, 128–129
  illegitimate, 300, 301
  initiation of, 391
  "kidnapped," 130, 131
  lack of punishment for, 130, 131
  oral training, 131, 133, 134
  social training of, 322–323
  toilet training, 129
  See also Twins.
Chilkat, 94, 103
Chinawear, cheap, 111
Chisels, 77, 78, 80, 93, 96, 121
Chippers, whale bone, 97
Christie School, Clayoquot, established by whites, 14
Clams, 36, 37, 39, 62, 65, 78, 92, 98, 128, 137, 426, 437
Clamshells, use of, 108

Class system, operation of, 244, 245
Clayoquot tribe, 5, 6, 7, 30, 49, 79, 93, 116, 125, 134, 142, 149, 174, 177, 217, 218, 221, 239, 240–243, 246, 256, 274, 275, 283, 301, 302, 303, 305, 314, 333, 335, 340, 341, 342, 346, 347, 348, 350, 351, 352, 369
  attack on Kyuquot, 340–341
  chiefs, feast and potlatch seating, 266 (fig.)
Clayoquot Arm, 241 (map), 317
Clayoquot Sound, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 43, 46, 213, 215, 221, 240, 242
Clayoquot Village, 12, 76
  sites, 241 (map)
Climate, 7–8
Cloaks, sea otter, 114
Cloth, cotton, 111
Clover roots, preparation of, 62, 121
Clowns, functions of, 270–271, 372, 455
Clubs, 47
  halibut, 23, 44
  sealing, 27, 44, 45
  social, list of, 400–405
  war, 126, 233, 335, 358, 361, 455
Coast Salish groups, 3, 10, 60, 94, 99, 157, 192, 211, 215, 312, 446
Cockles, 39
Cod, 9, 22, 25, 26, 36, 37, 38, 40, 62, 65, 235, 237, 362, 374
  black, 121, 122, 128
  rock, 125
  broth, used at childbirth, 121
Codfish, dried, 65, 122, 138, 144
  nets, 25 (fig.)
  viscera, used as containers, 92
Combs, 415, 416
Coho (*Onorhynchus kisutch*), 9, 36, 58, 172, 176, 222, 280
Columbia River, 12
Commoners, 181, 243, 253, 263, 264, 270, 271–272, 282, 285, 286, 379, 381, 385, 440
  funeral customs, 149
  marriage to, 292, 299–300
  part taken in rituals, 392, 393
  status, 245
Commoner's daughter, 139, 140, 141, 145, 292
Comox, 84, 151, 439
Compasses, 31, 56
Confederacies, social groups of tribes, 220
Conifers, inner bark eaten, 60
Containers, basketry, 75
  cedar-bark, 97
  for oil, 75, 92
  for whaling line, 97
  viscera used as, 92
  wood, 75
Continence, observance of, 168, 170, 171, 172, 184, 185, 346
Cook, Capt., explorer, 11, 77, 78, 93, 234, 353
Cooking methods, 61–66
Coons, 100
Copper ornaments, 100
"Coppers," ceremonial objects, 76, 111, 384
Cordage, spinning of, 94
Cords, cedar-bark, 75, 94, 117, 139
  nettle, 139
  spruce-root, 75
Corpses, preservation, 172
  stealing, 171
  use in rituals, 171, 172, 173, 176
Cougar, 61
Cousins, 124
"Crabapples," 57
Crabs, 39
  spider, 39, 61
Cradleboards, 129
  Nootkan, 129
Cradle mattresses, 97
Cradles, infants', cedar-bark, 93, 128, 131
  mat, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125
  wooden, 122, 123, 124, 125, 420
Craftsmen, 272, 273, 280
Cranberries, 57
Crane, mythical character, 156, 161, 423, 424
Crawlers, ritual term for wolves, 388, 393
Creasers, bone, 99
  wood, 99
Creators, Elder and Younger Brother, 452
Cremation, not practiced, 149
Crows, 61, 321
  tame, 109
Crystals, used in hunting rites, 169
Cucumbers, sea, 39
Culture heroes, tales of, 125, 126, 151, 157–163, 452
Culture, patterns of, 453–457
Cups, 138
  tin, 298
  wooden, 90
Curing, shamanistic, 202–212
Cutting boards, wooden, 176
Dance House, 411, 414, 416, 426
Dance routines, teaching of, 133–134
Dancers, 386
  masked, 389, 427
  ornaments worn by, 97, 102, 436
Dances, 372
  gifts given at, 404
  imitative, 400, 401, 415, 423, 431, 436, 437
  inheritance of, 266
  restrictions on, 141
  ritualistic, 133
  war, 340
Dance, Shamans', 40, 102, 103, 106, 118, 130, 133, 134, 137, 156, 159, 215, 216, 217, 218, 225, 228, 242, 249, 253, 257, 258, 259, 267, 268, 270, 273, 274, 282, 283, 285, 300, 301, 307, 328, 339, 343, 364, 366, 368, 369, 370, 371, 377, 378, 381, 386–417, 417–429, 430–439, 440–443, 455.

Darts, thrown in game, 448
Dead, mat-wrapped, 149
  spirits of the, 157
Deadfalls, 32, 33 (fig.), 38, 59, 61, 149, 180, 338
Death, fear of, 147, 149
Deception Channel, 239 (map), 241 (map)
Decontamination, methods of, 209–210
Deep Inlet, 224 (map)
Deep Pass, 345, 346
Deer, 9, 32, 36, 38, 59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 79, 109, 147, 175, 273, 374, 375
  hooves, decorative use of, 106
  hunters, 375
  meat, transportation of, 105
  tallow, 63, 100, 138, 169
  traps, 32, 33 (fig.)
Deer-bone knives, 91, 95
Deerskin, drumheads of, 104
Dentalia, 101, 110, 111–113, 254
  fishery, 111, 223, 226 (map), 256
  fishing method, 112, 113
  polishing method, 113
  worn as ornaments, 100, 139, 244
Devilfish, 43, 44
Dewclaws, use of, 106
Diarrhea, causes of, 49
Dice, beaver tooth, 445, 446
Digging sticks, 35, 39, 57, 93
Dipnets, 23, 24 (fig.)
Dippers, serving, 91
Disappointment Inlet, 241 (map)
Diseases, supernatural, 205–212
Dishes, 71, 72, 298, 388, 394
  feast, 371, 373
  wooden, 90, 91, 124
Dissension and social control, 311–322
Diversions, myths and tales, 452
Divorce, causes of, 302
  methods, 302
Divorcees, 300, 307
"Doctor Billy," Moachat shaman, 195
Dogfish, 22, 45, 56, 176, 211
  oil, 63, 108, 122
  oil, trade in, 12, 45, 114
  skin, 28, 79
  trade, 225
Dogs, 61, 91, 109, 176
Dog wool, not used, 94
Dollars, Canadian, value of, 110
Dolls, cedar-bark, 135
Doorways, 70, 120
Doweries, bride's, 111, 297
Dress and ornament, 99–103
Dress, ceremonial, 101–103
Dresses, trade cloth, 101
Drill, bow, 79, 107, 108
  fire, 106
Drills, 77, 79, 82
Drogues (sea anchors), 30, 97
Drummers, 106, 407
Drums, box, 90, 106, 127, 128
  tambourine, 104, 106
  wooden, 106, 171, 172, 396
Drumsticks, 148, 298, 396, 398, 405, 407, 421, 434
  padded, 106
Duck down, use of, 102
Duck nets, 24 (fig.), 34, 36, 42, 43
Ducks, 43, 59, 63, 65, 137, 252, 329
  butterball, 175, 176
Duck traps, 33–34
Dugout, cedar, 87
Dwarfs, myths about, 154

Eagle down, use in rituals, 177, 181, 188, 211, 212, 297, 364, 415, 416
Eagle feathers, use of, 102
Eagles, 34, 59, 65
Ear ornaments, 100
Ear pendants, abalone shell, 111
Ear piercing, 124, 141
East Coast people, 384
Eclipses, myths about, 155
Economic cycle and methods, 36–61
Economic life, 15–66
Economic reasons for war, 333
Education, 129–137
Ehetisat tribe, 5, 6, 49, 59, 109, 111, 119, 123, 124, 132, 135, 138, 150, 157, 169, 175, 198, 204, 205, 211, 221, 225–227, 228, 251, 252, 256, 263, 268, 270, 275, 276, 280, 281, 288, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 300, 305, 307, 308, 309, 318, 319, 324, 328, 341, 346, 354, 362, 364, 372, 373, 382, 386, 401, 410, 414, 417, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 440, 441, 443, 451
  chiefs, potlatch seating, 262–263 (list)
  house, residents of, 281 (genealogy), 282
  Shamans' Dance, account of, 417–429, 430
  village houses, list of, 227
  village sites, 226 (map)
Ehetisat-Moachat group, 372
Elderberry, 157
Elder Moon, moon phase, 167, 168, 169
Elk, 9, 32, 36, 38, 60, 109, 147, 273, 374
  hide, use of, 34, 103
  meat, transportation of, 105
  spears, 32
Elkhorn barbs, 28, 31
English-speaking person, 142
Eskimo, 107, 108, 173, 178
Esperanza Inlet, 6, 49, 226 (map)
Espinosa Arm, 160, 226 (map), 227, 228
Espinosa Inlet, 225, 226 (map)
Esteban Point, 4, 6, 45, 213, 232, 236 (map), 237
Excrement, use of in magic, 318
Eyebrows, plucking of, 139

Face painting, 100, 103, 128, 141, 148, 180, 188, 334, 343, 373, 395, 398, 403, 404, 406, 407, 408, 412, 413, 415, 419, 421, 430
Family, possessions of, 71
  rank of, 245

Fasting, practice of, 184
Fathers, 135, 142, 143
    celebrations given by, 143, 144
    food restrictions, 125
    supernatural experiences sought by afterbirth of twins, 128, 173
    teaching of boys by, 136
Fats, value in diet, 62, 63
Feasts, 118, 140, 141, 257, 366, 367, 370–376, 388, 443
    halibut, 375
    "home-brew," 142
    invitations to, 371
    molasses and gravy, 296, 373
    mourning, 148
    reasons for, 370–371, 442
Feather ornaments, 141, 179, 180
Feathered Serpents, mythical characters, 153, 155, 158, 165, 178, 259, 294, 297
Feathers, 148
    eagle, 59
"Female" supernaturals, 324
"Fences," used for spawn, 41, 42
Fern root, preparation of, 61, 62
Festivals, 366–443
    announcement of, 366–370
    older, 443
    Shamans', 143, 162, 192, 297, 298, 386–417, 443
Festivals and diversions, 366–452
Festivities, reasons for, 118
Fighting, 311–313
Figures, used in shrines, 171
Fir, balsam, *see* Fir, white, 8, 409
    Douglas (*Pseudotsuga taxifolia*), 8, 107
    white (*Abies grandis*), 8, 85, 102, 409
Fire, and lighting, 106–108
    use of in canoe building, 82
Firearms, acquired from whites, 11, 12, 335
Fireplaces, 71, 72, 75
Fires, ceremonial, 107, 108
"Fire Tenders," mythical characters, 434
Fish, 139, 144
    clubs, 23
    hooks, 16, 21, 22 (fig.), 23 (fig.), 38, 40, 44, 56, 96
    lines, kelp, 21, 22
    nets, 23, 24 (fig.), 25 (fig.), 26
    racks, 41, 63, 64, 65, 75, 346
    traps, 16–18, 37, 92, 267, 268, 279, 280
Fishermen, 272
    methods used by, 40–42, 43–45
Fishing, 136, 137
    devices, 16–26
    stations, 67, 69, 74, 143, 251, 252, 267, 343
Flageolets, unknown, 106
Floats, air bladder, 22, 46
    seal skin, 29, 30 (fig.), 31, 45, 46

Flores Island, 236 (map), 239 (map), 249, 333, 344, 346, 347, 349, 350, 352
Flour, introduced, 52, 90, 296
Flutes, unknown, 106
Foam, supernatural manifestation, 186
Fogs, myths about, 156
Food, preparation and preservation of, 61–66
    quest, implements for, 15–36
    restrictions on, 119, 120, 123, 125
Ford, Clellan Stearns, on Kwakiutl life, 456
Fort McLaughlin, white fort, 12
Fort Rupert Tribes, 456, 457
Fort Rupert, white fort, 12, 76, 413
Fort Simpson, white fort, 12
Four Chiefs, mythical beings, 152, 167, 169, 177, 434
Foxes, 9
Fractures, treatment for, 146
Fraser River, 56, 99
Fraser River canneries, work at, 13
Fraser Valley, 103
Freight, transportation of, 88
Friendly Cove, 68, 76, 138, 142, 169, 171, 196, 197, 204, 231, 234, 296, 361, 362, 402, 403, 441
Friendly Cove garrison, 57
Frogs, 61
Fur seals, not hunted aboriginally, 46
    See also Seals, fur; Sealing; etc.
Fur trade, maritime, 15, 114, 253
Furs, value of, 203

Gaffs, detachable, 20 (fig.), 21
Gamblers, 444
Game, observances in honor of, 175–181
Game resources, list of, 9–10
Games and amusements, 444–452
Games, battledore-and-shuttlecock, 449
    canoe racing, 448
    card, 444, 446
    dart, 448
    drawing straws, 451
    feather catching, 143
    foot racing, 448
    gambling, 444, 445, 446
    guessing, 444, 445, 446, 447
    hide-and-seek, 450
    hoop-and-pole, 447
    imitative, 451
    jackstraws, 449
    "King o' the Castle," 448
    lahal, 174, 438, 444, 446
    laughing, 444, 449–450
    lifting contests, 448
    lung capacity, 450, 451
    marksmanship, 448
    memory, 447
    mock battles, 451
    "playing house," 451
    "pretending geese," 451
    pushes-of-war, 448
    ring-and-pin, 449
    scramble ball, 143, 144
    shinny, 447

Games, "Slahal," 445
  tag, 449
  teaching methods by, 134, 135
  throwing, 447
  tug-of-war, 448–449
  wrestling, 448
Garments, fir-twig, 411, 412, 413, 415, 421
  burning of, 414, 416, 427
Gastropod opercula, ornamental, 83, 84, 89
Gathering devices, 35–36
  use of, 56–58
Gaultheria shallon, 8
Geese, 43, 63, 65, 116, 252, 374, 375
Giantess, mythical character, 154
Gifts, 423, 425, 426, 434, 436, 437, 442
  potlatch, 105, 111, 114, 125, 376, 378, 381, 382, 386, 427, 429
Gimlets, steel, 79
Girls, clubs, 399
  cradles of, 124
  ear piercing, 141
  etiquette for, 304
  first activities celebration, 137
  hair dressing, 139
  hair ornaments, 139, 140 (fig.), 143, 144
  postpuberty seclusion, 144, 145
  premarital chastity demanded of, 286
  pubescent, 117, 136, 137–144, 303–304
  teaching of, 136, 304
  toys, 135, 138
Gluttony, attribute of clowns, 270
Goats, mountain, 9, 94, 103, 139
Goat wool, use in weaving, 95, 101, 103, 111, 114, 139
Gold River, 10, 36, 165, 176, 177, 195, 232, 233 (map), 354, 356, 360
Gold River people, 10, 21, 38, 60, 61, 87, 231, 374
Gossip, 332
Grandparents, 130, 135
Grasses, dyed, use in weaving, 93, 98
Grassy Island, 224 (map), 226 (map)
Grave boxes, 214
Gray, [Robert], explorer, 11
Grindstones, sandstone, 77, 79
Grizzly Bears, supernatural characters, 394, 409, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 431, 432, 433
Groups, autonomous, 245
Grouse, 61
Gulf of Georgia, 35, 113
Gulf of Georgia Salish, 5, 100, 109, 216
Gulls, 59, 60
  tame, 109
Gum, chicle, introduced, 108, 109
  spruce, chewing, 108, 388
Gun wadding, cedar-bark, 97
Guns, 111, 114, 240, 320, 335
Guns and ammunition, 56, 114
Gunther, Erna, IX

Habitations, 67–77
hahaułī, native name for territorial claims, 251
Haida Indians, 22, 61, 98, 99, 108, 111, 274, 319, 454
Hair, use in magic, 318
Hair cutting, 128–129
  mourning custom, 147
Hair dressing, girls, 139, 140
  men, 100, 430
  women, 100, 139
Hair ornaments, dentalia, 111, 139
  girls', 139, 140 (fig.), 143, 260
  removal of, 140, 141, 142, 144, 260
  women's, 139
Hair seal, *see* Sealskin floaters.
  See also Seal; Seals, hair; Sealing; etc.
Hair Seal's Home, mythical place, 152
Hair Seals, mythological characters, 251
Hair washing, ceremonial, 408, 415
Half-loom, 94
Halibut, 9, 22, 36, 37, 43, 65, 125, 175, 222, 232, 251, 252, 298, 374, 375
  club, 23
  fishing, 43, 44–45, 86, 87, 143, 235
  rigs, 23 (fig.)
Hametsa dancers, 102, 318, 413, 425, 433, 435
  rites, 14, 327, 389, 390, 435
  whistles, 393
Hamilton, George (informant), 6
Hammer, 407
  stone 314
  maker, 314
Hanna, [James], explorer, 11
"haqum," title for chief's wife, 244
Harpoon, float, 173
  head, bone, 19, 31
  head, iron, 19, 26, 30, 31
  points, 109
  shaft, 45, 53
  sheaths, 30, 32
Harpooner, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58
Harpoons, 13, 15, 16, 45, 47, 51, 53, 136, 170
  ceremonial use of, 389, 390, 398
  hashiłtakȧmł, extinct tribe, 241
  heads and shafts, 20 (fig.), 21, 26, 90
  Northwest Coast style, 27
  salmon, 19, 20 (fig.), 21, 26
  seal, 19, 21, 26, 27 (fig.), 27, 45, 46, 47, 56, 59, 375, 389, 401
  steel, 56
  toy, 135
  whaling, 28 (fig.), 29, 96, 289
Hats, chief's, 93, 99, 101
  construction of, 97–98
  rain, 59, 92, 93, 97, 99, 138, 244
  tabus regarding, 388
ha'wił, native word for chief, 243, 244
Hawk feathers, use of, 102
Hayes, Joe (interpreter), 6
Head rings, ceremonial, 97, 101, 102, 396, 397
Headaches, treatment for, 146

Head bands, 148, 192
Head bands, cedar-bark, 102, 167, 169, 170, 172, 176, 179, 180, 197, 198, 217, 398, 407, 408, 409, 412, 415, 416
  feather, 102, 408
Headdress, ceremonial, 393
  fir-twig, 405
  hemlock-twig, 143, 334
  warriors, 334–335
Headpressers, infant's, 97, 120, 122, 123, 125
Headrests, wooden, 75
Heads, artificial deformation of, 122
  human, taken as trophies, 340, 341, 342, 345, 346, 347, 348, 351, 354
Hecate Channel, 226 (map), 353
Hecate Pass, 344
Hemlock (*Tsuga heterophylla*), 8, 101, 107, 128, 138, 157, 167
Hemlock sap, use as paint, 100
Hemlock twigs, use in rites, 169
Herbert Arm, 238, 239 (map), 344, 350
Herbs, medicinal, 146
  ritual use of, 169, 170
Herring, 9, 23, 36, 40, 41, 42, 60, 65, 91, 128, 138, 141, 144, 155, 171, 174
  dried, 40, 65
  eggs, 61, 135, 252, 296, 345, 346, 373
  fishing, 43
  nets, 24 (fig.), 25, 34, 40, 58
  observances in honor of, 175, 177
  rakes, 23, 40, 58
  roe, 65
  spawn, 41, 42
  spawn "fence," 35, 41, 42
  use as bait, 40
Herring-people, mythological beings, 151, 154, 173
Hesquiat chiefs, potlatch and feast seating, 265 (fig.)
Hesquiat Harbor, 4, 5, 6, 43, 49, 77, 168, 213, 215, 221, 235, 236 (map), 237, 256, 341, 352, 445
Hesquiat Mission, 13, 37
Hesquiat tribe, 5, 6, 45, 53, 57, 59, 134, 142, 172, 177, 178, 179, 216, 232, 235–238, 246, 256, 335, 351, 409, 410, 411, 415, 416
  attacked by Ahousat tribes, 237
  village sites, 236 (map)
Historic Period, 10–15
Homalco, 84
Hook baiting, method, 40
Hooks and lines, 21–23
Hoops, used in game, 447
Hopachisat, 59, 60
Horizon Chief, mythical being, 152
Hoskins, [John Box], on canoes, 83
House boards, gifts of, 376
  building, communal, 72
  frames, 68 (fig.), 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75
  posts, 104
    featured in Shamans' Dance, 440
Household furnishings, 75–76
Household utensils, miscellaneous, 91–92
Houses, 128
  built by natives, 14, 69, 70, 71, 73
  burned for the dead, 442
  gable roofed, 69, 70
  individual, 72, 150
  modern, 72
  multifamily, 150
  ownership of, 248
  Salish-type, 72
  space allotments in, 71
  tribal, list of, 223
  "white man style," destruction of, 150
  wooden, 77
Huckleberries, 125
  red, 57
  winter, 37, 39, 57
Hudson's Bay Company, 12, 114, 115, 456
Human flesh, used in hunting rites, 169, 173
Human heads, taken in war, 340, 341, 342, 345, 346, 347, 348, 351, 354
  disposal of, 342
Hummingbirds, trapping of, 451
Humor, well-developed, 455, 456
Hunchback, 300, 301
Hunters, 116, 272, 280, 320, 383
Hunting, 136, 145
  devices, 26–36, 59
  grounds, rights to, 253, 254
  sea otter, 244, 253, 273, 286
Hupachisat, 59
Huts, 75, 128
  birth, 120
  seclusion, 127, 128, 143

Illicit alliances, steps against, 145
Images, whale, 172
Imitators, *see* Dances, imitative.
Incest groups, 301
Indian Reserves, established by Canadian Government, 14
Infants, burial of, 150
  betrothal rare, 287
  cover for, 122
  deformed, 120, 128, 149
  ear piercing, 125
  face shaping, 120
  first naming, 125
  head flattening, 93
  headpressers, 97, 120, 122, 123, 125
  initiations of, 391
  mat cradle, 93, 120, 122, 124, 125
  mattresses, 97, 120, 122
  monsters, 128
  secret rites connected with, 126
  treatment of 122, 123, 124–125
  wooden cradle, 122, 123, 124, 125
Inheritance, 266–269
Initiations, 390, 391
In-laws, obligations to, 275
Inner Basin, 341

Insanity, 324, 325, 326
Intercourse, restrictions on, 120, 168
Interior Kalish, 103
Interpreter, 142, 381, 437

Jack, Mrs. Captain (informant), 6
Jackson Dan (informant), 6
Japanese Current, effects of, 7, 8
Jealousy, 330
  warnings against, 305–306, 310, 311, 330
Jewitt, John R., 37, 49, 50, 57, 108, 273, 353, 390, 391, 393, 455
Jewitt's Lake, 171, 403
Jimmy Jim (informant), 6
Jingles, dance, 103
Joseph, Father, ix
Junction Island, 249

Kangaroo designs, 93
Kelp, 21, 29, 37, 38
  bulb, use as oil containers, 92
  stem lines, 35
Kelpfish, 22, 26, 37
  trap, 19 (fig.)
Kelsomat division of Ahousat tribe, 238
Kendrick, [John], explorer, 11
Kennedy Lake, 221, 240, 241 (map), 333
Kennedy Lake tribes, 240
Kettle, copper, 268, 297
  iron, 142, 373
"Killer Whale," supernatural being, 289, 428
Kilts, cedar-bark, 409
King George's Sound, *see* Nootka Sound,
Kinship, 274–278
  functions, 275–276
  list of relatives, 277, 278
  usages and terminology, 276–278
Klahuse, 84
Knipe, [C], 116
Knives, 65, 93, 125
  bone, 91, 95
  clam-shell, 92
  flensing, 40
  mussel-shell, 63, 91, 120, 176
  slate, 91
  steel, 39, 56, 91
  woman's, 91
Kokshittle Arm, 224 (map)
Koppert, Vincent A., 73, 74, 78, 79
Kroeber, A. L., ix, 1
Kwakiutl, 3, 19, 22, 61, 65, 74, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 111, 115, 147, 192, 193, 215, 220, 235, 259, 267, 270, 283, 284, 309, 317, 318, 322, 332, 336, 341, 369, 377, 382, 383, 384, 385, 389, 390, 393, 405, 412, 413, 439, 452, 455, 456, 457
Kwatyât, Culture Hero, 452
Kyuquot, attacked by Clayoquot, 340–341
  chiefs, feast seating, 262 (list)
    potlatch seating, 261 (list)
Kyuquot, house, residents of, 283, 284 (genealogy)
Kyuquot, Confederacy, 4, 5, 6, 27, 36, 39, 49, 111, 117, 130, 134, 135, 143, 144, 149, 154, 168, 175, 176, 181, 186, 187, 188, 204, 207, 209, 211, 213, 220, 221, 222–225, 246, 252, 253, 255, 256, 258, 260, 263, 264, 268, 270, 274, 275, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285, 288, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 302, 303, 306, 320, 322, 325, 326, 328, 329, 332, 340, 341, 342, 369, 372, 373, 374, 379, 380, 383, 384, 385, 386, 389, 392, 393, 394, 395, 398, 399, 400, 401, 409, 412, 417, 418, 419, 420, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 434, 449, 450, 451, 452
  origin of, 223
Kyuquot Sound, 5, 6, 13, 46, 191, 199, 205, 220, 222, 223, 228, 252, 374
  village sites, 224 (map)

Labor, division of, 39, 57, 61
Ladders, tied-rung, 79, 80
Ladles, lack of, 91
Lahal, game of chance, 174, 438, 444, 446
Lamps, clam-shell, 108
  coal-oil, introduced, 108
Lamp wicks, cedar-bark, 108
Lances, 136, 447
  two-pronged, 448
  whaling, 31, 53
Land Chief, mythical being, 152
Land of the Dead, myths about, 156
ʟa'ō'kwâth, Clayoquot native name, 241, 242, 246
Lasmas, geographical locality, 249
Lasmasâth group, 249
Laziness, 330
Left-handedness, discouragement of, 130
"Left-overs," use of, 372, 373
Leg-bands, 192
Leggings, buckskin, 100
Leisters, 20 (fig.), 21
Levers, use of, 73, 74
Levirate, 301, 302
Lī'aik, famous trapper, 165, 166
Life of the Individual, 118–150
Life principle, situation of, 156
Lighting, devices for, 107
Lightning, mythical character, 153
Limpets, 39
Lineages, chief of, 71
  local groups, 220
  rights of, 73
Linton, Ralph, ix, 136
Lions, mountain, 9
ʟitsʟihwâkt, Chickliset village, 222
Loggers, 77
Logging, 79–80
Long Beach, 112
Loons, mythological figures, 259
Loot, disposal of, 342, 343

ʟōqwonȧ ceremony, 243, 386–417
Louis, Mrs. Maggie (informant), 6
Lower-rank people, relation to chiefs, 279
Lowrie, R. H., ix
Lucas, Thomas (informant), 6
Lunar periods, 115
Lure, spinner, 26, 38
lūtchaōktakȧmł, native name of tribe, 242

M (informant), 143, 144, 211, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 417, 418, 419, 422, 427, 428, 434, 435, 441, 442
Machines, sewing, 147
Magic, 150, 206, 319, 321, 322
  Black, 212–215, 315, 317, 453
  contagious, 213, 214, 313, 314
    medicines, 270
  weather, 174–175
Magico-ritual acts, 15
maiyała'ȧq, Kyuquot shaman, 205, 211
Makah tribe, 3, 4, 22, 28, 31, 48, 83, 85, 93, 96, 98, 122, 151, 215, 404, 445, 451
  dialectic division, 3
Malksope Inlet, 224 (map)
Mammals, list of, 9–10
Mammals, sea, 43
Manoisat tribe, 238, 256, 344
Manoisat-Otsosat, exterminated tribe, 6
Maquinna, native chief, 11, 15, 37, 50
  See also Mōqwinȧ.
Marmots, 9, 33, 61
Marriage, 274, 286–311
  arranged, 303–305
  ceremonial, 301
  contest privileges, 141, 143, 290, 291, 437, 438, 439
  cousin, 301
  customs, 275, 276, 287–292
  dowery, 291, 292, 303
  festivities, 291
  gifts, 287, 291, 297, 298, 299
  night, 299
  proposal of, 287–288, 292, 303
  purchase price, 275, 276, 289, 290, 294, 299
  rites, inheritance included in, 267–268, 291
  rites, procedure, 287, 288, 289, 290–291, 292, 293, 294–299
Marten, 9, 33, 38, 51, 101, 313
Martinez, [Estevan José], explorer, 11, 15
Marvinas Point, 249
Maskettes, 102, 295, 298, 403, 418, 433
Masks, 295, 300, 369, 370, 434
  carved wood, 102, 103, 426, 428
  ceremonial, 102, 103, 259, 393, 394, 414, 418, 442
  dance, 89, 405
  gifts of, 133
  use in shrines, 172
Massage, medical treatment, 137
Mat making, 92, 136
Matches, block, 56, 107
  slow, use of, 107
Material culture, 67–117
Matrilocal residence, 285, 299
Mats, 42, 43, 62, 63, 70, 71, 72, 76, 83, 88, 92, 120, 121, 123, 125, 141, 144, 149, 171, 175, 176, 177, 211, 297, 298, 415
  cedar-bark, 75, 85, 93, 95, 97, 105, 371
  feast, 95, 373
  sleeping, 76, 96, 311
  tabus regarding making of, 388
  tule, 75, 99
  uses of, 96
  white ceremonial, 180, 407
Mauls, 77, 78, 171
Meares, [John], explorer, 11
Meares Island, 241 (map)
Measures, list of, 81
Measuring sticks, 82
Meats, cooking methods, 62, 63
  transportation methods, 105
MJ (informant), 176, 194–196, 207
ML (informant), 187, 189, 190
  supernatural manifestation to, 189–190
Mnemonics, calendars and, 115–117
Moachat chiefs, feast seating, 264 (list)
  potlatch seating, 263 (list)
Moachat confederacy, 5, 6, 15, 47, 49, 50, 61, 75, 139, 142, 145, 147, 148, 149, 169, 171, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 189, 196, 209, 213, 221, 224, 228–231, 234, 235, 239, 246, 248, 249, 252, 263, 276, 281, 282, 288, 305, 315, 317, 318, 338, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 372, 385, 389, 391, 394, 395, 402, 404, 405, 414, 415, 418, 419, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 441, 445, 448
Moachat-Muchalat group, 138, 142, 231
Moachat territory, chiefs holdings in, 248, 249, 250 (map)
Moachat village houses, list of, 231
  sites, 229 (map)
Moccasins, 34, 38, 100
Mohoae Island, 224 (map)
Molasses, trade goods, 56, 63, 90, 114, 296, 298
Mollusks, 60, 62
Monogamy, 311
"Monterrey shells" (abalones), 113
Moon, myths about, 154
Moon count, 115, 116, 171, 172
Mōqwinȧ memorial, 147
  See also Maquinna.
Mortuary customs, 147–150
Moss, 8, 9
Mothers, 143
  care of infants by, 125
  teaching of girls by, 136

Mothers, treatment at childbirth, 119–127
    unmarried, 300
Mourning, tabus regarding, 388
Moziño, J. M., 108, 115, 119, 171, 455
    on birth customs, 119
    on social club dances, 404
MP (informant), 145, 363, 364
Muchalat Arm, 5, 6, 10, 32, 36, 168, 172, 220, 229 (map), 231, 232, 233 (map), 237, 354, 356, 357, 358, 359, 362, 363, 364
Muchalat Arm groups, 245, 316, 341, 344, 356, 360, 362, 457
Muchalat chiefs, feast seating, 265 (diagram)
    potlatch seating, 264 (diagram)
Muchalat Jim (informant), 6
Muchalat Peter (informant), 6, 434
Muchalat River, 233 (map)
Muchalat tribe, 5, 27, 34, 38, 49, 59, 61, 63, 87, 99, 100, 109, 119, 123, 126, 135, 176, 221, 224, 232–235, 238, 239, 246, 254, 255, 268, 305, 311, 317, 318, 327, 335, 338, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 374, 375, 388, 392, 393, 394, 399, 403, 410, 415, 430, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 438, 445, 447
Muchalat village sites, 233 (map)
Muchalat wars, The, 353–365
Murder, rare, 318, 343
Musical bow, unknown, 106
Musical instruments, 106
Muskets, trade goods, 353
Mussels, 39, 237
    solitary, 40
Mussel-shell points, 28
Mutilations, practiced by husbands, 305
    practiced on enemies, 342, 350
Mythology, 132
Myths, 151, 157–163
Myths and tales, diversions, 452

"na' eyaqϵq," title for chief's child, 244
Name tabus, 148, 149
    ritual, 258–260
Napkins, cedar-bark, 97, 372
Narrow Island, 249
Nasal septums, pierced, 101
Neck rings, cedar-bark, 97, 102, 394, 397, 409
Necklaces, bead, 101
    dentalia, 101, 111
Needles, yew, 99
Nettle-fiber cordage, 22, 26, 28, 29, 112
Nettles, medicinal use of, 146
    ritual use of, 167, 169
Newcombe, W. A., ix
News and gossip, 331–332
News transmittal, 331, 332
Nicolaye, Rev. Joseph, 446
Niggardliness, 328–329, 330
Nimkish River, 151, 375
Nimkish tribe, 76, 234, 332, 354, 357
Nitinat tribe, 4, 6, 94
    dialect of, 3
Nitinat Lake, 3
Nootka Cannery, 142
Nootka Cone, 249, 250 (map)
Nootka Confederacy, 220
Nootka Island, 49, 226 (map), 228, 229 (map), 248, 250 (map)
Nootka Sound, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 35, 49, 77, 121, 142, 210, 214, 220, 221, 226 (map), 228, 229 (map), 230, 233 (map), 234, 236 (map), 249, 250 (map), 252, 348, 360, 362
Nootkans, 4, 11, 14, 35, 42, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62, 72, 82, 86, 91, 99, 102, 104, 106, 108, 111, 113, 115, 129, 130, 147, 149, 152, 155, 215, 235, 243, 301, 304, 312, 318, 319, 320, 322, 324, 330, 333, 336, 339, 343, 344, 386
    See also Nootkan tribes; Nootka, the.
Nootkan tribes, 36, 61, 62, 77, 78, 79, 85, 90, 93, 98, 116, 118, 119, 134, 136, 173, 175, 181, 186, 218, 246, 251, 439
    cosmological concepts, 151
    culture, 4, 77, 93, 118, 130
    culture patterns, 453–457
    festivals, 366–443, 385, 386–417
    games and amusements, 444–452
    geographical location, 3, 9, 10
    historic period, 10–15
    hunting trips, 13
    language, dialectic divisions, 3–4
    life cycle, 118
    marriage, 286–311
    political units, 5, 247
    rank, 243–273
    religious concepts, 151–157, 163, 182
    social life, 219–365, 257, 274
    textile arts, 92, 95
    warfare, 335–336, 343
    wealth-concept, 110
    year, divisions of, 37
Nootka, the, 6, 251, 263, 268, 274, 276, 277, 319, 327
    language, 3, 4
    name given by early explorers to Moachat, 6
North Arm, 239 (map), 344
Northern Kwakiutl, 443
Northern Lights, 156
Northern Nootkan tribes, 4, 5, 27, 58, 59, 78, 83, 111, 115, 116, 119, 127, 130, 138, 142, 149, 151, 156, 177, 192, 193, 210, 213, 214, 216, 219, 220, 221, 246, 247, 252, 258, 261, 276, 369, 384, 394, 409, 411, 416, 426, 445, 447, 449, 452
Northwest Californians, 454
Northwest Coast tribes, 11, 27, 36, 37, 73, 109, 110, 118, 220, 243, 336, 339, 390, 444, 445, 456
Northwest Coast Raven myths, 452
Nose cutting, magic practice, 126
Nose piercing, 124

Novices, face painting of, 103, 412, 419
  ornaments worn by, 102, 411, 412
  part taken by, in ceremonies, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 397, 398, 399, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 421, 426, 427, 434, 435, 440, 443
Nuchatlet tribe, 5, 6, 111, 221, 226 (map), 227–228, 248, 249, 256, 275, 276, 281, 282, 283, 288, 301, 307, 308, 309, 341, 353, 386, 400, 418, 419, 423, 424, 425, 430, 440, 441
  Shamans' Dance, account of, 430–439
  village groups, list of, 227–228
Nuchatlitz Inlet, 6, 36, 49, 226 (map), 227, 228, 229 (map), 248, 440, 441, 442
nūkwismī, supernatural manifestation to, 201

Ohiat group, 7
Oil containers, bladder, 75
  wooden, 89, 92
Oil, olachen, 375
Oils, 72
  value in diet, 63
Olabar, Mrs. Sarah (informant and interpreter), 6
Olson, R. L., IX
Oncorhynchus keta, 9
  kisutch, 9
  nerka, 9
  tschawytscha, 9
Oregon Indians, 111
Ornament, Dress and, 99–103
Ornaments, 11, 99
  abalone-shell, 111
  cedar-bark, 188, 405, 406, 412
  feather, 141
Otsosat, extinct tribe, 49, 221, 238, 339, 341, 344, 353
  war between the Ahousat and, 344–353
Otter hunting, methods, 46–47, 48
Otter, land, 9, 38, 61, 120, 135
Otter, sea, 9, 11, 12, 27, 31, 32, 45, 46, 47, 56, 101, 103, 113, 117, 132, 141, 175, 238, 251, 253, 268, 293, 295, 328, 353, 383, 384, 385
  effect on Nootkan history, 11, 253
  fur used for decorations, 95, 244
  hunting rites, 169
  robes of, 147
  skinning process, 103
  value of, 47–48, 110, 113, 114, 381
Otter-Spirit, supernatural being, 216
Ououkinsk Sound, 5, 6, 224 (map)
Oven, earth-, 79, 89
Owls, 157
Owner-of-the-Beach, 76, 378, 417, 430, 431, 432

Pacheena, 3
Paddlers, postures of, 86–87
Paddles, canoe, 46, 47, 85, 97
Pail, wooden, 179
Paint, oil, introduced, 83
Paint, red ocher, 83
Paint, used on houses, 69, 72
Palisades, use in war, 338
Parent-child, 301
Parent-in-law, 301
Parents, 130, 135, 138, 141, 142, 143, 145
Park, Arthur, IX
Pastimes, cat's cradle, 120
Patrilocal residence, 278
Peavies, introduced, 81
Pectens, 39, 106
Penis, exposed in infant boys, 124
Perch, 16, 22, 37, 57
Perez, Juan, explorer, 10
Periwinkles, 39
Personal effects, destroyed with the dead, 150
Personality, abnormal, 324–331
  antisocial, 326–327, 331
  ideal, 322–324
Personality types and social attitudes, 322–365
Pets, 109
Pettitt, George Albert, on education, 129, 132, 182
Philandering, prevalence of, 306
Pike, hunting weapon, 38, 334, 335, 342
Pilchard, 37, 40, 60
Pillows, wooden, 75, 76
Pins, 138
  wooden, 139
Pipes, clay, 108
  smoking, 108
Pitfalls, 36
"Pit-lamping," illegal hunting method, 43
Pit storage, 65
Planks, used for drumming, 298, 396, 398, 405, 407, 414, 421, 434, 445
Plants gathered, 56–57
Plates, 298
Platforms, sleeping, 72
  storage, 72
Plumed serpent, mythological character, 102
Poisons, 214, 215
Poles, steering, 87, 88
Police, 389, 390
  duties of, 389
Poling, 87
Polishers, sharkskin, 77, 79
Polity, 220–243
Polyandry, not practiced, 301
Polygamy, 310–311
Polygyny, practice of, 301-302
Popguns, toy, 451
Porcupines, 9
Porpoises, 9, 26, 36, 46, 65, 175, 238, 253, 273
Port Eliza, 226 (map), 227, 228
Port Renfrew, 3
Portlock, [Nathaniel], and Dixon, [George], explorers, 11
Post holes, digging of, 73

Post mortems, practice of, 150
Posts, carved, 74
    construction of, 80
    raising of, 73, 74
Potatoes, 57, 62, 426, 428, 442
Potlatches, arrival of guests at, 378
    competitive, 457
    display privileges at, 257–258, 274, 289, 437, 438
    etiquette at, 379, 380–381, 382
    feasts, 12, 13, 40, 55, 105, 117, 118, 124, 125, 132, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 182, 183, 216, 221, 235, 242, 243, 247, 253, 257, 280, 296, 297, 364, 366, 369, 370, 372, 376–386, 412, 413, 414, 416, 428, 455
    invitations to 117, 367, 377, 438, 443
    mortuary, 145, 148, 149, 441–443
    prohibition of by law, 14, 381
    quarrels over, 235, 246
    reasons for, 247, 257, 266, 377, 380, 386
    rules governing, 377–386
Potlatch gifts, 105, 111, 114, 125, 376, 378, 381, 382, 386, 427, 429
    messengers, functions of, 378
    seats, 236, 237, 243, 246, 247, 260–266, 267, 378, 379, 380, 385, 386
    songs, 438
    ushers, duties of, 378–379
Pre-European times, 376
Pregnancy and birth customs, 119–127, 371
Pregnancy, first, 119
Primogeniture, relation to rank, 245
Privileges, 247–260, 280, 290, 294, 377
    application of term, 220
    ceremonial, 248, 257–260, 294–295, 343, 409, 410, 411, 416
    economic, 247–257
    inheritance of, 267–268, 377, 387
    showing of at potlatches, 379
    transfer of, 377, 379
Property, lost in war, 343
Prostitution, 309
Prunuse marginata, 8
Pseudospouse, function of, 277
Pseudotsuga taxifolia, 8
Puberty observances, girl's, 137–144, 296, 304
Puget Sound, 56, 99
Puget Sound hopfields, work at, 13

Quarreling tabu, 388, 453
Quatsino Sound, 3, 151
Quatsino Sound tribe, 298, 457
Queen Charlotte Sound, 113
Queen's Cove, 5, 204, 252, 372, 375
    groups, 252, 317, 372, 373, 427
    villages, 226 (map), 227
"Quelquelem," native chief, 11
Quileute tribe, 3, 4
Quipu, counting device, 116, 117
Quivers, 32, 47
qwɔwinasȧth, local group, 246

Rabbits, 9
Raccoons, 9, 33, 61, 62
Rafael Point, 347, 352
Rainbow, 156
Rafts, 75, 88, 104, 143, 408, 409, 411, 435
Rank, 243–273
Rattles, 405, 413
    mountain sheep, 193, 197
    Shaman's, 106, 185, 190, 193, 197, 201
    shell, 106
    wooden, 106, 128
Raven, 58, 61
    mythical character, 132, 428
Receptacles, wooden, 88–91
Red ocher paint, 100, 103
Red snappers, 38
Religious life, 151–218
Remedies, 146–147
Residence, 274, 278–286
    seasonal changes of, 59, 70, 71, 72, 107
Revenge, 319, 319–322, 333
Rheumatic aches, treatment for, 146
Rhubarb, wild, 120
Rice, 296, 298
Ridge poles, carved, 68 (fig.), 69
Rites, Bear, 167
    Calling, 405, 408
    First Herring, 167
    First Salmon, 167
    Hair Seal Hunting, 168–169
    life crises, 129
    sea otter hunting, 169
    Tongs Making, 405, 406–417
    war chief's, 170
    whale hunter's, 169–170, 173
Ritual cleanliness, 185, 187
Ritual cleansing-spirit quest, 167–168
Ritual privileges, 257–260
Rituals, Dog Eating, 404–405
    house raising, 73–74
    supernatural, 163–167, 171
    tsaiyєq, 215–218
    whaling, 50, 51, 169–170
Roasting, method, 62
Robes, 38, 92, 94, 131, 144, 149
    bearskin, 101–102, 167, 170
    cedar-bark, 58, 94, 97, 99, 100, 101, 138, 157, 408
    chief's, 101, 103, 114
    fur, 101, 103
    sea otter, 147
Rooster designs, 93
Root diggers, payment of, 252
Root patches, rights to, 252
Rope, cedar-bark, 107, 172, 173
Roots, edible, 57, 66, 104, 127, 128, 252
Rubus spectabilis, 8
Rugged Point, 224 (map), 226 (map)

Sadism, practiced in war, 456
Sails, 85–86
    canvas, introduced, 85
    leg-of-mutton, 85–86
    mat, 85

Sails, outboard, 85
    square, 85
Salal berries (*Gaultheria shallon*), 8, 57, 63, 65
Salal berry cakes, preparation of, 65-66
Salishan-speaking tribes, 4, 5
Salishan tribes, 93, 215, 243
Salish tribe, 4, 99, 208, 215
    culture, 4, 100
Salmon, 16, 18, 22, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, 91, 128, 137, 171, 172, 173, 174, 181, 240, 241, 252, 253, 288
    Clubs, 18, 58
    dog (*Oncorhynchus keta*), 9, 36, 37, 58, 62, 63, 121, 127, 138, 141, 144, 172, 175, 176, 177, 206, 210, 211, 212, 222, 235, 236, 237, 238, 344, 375, 447
    dried, 40, 62, 63, 64, 96, 121, 125, 127, 128, 138, 144, 294, 296, 297, 376, 426, 431
    eggs, 33, 426, 428
    fishing, method, 40–41, 49, 115
    fishing grounds, 67
    harpoons, 19, 20 (figs.), 21, 26. 58
    humpback, 36
    Land, *see* Salmon's Home.
    observances in honor of, 175, 176, 177
    smoke-curing, 107
    spring (*Oncorhynchus tschawytscha*), 9, 36, 40, 41, 58, 63, 125, 155, 172, 176, 177, 235, 252, 374, 431, 443
    tabus relating to, 176
Salmonberry (*Rubus spectabilis*), 8, 56, 57, 62, 125, 141, 250, 297, 360, 363
    patches, right to, 252
    sprouts, 125
Salmon-people, mythological people, 151, 154, 166
Salmon roe, preparation of, 64
Salmon's Home, mythical place, 128, 152, 156, 173, 175, 177
Salmon Spirits, mythological characters, 127, 154, 173, 177, 210
Salmon streams, 248, 250, 251
"Salmon's tail," name for children, 128
Salmon trap, 16, 17 (fig.), 19, 58, 142, 251, 259, 285
Salt, dislike of, 60
Salvage, rights to, 254, 256
Sapir, Edward, 5
    on ceremonials, 368, 438, 439
Sapir, Edward, and Swadish, Morris, on behavior, 132
Savey, Frank (informant), 6
Saws, steel, 77, 81
Scouting, practice in war, 337, 364
Scouts, 350, 357, 364
Scrapers, iron 103
    mussell-shell, 103
    pecten-shell, 29
Scratching stick, 138, 141, 144
Sea anchor, 30
Sea-biscuit, 431
    box, 436
Seagulls, beliefs relating to, 61, 127
    eggs, 61
    tame, 109
Seal bladders, 64
Seal blubber, 63
Seal bone knives, 95
Sealers, 383
    white, contact with natives, 13
Seal feasts, 253
Seal hunters, 44–45, 383
Seal Hunting ritual, 168–169
Sealing, 141, 143, 273
    canoes, 84
    clubs, 27, 44, 45
    fur, 108, 111
    harpoons, 21, 26–27 (fig.), 26
    pelagic, 84
Sea lions, 9, 26, 36, 37, 45, 46, 65, 92 125, 147, 254, 273
    bladder used for containers, 179
    figures of, 68 (fig.), 69
    skin used for armor, 335
Sea lion sinew, 28
Seals, 37, 45, 65
    fur, 26, 46
    fur, hunting of, 13, 26, 27
    hair, 9, 26, 29, 36, 45, 117, 125, 175, 238, 252, 254, 273, 288, 387
        rights to, 252, 253, 387
    Pacific Harbor, 9
Sealskin floaters, 29, 45, 46
Sea Spirit, mythical character, 161
"Seats," 76
Seat, use of at birth, 120
Sea urchin poles, 35, 58
Sea urchins, 58, 60
Seaweed, use of, 42, 60, 167, 158, 169, 170
Sechelt tribe, 100
Seines, 36
Sentinels, posting of, 338, 340, 341, 350, 357
Sewing machines, 147
Sex conflicts, 303–311
Sexual intercourse, ritualistic, 168
Sexual looseness, 327
Shaman, 128, 174, 181–212, 213, 260, 285, 313, 315, 320, 325
    burial of, 149
    female, 300, 315
        See also Shamarness.
    functions of, 120–121, 193, 441
    killing of, 316
    ornaments worn by, 102, 192
    respect shown to, 183
    songs of, 452
Shamaness, functions of, 123, 137, 204, 209
    See also Shaman, female.
Shamanism, 181, 183, 189, 273
    open to both sexes, 183
    preparation for, 184, 190, 191, 193
Shamanistic curing, 202–212
    payment for, 203–205

Shaman-Minks, mythical, 153, 185, 213, 452
Shaman-name, announcement of, 192
Shaman-Ravans, mythical, 153, 213, 452
Shamans' Dance, 40, 102, 103, 106, 118, 130, 133, 134, 137, 156, 159, 215, 216, 217, 218, 225, 228, 242, 249, 253, 257, 258, 259, 267, 268, 270, 273, 274, 282, 283, 285, 300, 301, 307, 328, 339, 343, 364, 366, 368, 369, 370, 371, 377, 378, 381, 386-417, 417–429, 430–439, 440–443, 455
  comparisons of accounts of, 438–439
  miscellany, 440–443
  significance of, 439–440
Shamans' festival, 143, 162, 192, 297, 298, 386–417, 443
Shaman-Squirrels, mythical, 153, 185, 189, 190, 198, 213
Shamans' rattles, 106, 185, 190, 193, 197, 198, 201
Shamrock, George (interpreter), 6
Shark hunters, 321
Shark-liver oil, trade in, 56, 225
Shark, supernatural character, 126, 437
Sharks, 27, 45, 211, 320
  "mud," 56
  mythical characters, 154
  sand, 56
Sharkskin, polishers of, 77, 79
Shawls, ceremonial, 408
  introduced, 101, 111
Shear legs, use in house raising, 73–74
Sheep, mountain, 106, 193, 197
Shellfish, 9, 362
Shells, 110
  dentalia, 110
Shelter Arm, 238, 239 (map), 344, 351
Shiftlessness, 328
Shiners, 57, 58, 374
Shinny, athletic game, 447
Shirts, 99, 100, 298
  flannel, 101
Shoes, introduced, 101
Shotguns, 43, 46
Shrines, 170–174
Siblings, 124, 130, 135, 277, 278, 301, 345
Sidney Inlet, 236 (map), 238, 344, 352
Sidney Inlet groups, 343, 344
Sieges, use in war, 338
Singers, 386
Singing, lahal-game, 106
  men and women, 142
  "t'ama," 138, 142
  tȧpyik, 142
Skeletons, use in rituals, 171
Skewers, use in ceremonies, 389
Skin dressing, 103–104
Skirts, dance, 106
  hemlock-twig, 143
Skull crusher, stone, 335
Skulls, preservation of, 149
  use in rites, 168
  use in shrines, 171, 172, 173, 174
Skunks, 9
Sky-Codfish, mythical character, 155, 361
Sky-Dog, mythical character, 155
Sky-world (Heaven), 151
Slaves, 110, 111, 122, 147, 243, 254, 272–273, 317, 350, 441
  attempts at escape, 273
  capture of, 340, 341, 342, 358, 359, 362
  gifts of, 148, 293
  killing of, 317, 318, 334, 342, 384, 385
  loss of rights, 343
  marriage to, 244, 272
  non-Nootkan, 391
  privileges of, 366
  selling of, 342
  status of, 272, 273
  trade in, 111, 272
  treatment of, 272
Sleight-of-hand, 217, 218
Slings, spruce root, 335
  toy, 335
Slippers, china (shell fish), 39
Slug, symbol of softness, 172
Smallpox, introduced, 12
Smelt, 65
"Smoke spreaders," 75
Smoking, tobacco, 108
Snails, sea, 39
Snakes, 61
  myths about, 154
Snares, loop, 34, 59
  spring-pole, 36
Snot-Boy, culture hero, 144, 452
Snowshoes, 32, 34, 38
Social control, 319–322
Social life, 219–365
Sockeye (*Oncorhynchus nerka*), 9, 36, 58, 62, 96, 172, 175, 176, 177, 222, 232, 240, 252, 360, 372, 373, 436
  observances in honor of, 176–177
Solstices, knowledge of, 115
Son-in-law, gifts to, 133
Songs, connected with puberty celebrations, 141, 142
  connected with house raising, 73, 74
  connected with whaling, 55
  feast, 371, 376
  game, 450, 451
  inheritance of, 266
  love, 142
  marriage, 289
  mourning, 148
  potlatch, 378
  ritualistic, 133, 178, 392, 394, 397, 398, 410, 414, 415, 421, 427, 441
  supernatural, 267, 411
  towing, 178
  victory, 342
  wives', in warfare, 341
Sororate, 301, 302
Soul, belief in, 156
Soul loss, cure for, 210–212
Souls of Trees, malignant spirits, 153, 109
Southeast wind, myths about, 174

Southern Kwakiutl tribes, 3, 4, 65, 76, 77, 92, 94, 113, 114, 151, 174, 246, 258, 287, 377, 379, 380, 384, 394, 456, 457
Spaniards, 113
    outpost founded by, 11, 57
Speakers, 269, 282, 283, 371, 372, 375, 377, 411, 428, 435
    part in marriage ceremony, 290, 296, 297
    part in potlatches, 379, 380
    training for, 269
Spearing, ceremonial, 389, 390
Spears, 46, 436
    bird, 35
    elk, 32
    toy, 135
    two-pronged, 447
Spindles, lack of, 94
Spindle whorls, bone, 94
    stone, 94
    wooden, 94
Spinning, 136
Spirit-sickness, curative steam bath for, 147
Sponsor, 395, 396, 399, 400, 405, 407, 412, 416, 417
    use of term, 392
Spoons, 125
    lack of, 91
    shells used as, 92
Sproat, Gilbert Malcolm, 78, 79, 82, 340, 455
    on birth customs, 119
    on social control, 312, 313
Sproat Lake, 5, 10, 234, 356
Spruce, 78, 92, 157
Spruce gum, chewing, 108, 176
    preparation of, 108
Spruce root, used for weaving, 92, 93, 97, 98, 99
Squid, 125
    mythical characters, 154, 170
Squirrels, 9, 61
Stealing, uncommon, 329
Steaming, method, 62, 89
Steelhead, fish, 9
Steersmen, functions of, 86–87
Sticks, counting devices, 444, 446, 447
Stirling, Dr. Matthew W., 2
Stockades, temporary, 67
Stone House, mythical place, 159
Stones, Bezoar, beliefs regarding, 147
Stools, lack of, 76
Strait of Juan de Fuca, 3, 4
Strike-a-light, 96, 107
Sucking, treatment for disease, 125, 129, 207, 208
Suicide, 322
    methods, 322
Suicides, burial of, 149
Sun, myths about, 154, 361
Supernatural beings, 131, 369
Supernatural Canoe, mythological, 152, 157, 158, 161, 185, 192, 259, 409, 422, 425
Supernatural, dealings with the, 163–167
Supernatural experience, tales of, 157–163
Supernatural Killerwhales, mythical characters, 158, 161
Supernatural manifestations, 186, 189, 194–201, 210, 216–217
Supernatural Quartz Crystals, myths about, 153, 160, 161, 162, 163, 218, 367, 368, 369, 370, 377, 378, 410, 411, 418, 422, 431, 432, 433, 439, 443
Supernatural Salmon, mythical character, 268
Supernatural Sharks, mythical characters, 170
Supernatural songs, 267, 411
Supernatural Squirrels, mythological characters, 190, 198
Supernatural Winter High Tide, mythical character, 161, 186.
Supernatural Wolf Spear, display privilege, 271
Supernatural Wolves, mythological characters, 106, 158, 162, 185, 186, 189, 190, 225, 228, 267, 368, 370, 378
Supernatural world, 151–157
Swan, James G., 83, 93, 113, 215
Swan feathers, use of, 102
Swans, 43
Swimming, 136
Sydney Inlet, 7, 236 (map), 239 (map)

"Tablecloths," mats used as, 96
Tabus, 118, 141
    punishment of violations of, 388, 453
    regarding childbirth, 119–120
    regarding food, 61, 388
    regarding salmon, 41, 175–176
    regarding Shamans' Dance, 388
    regarding twins, 128
    relating to deaths, 147, 148
Tachu Point, 111, 256, 309
tacīs River, 252, 268, 280, 285
Tackle box, 47
Tales of supernatural experience, 157–163
Tally keepers, function at potlatches, 379
Tamsish Arm, 224 (map)
Tanning method, 103
Tasis Canal, 226 (map), 228, 229 (map), 230, 363
Tasis Narrows, 229
Taxus brevifolia, 8
Tea, 426, 431
"Tenants," relation to chiefs, 221, 273, 279, 381
Territorial ownership, things included in, 254
Textiles, 92–99
Thievery, petty, 313, 329
Thimbleberries, 57, 65, 157
Thomas, Alex (interpreter), 6

Thompson, [David], 273, 391
Throwing boards, 36
Thuja plicata, 8
Thunderbird, mythical character, 153, 155, 259, 418, 432
Tides, beliefs concerning, 156
timikasȧth, extinct tribe, 241
Tinder, cedar-bark, 97, 106
Titles, lack of, 246
Tlingit, 98, 99, 274, 319, 454
Tlupana Arm, 228, 230, 231, 233 (map), 249, 250 (map)
Tlupana Arm group, 231, 232, 237, 248, 249
Tobacco and chewing gum, 108–109
Tofino, white community at, 14
Tofino Inlet, 241 (map)
Tongs, 407, 414, 415
    roasting, 91
    wooden, 91, 92
Tonquin massacre, 15
Tonquin, trading ship, 12, 338
Tools, 72
    metal, acquired from whites, 11, 12
Tops, 123, 451
Toquiat group, 7, 116
Torches, cedar, 107, 437
Totchu Point, 226 (map)
"Totem poles," 76.
Toys, 138
    popguns, 451
    tops, 123, 451
Trade goods, 56
Trades, hereditary, 273
Traditions, 15
Transformer-Culture Hero, Snot-Boy, 452
Transportation, 104–105 (fig.)
Transvestites, 331
Trappers, 285
    bear, 180, 181, 253
    deer, 253
Trapping, 141, 145, 273
    winter, 38
Traps, 15, 16, 61
    bear, 33, 137
    deer, 32, 33 (fig.), 137
    duck, 33–34.
    fish, 16–19, 92, 267, 268, 279, 280
    globular, 37
    salmon, 16, 17 (fig.), 19, 58, 142
    steel, 38
Trays, decorated, 93
Tree-Spirit, supernatural being, 217
"Tribes," social groups, 220
"Tribute," payment to chief, 251, 252, 253
Triplets, unknown, 128
Trophies, human heads, 340, 341, 342, 345, 346, 347, 348, 351, 354
Trousers, introduced, 99, 101
Trout, sea, 9, 176
Truculence, 327, 330
Tsaiyɛq ritual, 215–218, 243
Tsimshian, 61, 99, 319, 454.
Tsisa'ȧth house, 68 (fig.)
Tsuga heterophylla, 8
Tubes, drinking, 138
    use in rituals, 171, 172
Tubs, wooden, 126
tūkwit, Moachat shaman, *see* "Doctor Billy," 196
    spirit manifestation to, 197
Tumplines, 104, 105
Turney-High, Harry Holbert, on Indian warfare, 335–336
Twinning, seclusion connected with, 127, 128
Twins, 120, 127–128
    belief regarding souls of, 156
    birth of, 173
    burial of, 149
    children of, 128
    search for power by parents of, 199–201
    treatment of, 127–128
Twins Islet, 345
Two Hundred Mouths, mythological being, 223
Two Hundred Wolves, 294

Uchucklisat group, 7
Ucluelet Arm, 241 (map), 317
Ucluelet group, 7, 112, 242
Umbilical cord, cutting of, 120, 260
    treatment of, 122, 124
Undersea Chief, mythical being, 152
Undersea-world, 151
Underworld, 151
Union Island, in Kyuquot Sound, 199, 224 (map), 255
Upper Kennedy Lake, 240
Urinals, wooden, 88, 90, 123, 207, 208
Urine, uses of, 79, 89, 90, 104, 177, 207, 408

Vancouver Island, 3, 6–10, 42, 56, 60, 108, 142, 151, 154, 215, 384
    description of, 6–10
Vargas Island, 239 (map), 241 (map), 344, 348
Vegetable products, 36
Venereal diseases, introduced, 12
Venison, 375
Vessels, serving, 90, 371, 372
    wooden, 396
"Vests," bear-hide, 103, 167, 170
Vials, basketry-covered, 93
Victoria, trips to, 13
Village Island, 222
Village sites, ownership of, 248
Villages, 73
    summer, 67, 69, 222, 224 (map)
    winter, 67, 69, 74, 222, 224 (map)

Wakashan stock, 3
War clubs, stone, 126
Wallets, woven, 96
War, 332–365
    causes, 333–334
    preparations for, 334–335
    refuges, 67
Warfare, defensive methods, 338

Warfare, discipline, 341
  efficiency of, 341
  "medicines" for, 455
  methods of conducting, 336–341, 455, 456
  naval, 339
Warriors, headdress of, 335
  weapons, 335
Washcloths, cedar-bark, 97
Water buckets, wooden, 89
Waterfowl, 36, 42, 43, 174, 374
  hunting methods, 42–43
Waterman, T. T., 96, 163
  on canoes, 82, 83, 85
Wealth goods, 109–115, 141
Weapons, 335
Weather conditions, 7–8
Weather magic, 174–175
Weavers, 92, 93
Weaving, 92, 136
  "birdcage," 92
  decorative, 95
  diagonal checkerwork, 96, 97
  simple, 92
  tabus regarding, 120, 123
  twilled checker-board, 92, 95, 96
  twilled twining, 92, 94
  twined, 93, 94, 97
  wool for, 94
  wrapped twining, 92, 98
Wedges, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 96, 137, 407
Weir, V-shaped, 16, 17 (fig.), 18
Weirs, 16, 17, 18, 19, 92
Weregild, absence of, 312, 319, 454
West Coast tribes, 98
Whale, 9, 28, 30, 36, 39, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 65, 116, 125, 128, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 180, 238, 253, 254, 441
  baleen, used for rattles, 193
  blubber, 39, 55, 63, 144, 172, 178, 256, 279
    preparation of, 40, 179, 180, 256
    rights to, 250, 256
  bone, 78, 97
  butchering, method, 55
  "fin," kept by whaler, 180
  California gray, 48
  humpback, 48
  hunters' rites, 169–170, 173
  killer, 49, 152, 158, 240
  meat, 40, 253
  mythological characters, 151, 158, 163
  observances in honor of, 175, 177–178, 179
  oil, 63, 89, 107, 108, 179, 180, 253, 256, 426
  rights, 39, 255, 256
  saddle, treatment of, 178–180
  sinew, 28
  sperm, 49
  stranded, 255, 279
  sulphur-bottom, 49
  supernatural character, 126
Whaler, 53, 55, 56, 173, 177, 178, 179, 180, 238, 240, 242, 255, 256
Whaler's wife, part in rituals, 177–178
Whale's Home, mythical place, 152
Whaling, 244, 253, 273
  decline of, 84
  gear, 27–32, 50 (fig.), 51
  history of, 49, 50–53
  lance, 173
  line containers, 97
  revival of, 134
  scenes, decorative, 93
  songs, 178
Whistles, 295, 298, 451
  dance, 89, 106, 403, 416, 418, 434, 435
  Hamatsa, 393
  multiple, 106
  simple, 106
  Wolf, 143, 162, 349, 392, 393, 395, 433, 434, 435, 442
Whiteface Island, 222, 224 (map)
White trader, Clayoquot deal with, 340
Widowers, marriage customs of, 302
Widows, 300, 307
  marriage customs of, 302
Wife, first, 301
  subsidiary, 301
Wikennanish Island, 348
"Wild Man Spirit," supernatural being, 394
Wild rose haws, restrictions on eating of, 144
Willoughby, Charles C., 97
wītapī, Ehetisat shaman, pay for treatment, 204
  supernatural experience of, 198
Witchcraft, 213, 313–319, 453
  suspicion of, 150, 214
Witches, 130, 212, 214, 215, 313, 315
Wives, customs regarding, 275
  part in war, 341
Wizards, 208, 314
Wolf cubs, pet, 109, 145
Wolf Dance, 386, 398, 399
  See also Shamans' Dance.
Wolf marriage privilege, 294
Wolf-Messenger, mythical character, 126, 127, 452
"Wolf Owner," designation of Sponsor, 392
Wolf pelts, formerly worn, 393
"Wolf Spear," mythological figure, 260
Wolves, 9, 61, 109, 127, 135, 174, 176
  mythical characters, 130, 133, 143, 152, 185, 289, 300, 364, 366, 370, 387, 388, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 405, 408, 409, 410, 411, 414, 415, 416, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 426, 432, 433, 434, 437, 438, 441, 443
    dress of, 393
Women, 253
  after the menopause, 179
  age clubs, 399

Women, birth customs, 119–127
  clothes, 100
  clubs, 402
  face painting, 100
  games, 445, 446
  hair dressing, 100
  loyalties of, 342–343
  menstrual observances, 144, 175, 176
  mourning customs, 147
  ornaments, 99, 100, 101
    part taken in rituals, 177, 398
  pregnancy and birth customs of, 119–127, 300
  tasks, 39, 57, 61, 92, 93, 95, 98, 104, 107, 124
  trinket boxes of, 90
  use of dried codfish by, 65
  virtue of, 287
"Women supernaturals," 324
Wood, manipulation of, 77
Woods Spirit, supernatural being, 393, 394
Wool, mountain goat, 94
Word tabus, 148
Wristlets, cedar-bark, 97, 102, 397, 409, 412, 413

ya'aitsūis, female shaman, 210
yaksū'is (informant), 6
Yarn, goat's wool, 111, 114
Yarns, telling of, 452
yatsūsis, Ehetisat shaman, 198, 204, 211, 212
  supernatural manifestation to, 198–199
Year, measures of, 115
Yew (*Taxus brevifolia*), 8, 77, 78, 170
  stakes, use in rituals, 171, 172
  twigs, use in rites, 170
Yūkwɔt, 68, 363
Yuquot, site of, 11

Zeballos Arm, 226 (map)

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